

CANON EKANAYAKE
OF
COLOMBO

BY
PERCY WICKREMASINGHE

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1923



CANON EKANAYAKE

OF

COLOMBO

PRIEST, MISSIONARY
AND THEOLOGIAN



BY

PERCY WICKREMESINGHE

ASST. PRIEST

ST. MICHAEL & ALL ANGELS
POLWATTE, COLOMBO

(Author of *The Nugegoda Mission, The One True Faith,*
and Compiler of *In Ascensu Altaris, Orisons & Bhakti*)

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FORWORD

BY THE LORD BISHOP OF COLOMBO

I shall accept the invitation to contribute a foreword to this
Honour to Doctor N. de Souza. I myself never knew
Doctor Narmmasena, but his name has been familiar to me ever since
Columbo days when on Saturday evening the sermon was made in
honour of all the members of the College who were present. After a
long and interesting as a pastor of the church's history as well as
of the church's history, above all else

TO

MY SON

NARMMASENA FRANCIS

AND

TWO SCORE STUDENTS

IN

THE CHURCH MILITANT AND THE CHURCH EXPECTANT

WHO

SAT AT THE FEET

OF

THE GURU

1911

FOREWORD

BY THE LORD BISHOP OF COLOMBO

I gladly accept the invitation to contribute a Foreword to this Memoir of Doctor George Benjamin Ekanayake. I myself never knew Doctor Ekanayake, but his name has been familiar to me ever since Cuddesdon days when on Tuesday evenings mention was made in Chapel of all members of the College working overseas. Alike a scholar and teacher, as a pastor who cared for men's bodies as well as for their souls, as a fearless champion of social justice, above all as a man of God, he exercised an influence such as it has been given to few priests in this diocese to exercise; and that influence is still with us to-day. It is good that one of his old students should have here attempted to show what manner of man he was, in himself and as he revealed himself in his writing; it is sad that the author of the Memoir should not have lived to see the publication of his work.

ARCHIBALD COLOMBO

July 26, 1949.

INTRODUCTION

BY THE LORD BISHOP OF GIBRALTAR

THIS MEMOIR of Canon George Benjamin Ekanayake, D.D., is a labour of love. The Rev. Percy Wickremesinghe has spared no pains and omitted no detail to impress upon his readers the exceptional qualities of the man and of the priest whom we affectionately called Dr. Ekanayake.

It is unfortunate that he did not leave greater evidence of his scholarship behind him for the guidance of future generations and as an example of his careful scholarly mind which was a source of wonder and of marvel to so many of us.

My tribute to him, at the time of his death, will be found on page 76 so that I need not repeat here what I said there.

I can only add that, ever since then, I have missed his counsel and advice more than I can say. Never obtruded, it was always available and I am certain he helped me to avoid many an egregious blunder and was a tower of strength to me in the exacting duty of endeavouring to discern essential truth from matters of secondary theological importance.

I recall more than one occasion when he came to put such problems before me. He was very exercised indeed about the right, and not necessarily the preconceived or prejudiced, view regarding the South India and Ceylon Schemes for Union. I felt very ill-equipped to express any opinion, but his view of the Episcopate was that a Bishop is not only the Custodian, but also the Teacher of the Faith and that his Bishop must guide him and give an answer. This, after prayerful deliberation, I endeavoured to do.

If, therefore, I have succeeded in impressing upon the minds of at least a few that Theological Truth must ever be the guiding principle in Reunion discussions, and not motives of pragmatic expediency, then I can only say that such influences as that of Dr. Ekanayake gave me strength to persevere against pressure which seemed sometimes to be more sentimental than sound and solid, and too urgently urged to

be reconciled with the perfect work of God's patience. Such rounded knowledge of essential Scriptural and Historical Truth is vouchsafed to relatively few in this age of hurry and rush.

I pray that, in the Providence of God, a new chapter of the Divinity School may shortly open, when the valued lessons and standards of Dr. Ekanayake and of Archdeacon Baker, to name but two, may be handed on unimpaired.

I hope this book will be widely read and, in conclusion, I venture to express the hope that Dr. Ekanayake's paper on "The Apostles' Creed" might be reprinted and sold separately, for the benefit of those who cannot afford to buy the whole book and who desire sound instruction in the Faith in a handy form.

✠ CECIL COLOMBO,

July 31, 1947

PREFACE

THIS is not a Biography. It is a Memoir—a record as well as a study of the doings and writings of one who undoubtedly was the outstanding personality of a hundred years of the Church of England in Ceylon.

Canon Ekanayake stands as a prominent figure both in scholarship and spirituality of our generation. He was in all respects an internationalist. People in Ceylon have a quaint way of forgetting their forbears and relegating them to the realm of oblivion, ignoring from whence has sprung their own heritage.

This Memoir is traced with the hope that the Reverend George Benjamin Ekanayake still lives in our hearts and memories ; and that his beautiful life may inspire those who are still treading the pathway ; and that his life and work may encourage others to higher and nobler aims in the second century of the life of the Church of Ceylon.

This is a story not of achievements alone, but of ideals still to be cherished and realised, regardless of the pitfalls that lie ahead, both for the Church in our own land and also for the Church of England as a Body ; and that we shall glorify God for the lives of such men as have lived and died leaving their footprints on the sands of time.

My thanks are due to Mr. T. R. Navaratnam of the Income Tax Office, Colombo, who has read through the entire manuscript and for valuable suggestions made, which I have gladly incorporated. I also thank all those who have lent me letters some of which are of a private nature, particularly to Miss Louisa Jayasekara and Mrs. Mattie Silva, nieces of Canon Ekanayake, and to his nephew, the Rev. W. H. W. Jayasekara, Vicar of All Saints', Hulftsdorp, for placing at my disposal letters, notes and articles hitherto unpublished and giving me permission to use them in any way I chose. To the Rev. Canon Edwin Botejue, who was Editor of the "Pilot," for permission to print some of the Theological articles which appeared in that organ. To the Rev. Canon Lucien Jansz, for allowing me to reproduce the sermon he preached in Christ Church Cathedral at the Requiem Mass for Canon Ekanayake. To the Rev. R. H. J. Andradie, Vicar of S. Peter's, Moratuwa, who

undertook the task at very short notice and contributed the whole of Chapter VIII on the Teaching and Theology of Canon Ekanayake. I do not think anyone else would have done the work with greater ability and fuller appreciation. To the Right Rev. Cecil Douglas Horsley, Bishop of Colombo, for most readily consenting to contribute a Foreword to this book, on the eve of his translation to the Diocese of Gibraltar. Lastly, to Mr. G. E. P. de S. Wickremeratne of the Reporting Staff of the House of Representatives, Colombo, for having undertaken to prepare the entire typescript of this book at considerable inconvenience and with a sacrifice of his leisure, and also to Mr. E. L. Moses of the Colombo Museum for the preparation of the photographs which have either been enlarged or reduced from the originals.

I have included with this Memoir fifteen articles by Canon Ekanayake—Historical, Theological and Doctrinal—hitherto either published or unpublished in order that readers may have a grasp of his Theology and Teaching and that they may not be lost to the Church for ever.

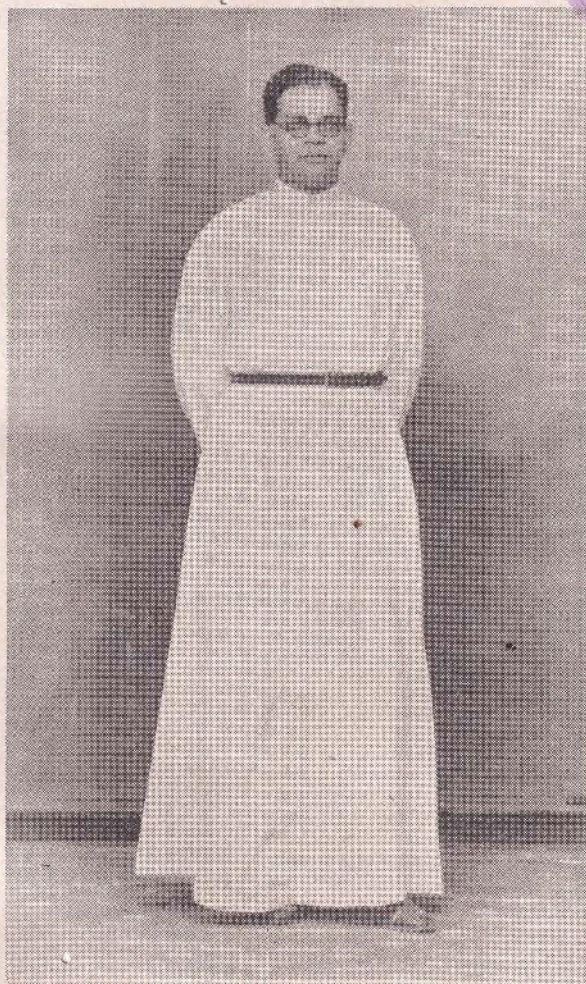
I have also included in Part III of the book another side of Canon Ekanayake's interest in life: the struggle against disease and the upliftment of the down-trodden and the underdog. Here you find his mind interpreted in terms of the Social Gospel of Jesus Christ. I have acknowledged the source from where they are taken.

I must record on behalf of all his students, the admiration, affection and attachment that we all had for our Princeps without a single exception, and how we were closely bound to him, but for which I, the least of that band, should not have dared to venture on so bold an enterprise as the production of this book. Our Princeps was, and always will be, what the following lines depict :

*“ What though he standeth at no earthly Altar,
Yet in white raiment on the golden floor,
Where love is perfect and no steps can faller,
He serveth as a PRIEST for evermore.”*

PERCY WICKREMESINGHE

July 21, 1947.



THE AUTHOR

FOREWORD BY THE LORD BISHOP OF COLOMBO

INTRODUCTION BY THE LORD BISHOP OF GIBRALTAR

PREFACE

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THE LAYING OF THE KEEL

GEORGE BENJAMIN EKANAYAKE was born at Weligama on the 13th February, 1866. He was the eighth and the youngest child and the third son of Adrian de Silva Ekanayake and Dona Gimara Jayawardena. His parents were natives of Baddegama and had proceeded to Weligama when Ekanayake's father was appointed local Postmaster of that town.

Baddegama, a small village twelve miles to the north-west of Galle, stands on the north bank of the Gin-Ganga. From early times Galle had been an important port of call. On the suggestion of the Venerable J. M. S. Glennie, Chaplain at Galle, Baddegama was chosen by the Church Missionary Society as its Mission Station in the South. The Rev. Robert Mayor, one of the first band of Missionaries sent out by the C.M.S. in 1817, was responsible for the establishment of this Station in 1820.

Weligama, sixteen miles to the south of Galle, was at that time a little fishing village and still continues to be one of the most interesting villages in Ceylon, possessing a natural bay of exquisite beauty. It is also historically important because of its connexion with King Kushta Raja, the leper king of Ceylon, whose statue is to be found to the north of Weligama bay. This statue was set up by the King to mark his recovery from leprosy through the action of a miraculous dream.

Mayor, writing at that time in a passage quoted by Selkirk, refers to contemporary Buddhism as follows :

*“ I believe Buddhism to be on the decline in the Island. The natives are relinquishing the worship of Buddha, not for the worship of the one true God but for the worship of devils. The devil is regarded as the author of all temporal evils. When in health they offer gifts of money and rice that he may be propitious to them and inflict no evil upon them himself, nor suffer inferior devils to hurt them ; when in sickness, they either come to devil dances themselves, or send by others, and make their offerings to the Prince of Darkness and vow that in the case of recovery they will perform some peculiar service for his goodness towards them.”

To this Selkirk adds his own comment :

*“ Hardly in any place in the whole Island was the worship of the devils carried to such an extent as at Baddegama and the neighbouring villages.”

It was in the midst of such a life that Adrian Ekanayake and Dona Gimara were converted to Christianity by Mayor. After their conversion they were true adherents of the faith they had accepted of their own will, and were unlike many of their contemporaries who continued Buddhist practices even after they had professed Christianity. Both

* Selkirk *Recollections of Ceylon*, p. 230.

of them were devout and scrupulous adherents of the tenets of their new faith. Not only were they careful and punctilious in the observance of their duties, but they took good care to see that their children were baptized in early life and continued in the doctrine of the Church. On their arrival at Weligama they did not find this very easy as there was no Anglican place of worship there at that time. Weligama was then the special interest of the Wesleyan Methodist Society.

Adrian Ekanayake continued for several years as the local Postmaster at Weligama. His missionary zeal and fervour were those of a second century Christian, and wherever his work took him he valiantly championed the cause of his Master. He later began a school in Weligama town. This was in some measure intended to be in opposition to the Wesleyan Methodist school that already existed. He subsequently handed this school over to Government and in recognition of this service he was given the title of "School Mudaliyar" by the Governor of the Island. This title he held to the day of his death. His eight children were brought up carefully in the life of prayer and the teaching they were given was not of a colourless undenominational character. They were trained to love the Church of Christ's founding which He had redeemed with His Precious Blood. From his earliest days at Weligama, and even before, Adrian Ekanayake was a licensed Lay Reader of the Church, having obtained his licence from the first Bishop of Colombo, James Chapman. Of his eight children Cornelia Henrietta became the wife of Mr. H. D. J. Jayasinghe; Catherine, wife of the late Rev. A. S. Ameresekara; Louisa Elizabeth, wife of the late Rev. C. A. W. Jayasekara; while Alice died unmarried, as also Eleanor, or Nellie, who was drowned at sea in Matara. Of his sons Adrian Christopher died at Tangalle very early in life. Alexander was the father of Dr. W. A. Ekanayake of Wellawatte, whilst the youngest son, George Benjamin, later rose to eminence, and is the subject of our story.

Ekanayake and two of his sisters were baptized by the Rev. G. E. Gunawardene, a Wesleyan Minister, in the Weligama Methodist school. He was received into the Church at the age of four by the Rev. John Stevenson Lyle, the first S.P.G. Missionary to be placed in charge of Matara and Tangalle. The scene of this event was a small Church called the Church of the Holy Cross which was later replaced by the present Church of the Holy Cross in Weligama.

Hailing, as he did, from the South, Ekanayake had the characteristics of a Southerner. Of a very retiring nature, he gave one the impression of being thoughtful and contemplative. He disliked all forms of self-aggrandisement, and his personality was one full of calm and self-mastery. With all the character of an idealist, he possessed a keen sense of reality and always weighed things before taking any decisive step in life. The keen sense of humour for which he was noted was present even in his early days. Spending his childhood and youth in simple surroundings he learned to regard the things of nature with a particular tenderness. He cherished a deep love for his parents. His

mother was tender and devout and it was undoubtedly through her influence that Ekanayake began to love the things of God. Even in his youth he realized that it was far nobler to do one's duty than to attain fortune or glory. Thus was formed the well-balanced mind which marked his later life.

From such beginnings he realized the Catholic ideal of obedience to Catholic Authority and Rule, and his goal in later life was this rather than the Anglican ideal of "Accommodation." He aimed at a high standard of spiritual efficiency, practising the common duties of religion, not because they suited his personal whim or fancy, but because they were what Catholic Authority and Rule ordered. He had a strong sense of service and a marked hatred for anything that was unreal or extravagant.

The ideals which governed his life were impressed upon his mind by his first Parish Priest, Father Lyle, a true Saint of God. This Irish Priest had so impressed him by his piety and love that he became Ekanayake's ideal of a Priest and a man of God. He was energetic, industrious and never weary, and these characteristics were exemplified in Ekanayake's later life.

We gain an insight into the background of Ekanayake's religious life from the following description of the new Church of the Holy Cross, Weligama, which was consecrated in 1883 :

*" The newly consecrated Church is in reality only the chancel of what when completed (this has never been done) will be as large if not larger than All Saints', Galle ; the cadjan building which formed the nave on this occasion was only a temporary expedient to accommodate the large influx of worshippers. The ordinary congregation of Holy Cross, Weligama, will worship in the chancel, until the time comes when they begin to overflow it, when Father Lyle will proceed to the completion of the Church which as you see was begun in faith. The Sanctuary is unusually spacious and is semi-circular in shape, and we notice that a Sedilia has been built into the south wall and a Piscina also provided. The Holy Table is a large one with a retable with the proper ornaments of the Altar in brass work which work we understood was executed by Tangalle workmen and is very creditable to their skill The Holy Vessels, all made of silver, are the work of Ratnapura workmen. The Altar with carved panels and the reredos which is an oil painting, 7 feet high, is in six compartments, the three upper representing Our Lord in Glory receiving the Adoration of Saints and Angels (the central figure being about 4½ feet high), and the three lower which are small, the Adoration of the Magi, the Last Supper, and the Angels at the Sepulchre. A vestry and an organ chamber are built on either side of the chancel ; the style of the architecture is Byzantine and the effect of the whole is very pleasing. The walls of the chancel and organ chamber are adorned with the Stations of the Cross and high above the Holy Table hangs the striking picture of the Crucifixion.

* *Ceylon Diocesan Gazette*, 1883.

Round the walls of the Church which are coloured in pale sea-green runs the cornice, the lower part of which is flat and bears three texts in bold Sinhalese characters. That in the Sanctuary is: 'In every place incense shall be offered to my name and a pure offering.' That on the north wall, 'I will go unto the Altar of God,' and that on the south wall, 'I will receive the Cup of Salvation.' These were chosen as proper to a Church which is really only the chancel of a large nave to be built hereafter. The following were members of the Committee which undertook the work with Father Lyle as Chairman:

Jonathan Silva,

J. H. Ernst,

D. A. Gunaratne, Mohotti Mudaliyar, and

Adrian Ekanayake, Mudaliyar."

It was in these surroundings that Ekanayake received his early training from Father Lyle in the true standards of churchmanship and religious duties. These first impressions stood him in good stead throughout his life in his practice of the Catholic Faith. Ekanayake was prepared for Confirmation by the same Priest and undoubtedly made his First Confession at an early age. He received the Sacrament of Confirmation at the hands of Bishop Reginald Stephen Copleston, who later made him Deacon and ordained him Priest.

Father Lyle also took a great interest in Ekanayake's education. Although he did not know any English till he was twelve years old, at the age of fourteen he was able to read and enjoy the English Bible, the works of William Shakespeare and Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* in the original. At the age of fourteen Ekanayake went to his first English school—what is today known as S. Thomas' College, Matara. Here he was prepared for entry into S. Thomas' College, Colombo, and satisfied that great Warden of S. Thomas', Edward Francis Miller (later Archdeacon of Colombo), and became the first Acland scholar in 1881. This Scholarship had been founded by Sir Herbert Acland, M.D., the celebrated Oxford Physician and Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford University, to perpetuate the memory of his son, Herbert Acland, a young Haputale planter who died in 1877, and of Mrs. Acland. The scholarship was called "The Herbert Acland Scholarship," and was valued at about Rs. 250 per annum. Its object was to assist students of the College of S. Thomas desirous of entering the Ministry of the Church of England or of fitting themselves for the duties of Lay Readers or Schoolmasters. It was open to Sinhalese or Tamils who were natives of Ceylon and nomination to the scholarship was subject to the approval of the Warden of S. Thomas' College. The last clause of the conditions reads as follows:

"No pledge that the person elected to the scholarship will enter Holy Orders shall be enacted or taken and it shall not be considered a breach of good faith if the holder of the scholarship shall fail to present himself for ordination."

Ekanayake was later to become a Divinity Student of S. Thomas' College and still later Divinity Professor and Acting Sub-Warden.

A CHOIR GROUP OF S. MICHAEL'S—1890



THE REV. WILLIAM HENDY, THE VEN. ARCHDEACON C. T. BOYD AND
THE REV. G. B. EKANAYAKE IN 1890

Digitized by Noolaham Foundation.

Ekanayake entered S. Thomas' College in September, 1881, together with Gaulterus Stewart Schneider, later a Puisne Justice of the Supreme Court of Ceylon. Ekanayake's school career could not be termed brilliant but all that he undertook in school was well done. He participated in all the College activities and took a deep interest in them. He loved swimming but never won a prize for it. He revelled in acting on the stage. He joined the Debating Society and was a prominent member for several years. He was nervous by temperament but all signs of shyness disappeared when he came on the stage or when he rose to speak in debates. From 1886 to 1888 he was Secretary of the College Debating Society, and from 1885 to 1888 he edited the College Magazine. He took part in two Greek plays. In 1885 he took the part of Silenus in the *Cyclops* of Euripides. This part, we are told, "was most amusingly acted by Mr. Ekanayake. He acted remarkably well and kept the house in roars of laughter." In 1887 he took the part of Admetus in the *Alcestis* of Euripides and here too he excelled. The dramatic gift which he displayed on these occasions was his throughout life. His preaching, his letters and his lectures were always very graphic.

Though sensitive he showed wonderful consideration for the feelings of others. In spite of a natural timidity he was plucky and courageous and learnt very early in life to subject himself to discipline and self-control. These qualities were marked in the latter days of his ministry. In College he joined in the pranks and fun of his friends and was often to be found among the ring-leaders. Whatever he did was done with determination and zeal and often without consideration of what the consequences might be. He was once sent down by Warden Miller for six weeks for having climbed a coconut tree and refusing to come down when called upon to do so by the Warden!

With all this, his reverence was very marked and definite. He always enjoyed a joke and could understand humour more than others. He was always cheerful and friendly and could always be counted upon both in school and in after life to do what was his duty.

The qualities which marked Ekanayake as a good speaker in later life were undoubtedly learnt in the College Debating Society. He spoke at these meetings with great fervour and always to the point. He knew well how to collect and present his facts to the house.

Ekanayake passed the Cambridge Junior in 1882 with a distinction in English. In 1884 he passed the Cambridge Senior in Class II with distinctions in Religious Knowledge and Latin. He won the Bishop's prize for Divinity in 1883, 1884 and 1885. The examiner in 1885, the Archdeacon of Colombo, awarded Ekanayake 236 marks out of a possible 300 and remarked:

"Mr. Ekanayake is the first. His papers throughout are wonderfully full and accurate and I was specially struck with the accuracy of his paper on the *Philippians*!"

Throughout his College career Ekanayake had shown a marked bias for Theology, and in 1887 his studies in this direction were crowned with success when he passed the Preliminary Theological Examination in the First Class. Apart from theological subjects he offered Hebrew, Greek and Latin. His paper on the New Testament was highly commended and he was awarded 192 marks out of 200. He was the first Ceylonese to appear for that examination in Ceylon.

Ekanayake never won a class prize at College. Besides the three Divinity Prizes he won only one other College prize, the Wirasinha Prize of Rs. 100 in 1885.

Ekanayake was a pupil of Warden Miller. Whereas the Warden was a Mathematician, Ekanayake was a thorough Classicist. He entered S. Thomas' with a classical background and to the end of his days, in spite of the many changes of opinion in the country as to the content of education, he always urged the younger generation to take a course in the Classics for a sound intellectual and cultural training. He was convinced that the Classics was the best training ground for the cultivation of taste and culture, for readiness of expression and for the correct and accurate use of English. He often quoted the words which William Gladstone had used at an Eton Prize-giving :

"My conviction and experience of life lead me to believe that if the purpose of education was to fit the human mind for the efficient performance of the greatest functions, the ancient culture, above all the Greek culture, is by far the best, the brightest, the most lasting, and the most elastic instrument that can possibly be applied to it."

He never went back on his belief that the Classics would afford the finest training for young Ceylon. He was convinced from his own experience that Classics maketh man. He was often to be seen in his later days at All Saints' Vicarage reading and enjoying a play of Euripides or some work of Homer.

Warden Miller had guided the destinies of S. Thomas' College from 1878 to 1891. He was a strict disciplinarian as Ekanayake had come to realize, but his lovable qualities of goodness and justice were far-reaching and affected the lives of many who came in contact with him. Above all, Miller knew how to pick out his boys. He recognized Ekanayake's many qualities of mind and heart and quietly but steadily nursed Ekanayake's vocation. His vocation was by no means a shock. As the first Herbert Acland scholar he fulfilled the intentions of the Founder by proceeding to Ordination although he was not bound to do so. Ekanayake had never made a resolution at a retreat but he proceeded to Ordination by the gradual process of the Spirit of God working in his inmost soul. He never spoke of his vocation in his early days but allowed it to crystallize till he came in contact with Miller who guided him and helped him to realize his vocation as something definite until he was admitted to the Divinity School, also on the Herbert Acland Scholarship. He still continued under Miller till the final blossoming of his vocation took place and he passed the Theological Preliminary Examination of the University of Cambridge.

At Weligama Ekanayake had come under the influence of that great and able Parish Priest, Father Lyle. At the same time there was working in Weligama a layman, William Henly, who later became the third Vicar of the Church of S. Michael & All Angels, Polwatte. It was from Henly that Ekanayake learned his Greek and Latin when at Weligama and later his Hebrew as well. Henly was a warm and generous soul, very devout and capable, and a wonderful lover of souls. He too had a share in moulding Ekanayake's character and in helping him to realize his call to the Priesthood. Henly had many attractive qualities and was particularly capable in the training of character. He spent nearly 36 years in Ceylon and was very much concerned in the welfare of the youth of this Island. He helped Ekanayake to grow in piety and to carry out his secular and religious activities with scrupulous exactitude. It was under him that Ekanayake's religious bearings became reasonably firm and constant so that in due course he could become warm and intense in the things of God and of His Holy Church.

Another Priest who impressed and helped to shape Ekanayake's life was the Venerable Walter Edward Matthew, Archdeacon of Colombo and Assistant Curate of the Church of S. Michael & All Angels, Colombo, but virtually the first Vicar of that Church. Ekanayake first came into contact with him on his appointment in 1887 as a Lay Worker at S. Michael's. Their friendship lasted for a short period of 18 months when it was terminated by Archdeacon Matthew's sudden death. It was the Archdeacon who helped Ekanayake to reason out and bring to maturity the vocation which he had seen in the dim distance with the assistance of Father Lyle, Father Henly and Warden Miller. Ekanayake lived at the Clergy House of S. Michael's under the influence of such Priests as Archdeacon Matthew, Boyd and Ford. His life here nurtured in him an asceticism of self-discipline which was without any trace of self-love. He was full of penitence and did everything in his power to gain mastery over himself and wean himself from the world in order to give himself entirely to God. Archdeacon Matthew's influence on his life cannot be fully assessed. Without doubt this was a great and good man, very thoughtful and inspired by a real love of souls. He was a great organizer and Parish Priest. His love for Ceylon was profound and he did all in his power to bring about the independence of the Church in this land. He was imbued with the idea of building up a good Ceylonese Priesthood as an instrument for evangelizing Ceylon. His charm, his candour and goodwill, and the strength of character he possessed played a great part in drawing young Ceylonese lads to the Priesthood. His moral influence, his purity and his saintliness did much to help Ekanayake in proceeding to his Ordination in 1889 as Deacon.

This appears to be a convenient place to refer to Warden Stone with whom Ekanayake worked for 17 years at S. Thomas' College. A very close friendship grew up between the Stones and Ekanayake. They loved him and always sought his company. As Ekanayake once remarked: "Warden Stone had known him in all his moods," and

undoubtedly the friendship that existed between the two was rich and happy. He was a good and able assistant to Warden Stone and understood the ideal for which S. Thomas' stood which Warden Stone was trying to inculcate into the minds of young Ceylon.

The following letter written on the eve of Warden Stone's departure from Ceylon in 1925 gives us an insight into that friendship.

"Treleven," Union Place,
Colombo, 4th S. aft. Epiph.

My dear Ekanayake,

I must write after the heat and turmoil of yesterday to thank you very sincerely for what you said of myself and the College in moving the resolution at the Old Boys' Meeting.

You were most generous in your review of the last 23 years. Some little of what I have done will, I hope, remain, but what I aimed at was to make all one and feel that we were all friends and colleagues together. You have been to me a very great friend and I, like Mrs. Stone, will always remember this with gratitude and have the warmest regard for you.

The College is surely on the eve of a great future and no one will feel greater pride in that than yourself. It is hardest of all to say good-bye to you.

Yours very truly,

W. A. STONE.

THE LAUNCHING OF THE SHIP

When Ekanayake's vocation was a settled fact, his Herbert Acland Scholarship at S. Thomas' College was extended to cover his 2 years training in the Divinity School. From there he proceeded to S. Michael's Clergy House as a Lay Worker in 1887, preparatory to his ordination as a Deacon.

Polwatte (coconut garden) was an area assigned in 1840 by Government as a settlement for the Sinhalese dhobies who had been displaced from another part of Colombo in 1840 when improvements were effected in the city. These dhobies or washermen had lived and worked on the side of Galle Face, where it slopes down to the Beira Lake, and what is now known as Dias Place and Captain's Gardens. From these parts they moved to Polwatte. The village they founded was a perfect entity and retained a character of its own. The Government had assigned a site for a school and Chapel in the village. A small Church was built and dedicated to S. Thomas in the year 1853. Funds were obtained partly from Government subsidies and partly by public subscriptions. In the vicinity of the Church was a large coffee factory known as the Polwatte Mills on the site of which stands today the Daughter House of the Sisterhood of S. Margaret, East Grinstead.

In 1886 the Venerable W. E. Matthew, Archdeacon of Colombo, was transferred from Kandy and was placed in charge of the South Colombo District. This included the Churches of Milagiriya, Galkissa, Thimbirigasyaya and Polwatte. He proceeded to make Polwatte his headquarters. The existing Church of S. Thomas was improved and re-named the Church of S. Michael & All Angels in 1887.

It was to this place that Ekanayake came, young and robust, and with a willing heart to throw himself into the work that lay before him. His first Incumbent was Archdeacon Matthew, under whose guidance, as we have already seen, his character was gradually moulded and his vocation realized. There were other Clergy living in the Clergy House. The Rev. C. T. Boyd, later Archdeacon of Colombo, the Rev. John Chubb Ford, later Vicar of S. Paul's, Milagiriya, and Rev. William Henly, later Vicar of S. Michael's, Polwatte. It was only natural that Ekanayake should cultivate a deep love for the souls of men in the company of such pious Parish Priests.

His special charge was the Sinhalese work in Polwatte. In his first report written in 1889, he says :

* My work is mainly among the poor native population in the dhoby village. They are ignorant and hence their Christianity is weak. My chief hope of building up the Church among them lies in

* Annual Diocesan Report, 1889

the thorough education of the children in Church principles. I have a helper in my work, one of the Sisters of S. Margaret's."

A few details of some of the means employed may be given :

- (1) There is the Sunday School of boys and girls having an average attendance of 40. There are 4 classes for Christians and 2 for non-Christians. The work of teaching is carried on by me with several Christians who are interested in the work of the district.
- (2) A vernacular day school for boys and girls having an average attendance of 80. The children are taught free. The school was registered last year for a Government grant and the examination brought in Rs. 135.
- (3) A night school for men and boys having an average attendance of 35 opened in August last and carried on since without any interruption. It meets every night at 7 and closes at 9. The teaching is carried on by me with the assistance of several friends. The school has been registered for a Government grant as an English teaching school. Nearly 120 men and boys have been admitted during the year. We have not been able to retain all these mainly because we supplied no attraction to them through want of funds in the shape of prizes or entertainments. The school however gives us an opportunity of influencing even for a short time young men in mercantile offices and others engaged in manual labour, at the very time they are most open to conviction. We have on the list, besides Christians, Mohammedans, Saivites and Buddhists.
- (4) A Temperance Society and a Mutual Improvement Society have been started. Out of a possible 200 only 50 have received a card of the Church of England Temperance Society.
- (5) Besides these there is the needlework class conducted by one of the Sisters of S. Margaret's and a Bible Class for women conducted by me. On Sunday evenings there is another Bible Class for men conducted by me.
- (6) Mission services for the heathen are held once a quarter, they have been well attended. The number of catechumens is very small being only 2 men and 2 women besides 3 boys and a few inquirers.

Ekanayake was ordained Deacon by Bishop R. S. Copleston on the 17th March, 1889, being presented by the Rev. F. H. de Winton, who was acting as Archdeacon of Colombo. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Father Page, S.S.J.E., Provincial Superior of the Cowley Fathers in India. It is said that at the time he sat for his Deacon's examination there were two other candidates one of whom was Matthias de Silva. The evening after the examination the Second Lesson at Evensong was from the Acts of the Holy Apostles and referred to the selection of a successor to Judas Iscariot. The lesson was read by

Matthias de Silva and ended with the words: "and the lot fell upon Matthias."

The three young students came to the conclusion that Matthias de Silva had been successful at the examination and that the other two had failed. A week later the results arrived and Ekanayake had come out with flying colours while Matthias de Silva had failed.

In 1891 Archdeacon Boyd wrote :

"The great and good work carried on among the poor dhobies by the Sisters and Rev. Ekanayake whose heart is in his work is worthy of mention. Many of the women and children are very intelligent and the night school established in the school is largely attended and with good results. But better for them than the education they receive is the sympathy that arises from it between them and the people, charity which will doubtless in time do away with ignorant prejudices and distinctions."

Ekanayake writing in the same year to the same Magazine says :

"We opened a night school in August last year for girls. This was found necessary as the girls left the day school at a very early age. The work is still in its infancy and has to contend against many prejudices against female education on the part of the villagers. The girls who attend are very eager to learn and take great pains over their work."

Ekanayake was ordained Priest on 13th March, 1892. Once again he was presented by Archdeacon de Winton, while Warden Read preached the sermon. He was the only Priest ordained while Messrs. Jacob Mendis, A. R. Virasinghe, and H. B. Goonetilleke were made Deacons. Ekanayake was licensed "to perform the office of an Assistant Priest in the Church of S. Michael & All Angels and the Churches and Parishes therewith associated." We are credibly informed that the examiners had reported adversely against Ekanayake and had not recommended him for Ordination. This was not due to his failure to attain a sufficient standard but because his Old Testament Theology was not in keeping with the minds of his examiners. He held very advanced views on Old Testament criticism which are now commonly accepted. Driver, Cheyne, Ryle and Kirkpatrick had not yet come into prominence but thoughtful men were prepared to allow that in the scriptures we have the record of progressive revelation. Ekanayake then held, as he always held, that the Higher Criticism of the Old Testament was an aid to faith and did away with all the difficulties attaching to a theory of verbal inspiration. Bishop R. S. Copleston called for his papers and after reading through them, his only remark was: "I agree with everything that Ekanayake has written." Ekanayake was thus promoted to the Priesthood in spite of the adverse remarks of his examiners. Ekanayake's sphere had now extended to cover Parish work at Polwatte, Milagiriya, Thimbrigasyaya, and Galkissa, an area of about 25 square miles. Reports of his work appeared in the Annual Diocesan Reports in 1890, 1891, and 1892. In

* *S. Margaret's Chronicle*, 1893

1893, writing to S. Margaret's Chronicle, he says :

" Looking back on this year, to me personally the most important event has been my receiving of Priest's Orders. This has given me additional opportunities of usefulness in the district. I am now able to take a share of the work at Milagiriya and Christ Church, Galkissa, of which Mr. Matthias de Silva is in charge as Deacon."

He refers to the wonderful work done by Sister Catherine and Sister Johanna of the Sisterhood of S. Margaret's, East Grinstead, and particularly the help they had given him in the Sinhalese work. He refers to Sister Johanna in the following terms :

" She has found time in addition to all the work she has on her hands, to train the Sinhalese choir, to collect monies, to help in the Sinhalese accounts, to care for the sick and to pay parochial visits. Her individual care for each is what we appreciate in her. We have had a fresh accession of strength to our work in Miss Perera of Moratuwa who is beginning to make her influence felt among the women in the dhoby village."

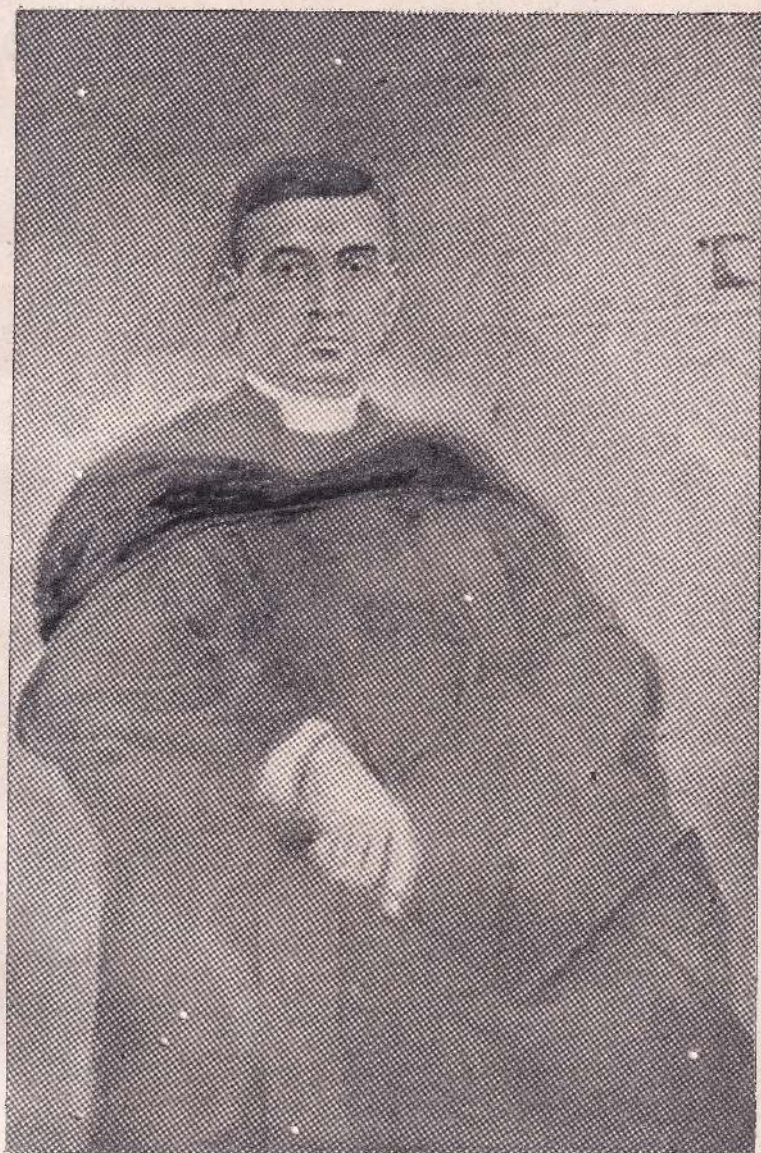
He then goes on to refer to the Club-room put up by the Young Men's Mutual Society :

" The building has been put up by the dhoby lads in the village at their own expense without asking for a single subscription from outside. No invitation was given to me till the room was built and furnished. I welcome their efforts as they show a desire for mutual improvement and it is a fit place to spend their evenings in, which otherwise will be spent in the streets or in their cramped and crowded houses."

Ekanayake worked for the welfare of the entire dhoby community in Polwatte and did not confine his interests to the Christians who were his special charge. His objective was to raise the community to a standard of Christian thought and life and in everything that he undertook he had the welfare of the whole community at heart. A few years later the washing dhobies within the Municipal limits of Colombo were asked to register themselves and were prohibited from washing in the Beira lake if they had not done so. On Ekanayake's advice the dhobies refused to register and went on strike. Some of them were arrested by the Police but released later. John Kotalawala (Snr.) was Inspector of Police at Kollupitiya at the time and he is reported to have remarked that it was much easier to tackle all the dhobies together than the "Maha Radawa," referring to Ekanayake. There was much agitation on this question and later the washing dhobies registered but without payment.

Ekanayake worked at S. Michael's till 1899 when he was selected as Patteson Scholar and left for Selwyn College, Cambridge. Before he left several presentations were made to him. People in the different areas he had worked in were grateful for his ministrations. The people of Galkissa, writing to him, said :

" Words cannot express the gratitude which we owe you for your noble work in the field of Christ. Whatever duty God has called



GEORGE BENJAMIN EKANAYAKE, D.D.

PART ONE

PART ONE

you to, you have performed with all your mind, all your soul and all your devotion. Your unflinching enthusiasm, your liberalmindedness, your loving Christian character and your universal kindness have endeared you to us all, and as a token of our regard and esteem toward you we beg your acceptance of the accompanying.”

The next chapter records Ekanayake's career in the University of Cambridge. Bishop R. S. Copleston had resigned the See of Colombo on his being translated as Metropolitan of Calcutta. Archdeacon de Winton was acting as Metropolitan's Commissary and on 17th July, 1902, he wrote the following letter to Ekanayake offering him the charge of Holy Emmanuel Church, Moratuwa. But Ekanayake did not return till 1904 and the Cure of Moratuwa never materialized for him :

“ My dear Ekanayake,

I have received yours of June 2nd announcing your election for a fourth year as Pateson student. Let me also congratulate you heartily on being placed as I understand from the newspapers first in order of merit in Part I of the Theological Tripos. Such a distinction brings fresh honour on the land of your birth, and your College, and on yourself.

Though you are sadly wanted here I cannot question the wisdom of your decision to remain another year. I hope it may be even more beneficial to you than those preceding. I regret very much that I failed to meet you when I was in England in 1900.

Many thanks for conveying the kind message from the Bishop of Lincoln.* I am glad that you met him though for a short time only. He is one of the holiest of men with wonderful spiritual power and has been a very kind friend to me.

I should like you to consider the possibility of taking charge of Moratuwa on your return. Since Mr. Ameresekera left, the work has naturally gone down and though Mr. de Silva and Mr. de Mel do their best they are old. There is much need for a younger man who is able to reach the men of the Parish specially. Our late Bishop and present Metropolitan wished that you should go there if you come out this year, and of course all the more so next year. Mr. de Silva might prefer to remain in charge of Laxapathiya only and possibly similar arrangements might be possible for Mr. de Mel at Korawella, but at present this is only an idea. The Sinhalese work at Polwatte where of course you have a claim is well provided for. Moratuwa is a more important sphere. What stipend do you think you could accept there, if you go, as I hope you would be willing to do if the new Bishop is of my opinion ?

A special Synod for the election of a Bishop meets next week on the 22nd July as you, perhaps, will have heard. It is of course a very anxious matter but it is almost certain that we shall delegate the election.

* Bishop Edward King

With my blessing,

I am yours very sincerely in Christ,

F. H. DE WINTON,

Archdeacon of Colombo and Metropolitan's Commissary."

Ekanayake returned to Ceylon in 1904 and worked with the Rev. William Henly at S. Michael's till 1908. Milagiriya had become a separate Parish with the building of the new Church of S. Paul at Milagiriya in 1903 and the appointment of the Rev. John Chubb Ford as Vicar. Galkissa had also become a separate Parish without any supervision from S. Michael's.

Almost immediately after his return in 1904 an appreciation was offered to Ekanayake by his friends and well-wishers which was signed on behalf of the many subscribers by the Rev. William Henly, the Rev. Jacob Mendis, Mr. Jacob de Mel, Mr. Hector VanCuylenburg, and Mr. F. J. Mendis.

The appreciation ran :

"Of our pleasure at your return you might be perfectly assured. But our gratification of seeing you once more is greatly enhanced by the knowledge that you are still to be engaged in the work of the Parish which knows you well and so greatly appreciates your labours in times past. Nor are we unmindful of the distinction you have won during your absence from Ceylon. We have followed your career in the University of Cambridge with joyful sympathy as one success after another rewarded your efforts. The memory of these successes will always be a source of pride to your fellow-workers, your parishioners, your fellow-churchmen and your fellow-countrymen, who, we feel sure, join with us in heartily rejoicing upon them.

Praying that you may long be spared to labour amongst us and to make full use of the learning and experience you have acquired to the glory of God and the edifying of His Holy Church."

Bishop E. A. Copleston had just been appointed to the See of Colombo and on 25th June, 1904, he wrote to Ekanayake offering to appoint him as his Chaplain :

"The Park,"

Colombo, 25th June, 1904.

My dear Ekanayake,

I write to ask whether you will be so good as to be my Chaplain. I wish to appoint a Sinhalese Priest and think you are the most suitable especially while you are resident in Colombo. The post must be in the main honorary, that is without regular stipend, just as I was Chaplain to the Metropolitan.

I should not expect you to attend upon me when parochial duties call you but I should ask you to come occasionally to Confirmations, to act at the Synod and to do such work as has just been done by myself; the making out of returns for Crockford or the Indian

Church Directory and other occasional returns. Any expenses incurred by you as Chaplain would be defrayed by me.

There might also be the meeting of Clergy on my behalf, on arrival in Ceylon.

It is also desirable that there should be someone in the Diocese recognized as the Bishop's Chaplain to whom applications can be made. The work will be light and not such as would interfere with your other duties.

I am yours in Christ,

E. A. COLOMBO.

In 1908, Ekanayake was appointed by Bishop E. A. Copleston to be Divinity Professor of S. Thomas' College. His place at S. Michael's was taken by his brother-in-law, the Rev. C. A. W. Jayasekera. In all, his work at S. Michael's had lasted for nearly 20 years. During this period he had displayed all the characteristics of a true Parish Priest. His learning had convinced him of the catholicity of the Anglican Church, but it would be fair to describe his outlook as simultaneously catholic and evangelical. He may truly be described as an Apostle of the Redemption for in his missionary labours he sought to save the souls of men. This was his main interest. Men of varied experience, with all sorts of mental and spiritual difficulties, came to him. Some of them had no connection with his Church or Parish. He had enough time to spare for all of them. It is indeed fortunate that he should have received his early training in a Church like S. Michael's where his work lay on the one hand among people who were poor and destitute and on the other among men of affluence and learning. It was here that his interest in matters of social and legislative reform was stimulated, but at no time did he allow the love of power or prestige to rule his life. Pure and simple by nature he lived in intimate communion with God, and, though a Catholic by conviction, he seldom practised the outward observances of such a life. His convictions were laid deep within his heart and directed his personal life. He had a spirit of instinctive detachment which could look beyond the horizon of this present world, and this helped him to minister in time of sickness or bereavement with a deep sympathy and appreciation of the special trials of physical weakness and unspontaneous depression which fill the lives of men. He was, however, not a recluse, and he never lost his interest in the ordinary joys and duties of everyday life. His life at all times was marked by a buoyancy which helped to guard him against undue elation in moments of success and against depression in times of failure. He was extremely humble and could look upon his work with detachment. He once remarked to a friend: "The work which God does through our work is not what can be written in statistical returns." When he attained his Sacerdotal Jubilee his reply to a press reporter who asked for an interview was characteristic of him: "I have nothing to say as I have done very little for the Church and still less for the country."

THE SHIP'S FUELLING

SELWYN COLLEGE, Cambridge, was founded in 1882 in memory of George Augustus Selwyn, Bishop of New Zealand. A pre-requisite condition of admission to the College was that students should be members of the Church of England or of some Church in communion with it. It was here that all Patteson students were expected to prosecute their studies. Patteson studentships were awarded not on the results of a competitive examination but on appointment by the Master and Council. Each elected student had to declare in writing his definite intention of entering upon some missionary work and of devoting himself to subjects of study suitable to the kind of mission work he intended to undertake. Awards were generally made to graduates of Cambridge, Oxford and other Universities. Ekanayake, however, was not a graduate and was therefore appointed as junior student for a period of 2 years. He proceeded from Colombo to Selwyn College, Cambridge, on 27th August, 1899. When he went up the Master of Selwyn was Dr. A. F. Kirkpatrick.

As has already been noticed Ekanayake had worked at S. Michael's, Polwatte, since 1888 without a break. He had assisted in the work among the English congregation but his own sphere had been among the Sinhalese-speaking parishioners. When he proceeded to England he took with him the felicitations and goodwill of the flocks of Polwatte, Milagiriya, Thimbirigasyaya and Galkissa, to whom he had ministered for nearly 12 years.

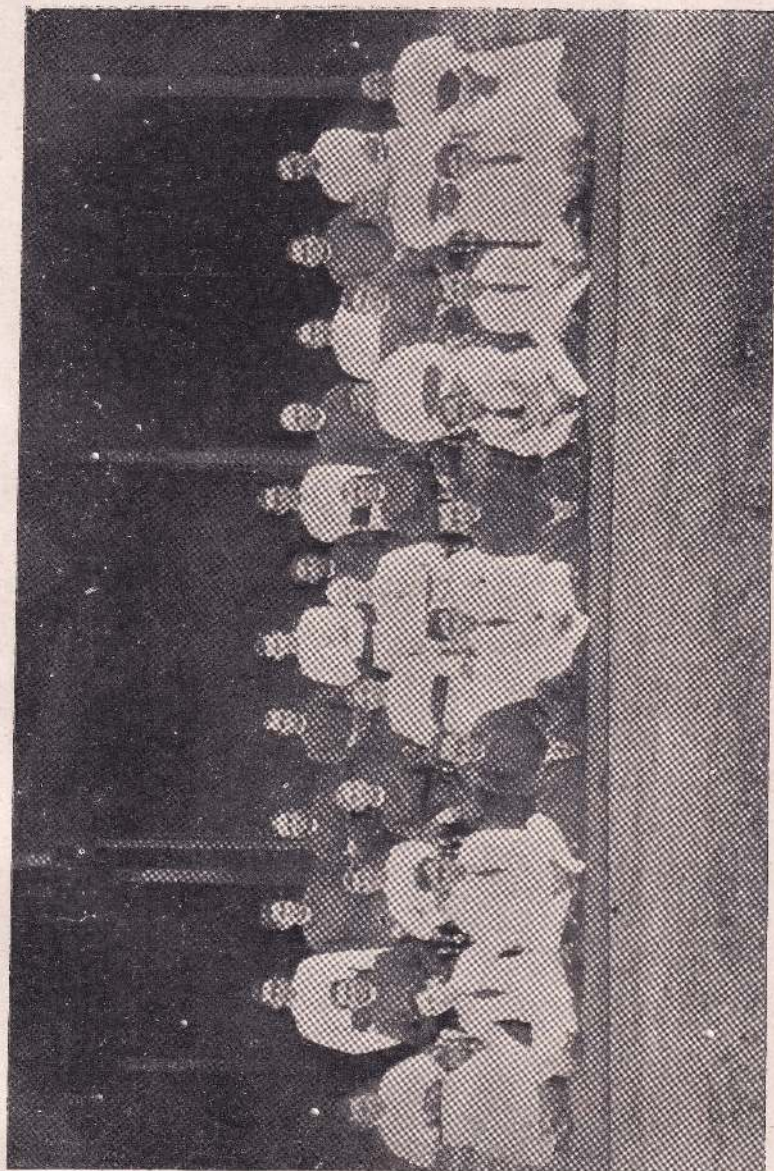
His career at Cambridge was a brilliant one and his studentship was successively extended till 1904. In a letter dated 16th June, 1900, his tutor, Professor J. H. Srawley, wrote thus about the ability he had displayed in a College examination :

" My dear Ekanayake,

At last I am writing to you about your work. I am glad to tell you that the result of your examination is very creditable and promises well for the future. You have been placed in the First Class and awarded a College prize of books. Your marks were as follows :

Hebrew	142
Old Testament	132
Gospels	110
Philippians	121
Greek Grammar and Composition	140
Church History	173

The Examiners in Church History and Old Testament complain that you were rather too diffuse in your answers and so did not leave time for questions on which you might have done fuller. As for the



GROUP OF CANON EKANAYAKE'S STUDENTS TAKEN IN 1933 AT THE JUBILEE OF THE DIVINITY SCHOOL
WITH BISHOP MARK CARPENTER-GARNIER, D.D.

New Testament work, this was well done. The first three questions on Introduction were not attempted but still the work was satisfactory.

In the New Testament Grammar paper the Examiner reports that your accidence was very weak.

Your Church History was very good.

Altogether I think you have every reason to be encouraged by the result.

You should strengthen your Greek Grammar and be getting on with your Hebrew set book.

I forget what directions I gave you about work. If you want further information write to me within the next week.

I hope you will get a good holiday.

Yours sincerely,

J. H. SRAWLEY."

In 1901 his studentship was extended for one year. Bishop R. S. Copleston writing to him on that occasion said :

" I am very glad you have the opportunity of another year's study and of taking your Degree. It is hard for us to spare you so long, but we shall reap the fruit of your matured strength hereafter if God wills. I hope to be in England next year and perhaps shall see you at Cambridge before your course is done.

We are now in suspense over a Warden for S. Thomas' College. I hope you are looking out for one in Cambridge. You might very well be the means of persuading some first-rate man to come. In the meantime the Sub-Warden is doing his work admirably. The College has not begun yet to fall off, but it soon will, if the delay is long.

At Polwatte things go on well I think. We shall be glad when we have you back at the Clerical Union. This month's meeting was put off because Mr. Coles who was to have received the Union was unwell.

We had yesterday presented to us a beautiful tea and coffee service in memorial of my twenty-fifth year.

Believe me,

With all kind thoughts and prayers,

Your faithful servant in Christ,

R. S. COLOMBO."

In 1902 he secured a First Class in Part I of the Theological Tripos and was placed first in order of merit. Dr. Kirkpatrick, Master of Selwyn, writing to him on that occasion said :

" I am glad to be able to congratulate you on being elected to the Patteson studentship for another year and I am confident that you will continue to be a credit to the College."

In 1903 Ekanayake secured a First Class in Part II of the Theological Tripos obtaining the University prize for Doctrinal Theology. His

tutor, Professor Srawley, writing to him on 22nd January, 1903, immediately after the results had been announced said :

"You have doubtless heard the result of your examination though I am not sure that all the papers give you full justice. You were given a first class with distinction and the George Williams Prize, which is given to the top man in the dogmatic section. Apart from the paper on Christian Doctrine which was your weakest paper your work was of a high character throughout. Your essay was quite excellent.

We are all delighted at the result and congratulate you heartily. I sincerely hope that I may see you again before you return to Ceylon, but in any case I feel sure that you ought to put to good use the knowledge gained and hard work you have done at Cambridge.

I hope you will be able to continue your studies and if possible do some literary work when you return to Ceylon. You must write to me from time to time and I will see whether we cannot put in your way some useful piece of reading which may lead you to do some literary work on your own.

When you think of going to Cambridge send me word so that I may make sure of seeing you.

Ever yours sincerely,

J. H. SRAWLEY."

He was also awarded the Carus Junior Greek Testament Prize. In the same year he won the George Williams Prize which was open to all members of the University under the standing of Master of Arts. The award was made on the results of an examination consisting of two papers on the Principles and History of Church Worship and the Book of Common Prayer with special reference to selected Liturgies and Breviaries.

Ekanayake was 34 when he went up to Cambridge and although students who normally went up were between the ages of 19 and 23 he created an impression of youth. One who was with him at that time in Cambridge said that he never looked his age. He was marked for his robust youth and his sense of humour. When in England he spent his holidays with Mr. and Mrs. C. S. Thomson of Barrow-on-Soar, Loughborough, the parents of Mrs. E. F. Marshall of Bandarawela. The kindness and consideration with which the Thomsons looked after him strengthened the ties of friendship between them which were only broken by death. In after years Ekanayake would often affectionately refer to Mrs. Thomson as "mother."

During his early days in Cambridge Ekanayake called on the Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, Fellow of S. John's College, Cambridge, and Professor in Latin at the University. He was the famous commentator on the Epistle of S. James. In one of his books he has left the following anecdote of this visit :

"A Sinhalese knocked at my door. He is in Holy Orders in the English Church, won a scholarship at Selwyn College and is reading

for the Theological Tripos. His first words to me were : ' My father (grand-father or great-grand father, more probably) was a convert of your father.' ”

The reference of course was to the Rev. Robert Mayor who had converted Adrian Ekanayake in 1825 or thereabouts.

From Cambridge Ekanayake went to Cuddesdon Theological College for a short period. It is rather interesting how he found his way to Cuddesdon. The incident was related to the writer by Canon E. C. West who came out to Ceylon as one of the pioneers of the Mission of Help in 1921. Canon West was Chaplain of Cuddesdon when Ekanayake applied to come in as a student. Canon West was very keen to have Ekanayake, but the Principal said that there was no room at all, and if Canon West was able to find room Ekanayake could be admitted. Canon West prevailed upon the butler to give up his room for a Term and then the Principal agreed to Ekanayake's coming in for a Term. They wired to Ekanayake to come to Cuddesdon. Three days later the Hebrew Lecturer was drowned, and when Ekanayake arrived arrangements had been made by the authorities that Ekanayake should undertake to lecture in Hebrew while he was a student, but was to occupy the rooms of the Hebrew Lecturer. Thus Ekanayake found himself at Cuddesdon, but with the very rare distinction most probably without a parallel of being both student and lecturer.

Ekanayake had established his reputation as a scholar of the greatest eminence and this brought honour to the land of his birth. He returned to Ceylon in 1904, but the knowledge he had acquired at Cambridge stood him in good stead throughout his life and he continued to be a student to his last day. He never ceased to impress upon his students and the Clergy with whom he came in contact the vital importance of study and sound learning. He kept on reminding them of the benefits to be derived from wide reading. He continued to the end of his days as a member of the Colombo Clerical Book Club. By his example he encouraged younger Clergy to join it and thus brought them in contact with the Central Society of Sacred Study to which this Club was affiliated.

We may aptly close this Chapter with the words of the late Arch-deacon Beven :

“ Canon Ekanayake was all his life a student and even when parochial calls were heavy, and the distractions which cross the path of every Parish Priest presented themselves, they failed to lure him from the path of study. He succeeded in keeping himself abreast of the latest theological learning and enriched his mind with all those studies which are linked to it. It was his freshness of outlook and the wide range of his interests which fitted him so admirably to be the head of a Divinity School. His desire to share with students those riches which he had accumulated through years of patient study resulted in his being the centre of the affections of a large circle of his students. His greatness as a teacher was seen in the patient care

with which he directed the studies of all his pupils, even the least-gifted and he insisted on a high standard from those who studied under him."*

In spite of all his vast resources of learning Ekanayake's life continued to be marked by the extreme humility and unpretentiousness which we have noticed already. He was a typical student, meek and childlike, and always ready to learn even from the smallest.

*Ceylon Churchman, October, 1943, p. 345.

West who went out to Ceylon as one of the missionaries of the London Missionary Society in 1815. Canon West was a member of the London Missionary Society and was a student of Canon West who was very fond to have Ekanayake, but the Principal said that there was no room at all, and if Canon West was able to find room Ekanayake could be admitted. Canon West prevailed upon the Bishop to give up his room for a term and then the Principal agreed to Ekanayake's coming in for a term, they went to Ekanayake to come to Galle. Then a few days later the Hebrew lecturer was drowned, and when Ekanayake arrived arrangements had been made by the authorities that Ekanayake should undertake to lecture in Hebrew while he was a student, but was to occupy the rooms of the Hebrew lecturer. Ekanayake found himself in Galle, but with the very few disciples most probably about a parallel of being both student and lecturer.

Ekanayake had established his reputation as a scholar of the greatest calibre and the highest honour to the land of his birth. He returned to Ceylon in 1801, but the knowledge he had acquired at Cambridge stood him in good stead throughout his life and he continued to be a student to the last day. He never ceased to improve upon his students and the clergy with whom he came in contact the vital importance of study and reading learning. He kept on reminding them of the benefits to be derived from wide reading. He continued to the end of his days as a member of the Colombo General Book Club. By his example he encouraged younger clergy to join it and thus brought them in contact with the General Society of Book Study to which this club was affiliated.

We may aptly close this Chapter with the words of the late Archbishop of Canterbury: "Canon Ekanayake was all his life a student and even when professional duties were heavy and the distractions which cross the path of every faithful man harassed themselves, they failed to lure him from the path of study. He succeeded in keeping himself abreast of the latest theological learning and carried his mind with all those studies which he touched on. It was his freedom of outlook and the wide range of his interests which fitted him so admirably to be the head of a Divinity School. His desire to share with students the riches which he had accumulated through years of patient study resulted in his being the centre of the affections of a large circle of his scholars. His goodness as a teacher was seen in the patient way

THE TRAINING SHIP

A THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE is the best means of nursing and advancing the missionary work of a Church. It was this spirit that imbued the first Bishop of Colombo, James Chapman, to found a Divinity School together with S. Thomas' College in 1851. S. Thomas' was to be only the means to an end. It was to be the nursery of the native ministry of the Church of Ceylon and a feeder to the Divinity School. Bishop Chapman saw that "the Church would root itself in the heart of an eastern nation through the Ministry of their own race and language." He was convinced, as can be seen from his letters, that "a well-trained native Ministry must be the real stay under God of the Church here." It was with this in mind that he added to the College "that which was originally intended to be its crowning feature—a theological institution for the due training and institution of a native Ministry."

Even during Bishop Chapman's time it appeared that S. Thomas' might grow to be a secular school. The Bishop expressed his fear that the Theological College might take a very secondary place :

*" A real change in our system has I think become necessary, the whole institution having become so secularized its primary object is lost sight of. I am almost resolved to restrict College education to the Divinity Students preserving the school alone for general purposes. I see the difficulty and doubt the practicability of combining both in the College The missionary character of the College must be reclaimed and for this purpose a head will be required who is imbued with an earnest devotion and singleness of mind Every day convinces me more and more of the necessity for a well-trained native Ministry as the best or only hope for our Church in the East."

The earliest mention of a Divinity Lecturer in connexion with S. Thomas' College was the appointment of the Rev. J. Brooke Bailey in 1852. In 1875 the Rev. H. D. Meyrick was appointed after Mr. C. H. de Soysa had endowed both the Divinity Lecturership and the Divinity Studentships of S. Thomas' College. Meyrick continued this work for over 10 years till he was appointed Chaplain of Magdalen College, Oxford. The students during his time were the late Revs. A. W. de Mel, G. A. H. Arndt and P. B. Moonemale who were all admitted in 1876. The last named was Ekanayake's predecessor at Polwatte.

In 1895 the Rev. W. Riddlesdell was appointed Divinity Lecturer. In 1901 the Rev. O. J. C. Beven was appointed to this post in addition to his other duties. Mr. A. R. Chippendale and the late Rev. Dr. Isaac Thambyah were admitted as students in 1886. The latter was ordained nearly 45 years later while the former was not ordained at all. Ekanayake was admitted to the Divinity School in 1887.

* Memorials of Bishop Chapman, D.D., First Bishop of Colombo.

The following advertisement for Divinity Studentships appeared in the S. Thomas' College Magazine of 1886 :

“ An examination for the purpose of filling up two Divinity Studentships to be held at S. Thomas' College from the beginning of 1887 will be held at 8 a.m. on Wednesday, December 1st.

Candidates must be of the Sinhales, Tamil or Mixed Races, born in Ceylon and willing to devote themselves to the service of the Church of England as native Ministers, Catechists or school-masters.

The value of each studentship is Rs. 300 per annum tenable for 3 years, the students being re-eligible at the expiry of that time for a second term not exceeding 3 years.

Candidates will be examined in the ordinary subjects for secular instruction and in religious knowledge; a good standard, according to age, in the former is essential. That reached, religious knowledge will determine priority.

Application for admission for examination accompanied by a certificate of baptism and of good character, from a Clergyman of the Church of England, must be sent to the Warden before November 25th.”

The work of the Divinity School had gone on quietly. From its inception it was fed by and worked with S. Thomas' College in accordance with the wishes of its Founder. From time to time the work of the Divinity School had to be left in abeyance for lack of students. Wardens and Sub-Wardens together with any Priests on the staff of S. Thomas' College supervised the work. This state of affairs continued till 1908 when the Divinity School was re-organized by Bishop E. A. Copleston and Ekanayake was appointed Divinity Professor. Bishop R. S. Copleston, on the Speech Day of the College in 1892, said that they still had their Divinity Students there, that being the only place where their Clergy were trained.

With the return of Ekanayake to Ceylon in 1904 with the highest Theological Honours won in the University of Cambridge, the Diocese awoke to the need of a separate institution for the training of candidates for the Sacred Ministry of the Church. In 1904 the following resolution was passed by Synod (now the Diocesan Council) :

“ In view of the difficulty expressed in securing the services of English Clergy to fill the many vacancies which have arisen in the past few years as well as to meet the demand for Clergy in growing Parishes throughout the Diocese, the Synod is of opinion that steps should be taken without delay to found a Theological College for the training of Clergy who shall be qualified to fill these posts as well as to afford opportunities of systematic training and instruction to all who are desirous of serving in the Church whether as Clergy or as Catechists or as teachers.”

A Committee was appointed consisting of

The Ven'ble F. H. de Winton, the Rev. W. A. Stone, the Rev. A. E. Dibben, the Rev. R. W. Ryde, the Rev. G. B. Ekanayake, the Rev. F. Lorenz Beven, and Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere.

The Committee produced a report in 1905 having explored all the possibilities. They referred to the following means for theological training which existed at the time :

- (1) The Divinity Professor and Divinity Studentship Fund of S. Thomas' College.
- (2) The Acland Scholarship at S. Thomas' College.
- (3) The Childer's Scholarship at Trinity College, Kandy.
- (4) The Theological Class at Trinity College, Kandy.
- (5) The C. M. S. Training Class for Catechists under the Rev. R. W. Ryde, Kotte.
- (6) Bishop's College, Calcutta.
- (7) C.M.S. Training College at Madras.
- (8) S.P.G. Training College at Madras.
- (9) C.M.S. Training Class under the Rev. J. I. Pickford at Jaffna.

The report went on to say " of the above-mentioned the Divinity School at S. Thomas' College in Colombo is the only one which has any claim to be considered as the central Training College for the whole Diocese " ; and this appears to have been the object of its Founder, the late Bishop Chapman. " As it at present exists it is unable with the income at its disposal to fulfil that purpose. Further, the Warden of the College and another member of this Committee, once a student of Divinity in the College, are of opinion that residence in the College under present circumstances does not afford the best means of pursuing a course of sacred study and devotional training, though they are aware that the proximity of the Cathedral is no small advantage for such an object."

The Committee recommended that a new institution be begun in the Diocese and that after 3 years' training selected candidates be sent for a further year to Bishop's College, Calcutta or Madras. Burgher and Sinhalese candidates were to go to the former while Tamil candidates were to go to Madras. The C.M.S. Members of the Committee gave their general approval to the scheme but did not wish to modify the existing provisions available for their candidates for the Ministry. The Rev. F. L. Beven did not agree with the suggestion to send candidates abroad, while Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere did not think that the Trust Funds of S. Thomas' College could be diverted.

The Synod in 1905 accepted this Report and asked the Committee to implement their scheme. The original Committee was enlarged to include

The Rev. William Henly, the Rev. O. J. C. Beven, the Rev. A. E. Becket, and Mr. James Peiris.

The new Committee issued a Report in 1905. It recommended the housing of the Divinity School on the grounds of S. Paul's, Milagiriya, the existing Vicarage was to be used and extra accommodation built for 6 students. The Rev. J. C. Ford, Vicar of the Church, agreed to this scheme. The Rev. G. B. Ekanayake accepted the invitation to be Principal of the institution.

The Committee estimated that the institution would cost Rs. 5,040 per annum to maintain 3 students and that after certain donations and fees were met a further sum of Rs. 2,900 would be required. They asked the Trustees of S. Thomas' College whether they would be willing to divert part of the Trust Funds for this purpose. The Trustees replied: "They did not see their way to using the Divinity Students' and Professors' Funds in support of an institution elsewhere than in S. Thomas' College."

The report was signed by all members of the Committee except Warden Stone and Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere. The Warden added the following Rider to the report:

"In view of the fact that S. Thomas' College has both Divinity Students' and Divinity Professors' Funds and also accommodation for 6 students and a Professor available, I find myself unable to recommend any additional scheme for the training of students for Holy Orders in the Diocese apart from those already in existence."

Mr. Obeyesekere agreed with the Warden.

The report of the Standing Committee of the Diocese for 1907 had the following section under the head "Theological College":

"As it has now been decided to start a Theological College shortly within the precincts of S. Thomas' College in accordance with the original policy of the Founder a sum of Rs. 1,000 has been set apart from the General Purposes Fund in aid of this, and a sum of Rs. 500 has been paid to the Warden for cost of furniture. The Rev. G. B. Ekanayake will act as Principal holding also the Divinity Professorship for which some provision is made under the Trustees of the College."

The report of the Standing Committee for 1908 contained the following:

"This institution which was first called 'Theological College' is now an accepted fact. It is the revival of an old institution which dates back almost to the foundation of the See of Colombo and owes its creation to the wisdom and foresight of our first Bishop. It is under the Principalship of the Rev. G. B. Ekanayake, M.A., and we trust it has a long and useful career before it, and that it will play no small part in the future of the Church in Ceylon. It was re-opened by Bishop E. A. Copleston on 1st February after a short service in the Cathedral. There are at present 4 students resident in the school, 3 of whom have entered on a 2 years' course of studies and the fourth who has had for some years private training has been admitted as a special privilege with a view to his preparing for the next ordination in September."

The first students to enter the re-organized Divinity School were: Messrs. S. K. Ponniah, T. C. J. Peiris, and R. V. Becket de Silva, while the fourth who entered for a short period was Mr. J. A. Kalpage. Though it was originally intended that the course should last 2 years it was made to cover 3 years and it so continues to this date.

During Ekanayake's time at the Divinity School from 1908 to 1933, in all 44 students passed through his hands. Thirty-nine of them persevered in their vocation and were ultimately ordained Deacons and Priests and have served the Church faithfully in this Diocese and elsewhere. The other students either did not persevere in their vocation or left owing to ill-health. The Rev. F. A. Piachaud is working in England, while the Rev. G. A. Grenier is working in India.

Seven of Ekanayake's students went to one of the English Universities, Cambridge, Oxford or London, and read for a Degree while one proceeded to Toronto University in Canada :

- (1) The Rev. H. E. C. Mendis went to Selwyn College, Cambridge, and secured a Second Class in the Theological Tripos.
- (2) The Rev. J. P. Wirasinha went to King's College, London, passed his A.K.C. and received the Degree of Bachelor of Divinity winning the McCaul prize for Hebrew.
- (3) The Rev. J. C. C. Perera went to Selwyn College, Cambridge, and secured a Third Class in the Theological Tripos.
- (4) The Rev. D. A. H. Karunaratne went to Oxford as a Non-Collegiate student residing at S. Stephen's House and secured a Second Class in the Honours School of Theology.
- (5) & (6) The Rev. C. L. Abeynaike and the Rev. F. A. Piachaud, both secured the Degree of Bachelor of Divinity in the University of London, whilst at Warminster Theological College.
- (7) The Rev. N. W. Fernando is now at King's College, London, and has already obtained his A.K.C.
- (8) The Rev. V. S. D. Saththianadhan proceeded to Toronto University in Canada and secured the Degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Divinity.

From 1912-1921 some of the Divinity students were sent up for the Preliminary Theological Examination (later called the Service Candidates Examination). All who sat secured either a First or a Second Class.

The normal course of the Divinity School lasted 3 years. The subjects taught were :

Old Testament,	Early Church History,
New Testament,	English Church History,
Old Testament Theology,	Apologetics,
New Testament Theology,	The XXXIX Articles
Liturgiology,	Greek
Pastoralia,	Hebrew.
Christian Ethics,	

Practically every subject was taught by Ekanayake himself. He never came to the lecture room without preparation. His references were always ready at hand and his lecture notes were full and complete. When subjects were delegated to other lecturers he made it a point to go over the same ground again. It is said that Ekanayake was not much interested in the vernaculars and that he was quite satisfied if the

student was able to read and write in these languages. In these the Bible and the Prayer Book were the norm.

Ekanayake was a sound Catholic and taught all his students the faith as he knew it. He never forced his views on them but placed them before the students with some persuasion so that the students could not help but accept them. He was methodical in all he taught. He was patient with his students and if any of them were slow to grasp what he said he went to the extent of going over the lectures privately with them. His greatest joy was when teaching Hebrew. Although he was reserved by nature he was sociable and evinced much interest in his students. He put in the maximum amount of work and expected his students to do the same. He made it a point to join in conversation and meals. On one occasion he asked a student, "Do you think there is any joy to be got in teaching the same things, year in and year out?" When the student was silent, Ekanayake went on: "My joy is the study of your individual characters."

His main interest was in the deepening of the spiritual life of his students. He joined them in their daily half hour of mental prayer in the Chapel and at the Offices of Matins and Evensong. Once a fortnight either he or a visiting Priest gave an address to the students on the "Priestly Life." The following letter written to an old student is an index of the interest he took in the spiritual life of his students:

"Will you please do us a favour, that is, take a Quiet Day for the Ordinands here some day next month. Any day will suit us, but preferably Monday, Wednesday, or Friday. Matins at 6-45 and Mass at 7 o'clock, but we can alter the hours to suit you and we can finish with Evensong and address at 4 or 4-30 p.m. You know what a great help it will be if you can do this. One of the things you might tell them is the importance of making their confession as early as possible in their training and after the address, speaking to them individually on matters of the 'Priestly Life.' I would very much wish your being their Spiritual Director and Confessor, and you might offer them your services in the matter."

Ekanayake always recognized a student of promise and encouraged him to persevere in his studies. His personal interest, however, was extended to all his students and he set before them a love for their sacred profession, stimulating in them high enthusiasm and equipping them both mentally and morally for their life's work. He was as anxious about their characters as about their intellectual training and instilled into them the ideals of brotherly love and a high standard of moral and spiritual character. He taught his students the value of life-long study and his interest in them did not cease on the departure of a student from the Divinity School. In reply to an old student who asked him for advice with regard to his first sermon in his new Cure he wrote:

"It is best I think to preach an ordinary sermon suitable to the Sunday to begin with in your Parish and add a paragraph in it

thanking the people for inviting you to minister to them and ask for their co-operation. This paragraph will come at the end of the sermon. I have heard several people do this and I myself have done it. Try as much as possible not to put yourself but the Gospel before the people."

He even went to the extent of guiding the reading of his old students long after they had left the school. Writing to an old student in 1926 he said :

"I hope you will somehow find time for serious study apart from sermon preparation. You can borrow any books of mine you want. You did your work with me so conscientiously in every subject that it is not possible to suggest to you what you should read. I can only say that one should study a subject he has a liking for and from time to time work on a book from the Old Testament or New Testament alternately. It would be useful to study Liturgiology as it is under revision."

He himself continued a student to the end of his days. He read every available book and kept abreast of theological thought throughout the world. He had a marked ability for taking in all he read. His mind was keen and alert so that he never overlooked anything of importance. He was thus able to give his students the fruits of most recent thought and research.

From 1908-1917 the Divinity School was housed within the precincts of S. Thomas' College at Mutwal. When S. Thomas' College moved to Mt. Lavinia in 1918 accommodation for the Divinity School was not readily available and it continued for a further period of one and a half years at Mutwal. Ekanayake was appointed Vicar of the Cathedral for this period and had the Rev. O. J. C. Beven as Assistant Curate. When accommodation was found at Mt. Lavinia the Divinity School moved to a newly built bungalow just behind Warden Stone's residence and continued within the precincts of the College till 1930.

Ekanayake proceeded to England on furlough in 1915 and was away from the Island from 7th January to 29th August. During this period there were no Divinity Students in residence. In 1924 Ekanayake was appointed Vicar of the Church of All Saints, Hulftsdorp, in addition to his own duties as Professor. Ekanayake went abroad again on leave in 1925 and the work of the Divinity School was supervised by the Rev. T. W. Gilbert, Chaplain of S. Thomas' College, with the assistance of Mr. M. O. Thomas of the Jacobite Syrian Church who had just returned from Columbia University, and the Rev. R. S. de Saram, the newly appointed Sub-Warden of S. Thomas' College.

In 1926, Ekanayake offered to resign the Divinity Professorship and his resignation was accepted by Bishop Mark Carpenter-Garnier, but as events turned out he carried on till 1934. Writing from Mentone in the South of France to a niece of his he says :

"I hear the Divinity School will be re-organized on a new basis, ourselves and the C.M.S. joining together, but as the C.M.S. do not trust me it is well that I am out of it.

Thank you very much for keeping a room ready in your house for me but I think I must find a home of my own. I will stay at the Y.M.C.A. to be near All Saints' but I will come and stay with you also, now that I am released or will be released from S.T.C."

With Ekanayake's return in 1926 it was difficult for him to do any work at the Divinity School so long as it was at Mt. Lavinia because Parish duties kept him in Hulftsdorp. Therefore, in 1930 the Divinity School was moved to Holy Trinity Vicarage, San Sebastian, with the Rev. D. A. H. Karunaratne as resident tutor.

Ekanayake resigned the Principalship of the Divinity School in 1934, after 25 years of dutiful and affectionate service for God and His Church in this land. The service he rendered to the Diocese was in some ways unparalleled, and it was carried on at one time at the risk of his own health.

On the 24th May, 1935, at the Hermitage, De Saram Place, Colombo, the new home of the Divinity School, the unveiling of Ekanayake's photograph took place. This event ought to have taken place in the previous year as it was intended to commemorate Ekanayake's service to the Divinity School as Principal. However, in deference to the wishes of the Rev. E. H. Denyer, who was acting as Principal of the Divinity School, this had been put off till the Rev. A. J. Kendall Baker, who was appointed permanent Principal, took charge. Canon Wira-sinha spoke on behalf of the old students and asked that the photograph be hung in the Divinity School wherever it was housed to remind future students of Ekanayake's long association with the institution. The Rev. A. J. Kendall Baker, unveiling the photograph, said that he was glad to be associated with the unveiling and that it was with much diffidence that he had accepted the Principalship of the Divinity School in succession to Dr. Ekanayake who was so well-known as a theologian and scholar not only in Ceylon but throughout the Anglican Communion. Ekanayake was called upon to speak, but he only said: "Thank you very much."

Thenceforth Ekanayake retired into parochial life as that was the interest closest to his heart. His love for the rich and poor was indiscriminate. He served them both with the same assiduous service that he had been accustomed to give his students, and now began to interpret the Gospel in terms of social justice.

APPENDIX

List of Dr. Ekanayake's Students, 1908-1934

Name	Year of Admission	Deacon	Priest
1. Samuel Kanapathipillai Ponniah (<i>Obit</i>)	.. 1908	.. 1909	.. 1912
2. Theodore Clement Jeronis Peiris	.. 1908	.. 1910	.. 1914
3. Reginald Vincent Becket de Silva	.. 1908	.. 1910	.. 1914
4. Jacob Alexander Kalpage (<i>Obit</i>)	.. 1908	.. 1909	.. 1911
5. George Augustine Wijeysekera	.. 1910	.. 1914	.. 1917
6. George Arthur Grenier	.. 1910	.. 1913	.. 1916
7. Deutrom Graham Gunasekera	.. 1910	.. 1913	.. 1914
8. Samuel Sinnathurai Richards	.. 1911	.. 1913	.. 1918
9. Henry Edward Christmas Mendis	.. 1912	.. 1918	.. 1920
10. Charles Cornelius Ponniah Arulpragasam	.. 1912	.. 1914	.. 1917
11. Samuel Kirupparetnam Crowther	.. 1912	.. 1912	.. 1914
12. James Peter Wirasinha (<i>Obit</i>)	.. 1916	.. 1918	.. 1921
13. Trutand Alexander Mendis Jayawardena	.. 1916	.. 1918	.. 1921
14. John Christoffell Clive Perera	.. 1917	.. 1928	.. 1930
15. Leslie Oswald Toussaint	.. 1917	.. 1919	.. 1921
16. William Henry Wickremesinghe Jayasekera	1917	.. 1919	.. 1921
17. Gerald Austin Fredrick de Silva	.. 1917	.. 1919	.. 1924
18. Samuel Paul Copleston David (<i>Obit</i>)	.. 1919	.. 1921	.. 1924
19. Percy Eldred Wickremesinghe	.. 1919	.. 1921	.. 1923
20. Samuel Hercules Wanigaretnam Ramana- naden	.. 1919	.. 1921	.. 1924
21. Derek Alexander Henry Karunaratne	.. 1920	.. 1922	.. 1924
22. Raylin Henry Jacob Andradie	.. 1922	.. 1924	.. 1925
23. Herbert Vernon Ivan Seneviratne Corea	.. 1923	.. 1925	.. 1926
24. Adward Alexander Gunatilleke	.. 1927	.. 1930	.. —
25. Peter Royale Ivor Dassanaiké	.. 1927	.. 1929	.. 1930
26. Hamlyn Acland Noel Corea (<i>Obit</i>)	.. 1927	.. 1929	.. 1931
27. Arthur Shelton Goonesekera	.. 1928	.. 1931	.. 1934
28. Christopher Wilmot Mutukisna	.. 1929	.. 1931	.. 1933
29. George Charles Galloway Jirasinha	.. 1931	.. 1934	.. 1937
30. Bertram Mark Wikramanayake	.. 1931	.. 1934	.. 1936
31. George Alexander Wijeratne Serasinha (<i>Obit</i>)	.. 1931	.. 1934	.. 1936
32. Felix Abraham Dias Abeyesinghe	.. 1931	.. 1934	.. 1937
33. Vincent Wickramatunga Vidyasagara	.. 1931	.. 1931	.. 1934
34. Neville Walter Fernando	.. 1932	.. 1935	.. 1936
35. Thomas Balaraj Daniel	.. 1932	.. 1936	.. 1939
36. Cyril Lindon Abeynaiké	.. 1933	.. 1936	.. 1946
37. Francois Allen Piachaud	.. 1933	.. 1936	.. 1940
38. Augustine Azariah Yorke	.. 1933	.. 1936	.. 1937
39. Victor Samuel Devaratnam Saththianadhan	1933	.. 1936	.. 1937

List supplied by the Ven. A. J. Kendall-Baker, successor to Canon Ekanayake.

EKANAYAKE WAS a poor man. None of his relations could be described as well-to-do. But he had many friends, both English and Ceylonese, who were willing to help him whenever financial assistance was necessary. Through their generosity he was able to make four visits to Europe. In 1899 to Cambridge, in 1905 when he was ill to recoup his health, in 1915 on a visit to England, and lastly in 1925 when he was very ill he spent sometime in the South of France for the sake of his health. In all his travels his practical mind and his qualities of patience and constancy of effort were very much in evidence. He used his holidays for rest and recreation but he also took the opportunity of enlarging his mind. In 1925, he spent most of his holiday in France and took the opportunity of studying French. He was thus able to learn and understand the genius of the French people and was very happy with their way of life and customs. Ekanayake enjoyed his stay in France and was greatly impressed by his two visits to Lourdes. Writing to a friend at the time he says :

"I have been here for about ten days. I can say of Lourdes, 'this is none other but the House of God ; it is the Gate of Heaven.' Though not the great pilgrim season the place is thronged by pilgrims. From my own experience I can honestly say that I think what is claimed for Lourdes is perfectly true."

In several of his letters written about this time he refers to the kindness and great affection of the congregation of All Saints', Hulftsdorp, and particularly to a Sinhalese lady of that congregation who helped him to continue his holiday in France and also made it possible for him to pay a visit to the Holy Land. He enjoyed his pilgrimage to the Holy Land but the impression made on his mind by Jerusalem was not as great as that made by Lourdes. A letter of his written to a niece about this time makes this clear :

"I really think it is better for people to come here (Lourdes) as pilgrims than to go to the Holy Land. I felt at Jerusalem that Our Lord had been rejected there and His power was not there as it is here. It is Lourdes which has worked this miracle of happiness for me, and every pilgrim will say the same."

He was touched, however, by the solemnity and quietness of Nazareth. Writing to the same niece, he says :

"Bethlehem and Nazareth are filled with His memory and one feels His power there. There was only one unconverted Jew in Bethlehem ; all the rest are Christian. Nazareth is the sweetest place in the world. It remains very much as it was in Our Lord's day. All the towns round the Lake of Galilee have disappeared except Tiberias and Our Lord never went there."



GEORGE BENJAMIN EKANAYAKE, D.D.

PART ONE

PART ONE

On his return from the Holy Land he went to Lourdes for the second time.

He was greatly attracted by the Church of France and was impressed by the prayerfulness and devotion of the French people. He refers in one of his letters to 10,000 communions made at one altar on a single day. His stay in France brought him in contact with many Roman Catholics. He admired the Church of Rome and was full of praise for the organization, cohesion and devotion of her members. Writing about this time to an old student he says :

“Till we get the Latin Mass when all races, tongues and nations can join in one act of worship people in the Church of England will be divided into groups. I have seen here how East and West, North and South join together in one act of worship. If the Church of England were able to say with authority *this is the faith*, parties within it will disappear and we shall have less fighting among ourselves and more time for prayer. Only a celibate priesthood can succeed in Ceylon in evangelizing, and when the laity see that priests give up their all instead of bringing up families, the laity will be moved to greater liberality. If you possibly can get hold of it read the Pope's Encyclical on Foreign Churches. It is very illuminating I am greatly attracted by the Church of Rome but I feel sure that it is God's will that I should be in the Church of England.”

Several attempts were made during this time to convert him to the Roman obedience but these he resented. He refers to these in another of his letters written from France :

“I like Lourdes, though the novelty has worn off and I could be happy if I can go to confession and receive Communion. I am beginning to feel this lack very much and I shall be glad to get back to Mentone. But I am staying on as Bucky de Saram and some other friends are coming here and the English Church at Mentone will not be open till September. Lourdes will be full to overflowing as there are going to be some Golden and Silver Jubilees. The wonder of Lourdes increases for me every day. I never get tired of it. One of the French people who help to carry about the sick visited me and was very kind. He hopes I would turn Roman. I have no such intention at all as we have in our Church all that the Romans can give us. He took me one day to the Grotto and prayed for my conversion. He has been helping the sick here for the last 35 years. He introduced me to a lady from India bedridden through a railway accident. She came last year but was not cured. But is very happy. She told me it was very easy to convert Protestants but not Anglo-Catholics.”

In another letter he says, “the only bother is that some of them show their fondness for me by trying to convert me to Romanism and as I declined to discuss or argue we have no controversies, but they sigh at my hard-heartedness.” About this time he met Mr. Peter Pillai (the present Rector of S. Joseph's College, Colombo). He refers to this

meeting in a letter written from Lourdes to his sister (the late Mrs. C. A. W. Jayasekera) :

“Last week I went for a 6-mile walk with a very pleasant companion, Peter by name, the last University Scholar from S. Benedict's. He is a Jaffna Tamil and an undergraduate of Cambridge and a thoroughly good and intelligent boy with pleasant manners. He is hoping to be a Roman Priest. He is quite humble though he is very clever. His chief desire here seems to be my conversion to Romanism. I held out no hopes but he still hopes.”

Ekanayake never had any anti-Roman complex. He always read theological books written by Roman Catholics and derived great benefit from them as also from the devotional literature of the Roman Church. As a student of history and truth he was fair-minded in all controversies and never allowed prejudice or suspicion to get the better of him. He was always inspired by charity and a desire for unity. He believed in theological development and was never one-sided or institutional. To him the Catholic Church was the guardian of doctrine and unity. This he jealously held and taught. He could not bring himself to the view point that the Roman Church in itself carried a guarantee of unity and apostolicity. The Church had been planted and had grown in every land in faith and love. Local or national churches to his mind were in accordance with the will of our Blessed Lord. The independent development of local churches was a historic fact and so he held that the autonomy of each Bishop in his Diocese with his Com-provincial Bishops was a standard and guide to unity. The centralization of power in the person of the Pope he was unable to accept in the light of history as he read it. He was convinced, however, that there was much that was worthwhile in Roman teaching and therefore tried to reconcile it with the faith he held. Writing to a brother Priest he said :

“I am reading French hard, and steeping myself in French devotional books. They are simply wonderful, and I am beginning to understand the Roman conception of priesthood. It is not contrary but complementary to our view. Our view so far as I can understand it is that the Priest is the representative organ of the Christian community when the Church draws near to God. The Roman view is that the Priest represents Christ in reference to the laity. We emphasize the former and the Romans the latter. In our view the Priest represents the people but in their view the Priest represents Our Lord. We say he is a representative, but they say he is the mediator. The book I am reading now says very beautifully that the chief work of the Priest is to offer Sacrifice and that Sacrifice should not merely be the continuation of Our Lord's Sacrifice on our altars, but the Priest in his own life should constantly sacrifice himself for the sake of the people. That is not a new thought, but the French can put an idea in a brief, clear and limited form in a few words.”

Ekanayake was the worthy son of the Catholic revival in the English Church. His faith in the Church in which he had been nurtured was

firm. His practical theology always stood him in good stead and he stood as a rock unmoved by the efforts already referred to. After his return from the Holy Land to France he was able to write to an old student of his then at Oxford :

“ But one thing I have learnt more than anything else there. There is nothing which the Latin Church can offer which we have not already in the Church of England. The English pilgrims have shown that the influence of the Church of England on them has been such as to make them best to help the pilgrims as to reverence and devotion, and I say this after worshipping with pilgrims of almost all European countries except Russians and Greeks.”

Ekanayake always held and believed that the Church was the sphere in which human beings are re-made by incorporation into Christ. The Church is not merely a society but a *divine* society. The Church's ministry exists with the Church and for the Church. It is an organ of the Church's everyday life. The Church is a priestly society deriving her functions from the High Priest, Jesus Christ. So when a man is ordained Priest he is ordained as a Priest “ in the Church of God,” according to our Ordinal. He firmly held that the essence of the Church was the communication of the human nature of Christ to man by adoption and incorporation, so that there was no salvation outside the Church as in Cyprian's phrase, “ *Salus extra ecclesiam non est.*” So that the Church in her true outlook was not an organization but a supernatural and sacramental organism providing food, nourishment and a home of safety to all who sought salvation through Jesus Christ. A Church in any land could be national, but not in any narrow sense, and could be Catholic both in culture and doctrine. The national Church is largely a creature of Christianity and it has been brought into being by a process of development. Ekanayake saw, as every Christian should, that the whole human life was inspired by the Divine Spirit. He held what Cardinal Newman held, namely, that Christianity was a continual development in the school of experience. A truly national Church was but a varied application of unchanging principles to varied circumstances of human life :

*“ If Christianity be a universal religion suited not to one locality or period but all times and places, it cannot but vary in its relations and dealings towards the world around it ; that is, it will develop. Principles require various application according as persons and circumstances vary and must be thrown into new shape according to the form of society which they are to influence.”

This is how a national Church adapted itself to human society in whichever place or clime it had taken root. Each nation had her own contribution to make to the fulness of Christianity whether it was Teuton, Celt, Japanese, Indian or Ceylonese, and till these are given full development the perfect knowledge of Christ, both morally and spiritually, cannot be attained :

* Cardinal Newman, *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine.*

“Till we all attain unto the unity of the faith and to the knowledge of the Son of God and to a full grown man unto the measure and stature of the fulness of Christ.”

The national Church did not connote anything that was selfish but was the only way in which Christ could be interpreted to the world. Such a national Church would be perpetually Catholic in her witness.

Ekanayake wrote in the hearts of men, like the Abbé Hubelin. He was so interested in his work that he had not the leisure to produce any large theological work of real value. Warden Stone warned him 17 years before he died when he said :

“There remained only one thing now for Dr. Ekanayake to do if his friends would grant him a little leisure. They all looked forward and expected from him one book, or more than one, either on the Priestly Life or on Theology, that would stand as a perpetual memorial of his pre-eminence as a priest, a theologian and a man.”

Ekanayake failed to fulfil this hope. This was probably due to his humility and his desire to pass out of this world unnoticed and unknown. There were several articles which he wrote from time to time, mostly short articles, the best of which were reproduced in a magazine called “The Pilot,” the organ of the Anglo-Catholic Union of Ceylon from 1918 to 1928 edited by the Rev. W. Edwin Botejue. Although he produced no *magnum opus*, the Church in Ceylon readily recognized him as a theologian of the highest rank. It has been said of him by a very learned Divine that he was “the greatest theologian East of Suez.”

In the years 1925 and 1926 every effort was made to see that some mark of honour was conferred on him in recognition of his ability. The idea emanated from his first student, the Rev. S. K. Ponniah, at that time the Vicar of S. Andrew's, Batticaloa, that the Archbishop of Canterbury should be approached with a request that the Degree of Doctor of Divinity, Lambeth, should be conferred on Ekanayake. His fellow students joined him in this effort and Bishop Mark did all in his power to see that this was done. Friends in England were approached and the Archbishop of Canterbury agreed to the request with the result that the following letter was sent to Ekanayake :

LAMBETH PALACE, S.E.,
3rd August, 1926

Dear Professor Ekanayake,

(Though I am not quite sure whether you are still “Professor”), I write to say that after correspondence with the Bishop of Colombo and with his predecessor (Bishop E. A. Copleston), I am prepared to confer upon you the Lambeth Doctorate in Divinity. The distinction, as you know, is a rare one, but I have learnt that your work has been of so remarkable a kind as to justify exceptional recognition. The Bishop of Colombo further tells me that friends in Ceylon would be ready to arrange for the payment of the necessary cost, which is

* Ephesians, 4. 13.

due largely to Government Stamp Duty, a Duty which is never excused by the British Treasury. On hearing from you that you will be willing to accept this distinction I will take the necessary steps for having the papers prepared, and if you are still in England when I return at the end of September from a holiday in Scotland I should hope to have the privilege of conferring the Degree upon you personally at Lambeth. If you have to leave England before that date I could I think arrange that the Degree should be given you by the Master of the Faculties or some high personage who could represent me in such a matter.

Please let me hear from you whether the distinction is one which you feel desirous to accept. I trust that your answer may be in the affirmative.

I pray God to continue His Blessing upon yourself and upon those who have had the advantage of your training and are now at work in the Church.

I am,
Yours very truly,
RANDALL CANTUAR.

Ekanayake was thus honoured for his dutiful, patient and devoted services to the Church of his ordination. At the same time the Church of Ceylon was honoured by the Mother Church by the granting of such a rare distinction to a son of this land. Ekanayake was at this time in France and had no intention of going to England at all, but at the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury he went and received this honour in person. On 1st October, 1926, at 12-30 p.m. at a Service in Lambeth Palace Chapel, Randall Thomas Davidson, Ninety-fifth Archbishop of Canterbury, conferred the Degree of Doctor of Divinity on the Rev. George Benjamin Ekanayake, M.A. (Cantab). Many of his friends, both Ceylonese and English, were present on this occasion, amongst them being Bishop E. A. Copleston, the Ven. F. H. de Winton, Archdeacon Emeritus, and the Rev. A. E. Becket.

The service was a very short one and was all in Latin except for the Oath and Instrument. The following Oath was first administered by the Archbishop's Registrar :

" I, George Benjamin Ekanayake, Master of Arts, Cambridge, the person now to be admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Divinity by the Most Rev. Father in God Randall by Divine Providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan, do swear that I will be faithful and swear true Allegiance to His Majesty. So Help me God."

Then the Archbishop read the following Instrument conferring the Degree :

" Randall, by Divine Providence, Archbishop of Canterbury Primate of all England and Metropolitan, by Authority of Parliament, lawfully empowered for the purposes herein written, to Our beloved in Christ George Benjamin Ekanayake, Health and Grace in Jesus Christ our Saviour.

Whereas in Schools regularly instituted that laudable Usage and Custom hath long prevailed, and that with the Approbation as well as of the pure reformed Churches as of the most learned Men for many Ages past that they who have with Proficiency and Applause exerted themselves in the Study of any Liberal Science, should be graced with some eminent Degree of Dignity : and whereas the Archbishop of Canterbury enabled by the public Authority of the Law do enjoy, and long have enjoyed, the Power of Conferring Degrees and Titles of Honour upon well deserving Men, as by an authentick Book of Taxations of Faculties confirmed by Authority of Parliament doth more fully appear. We therefore being vested with the authority aforesaid and following the Example of Our Predecessors have judged it expedient, in consideration of your Proficiency in Study, Uprightness of Life, Sound Doctrine and Purity of Morals, that you be dignified with the Degree of Doctor of Divinity and We do by these presents so far as in us lies, and the Laws of this Realm do allow, accordingly create you an actual Doctor of Divinity. And We do also admit you into the Number of the Doctors of Divinity of this Realm, the Oath having been by Us first required of you and by you duly taken and subscribed."

The service ended with the following Prayers and Blessing :

"Omnipotens et Misericors Deus, de cujus munere venit ut tibi a fidelibus tuis digne et laudabiliter serviatur ; tribue nobis, quaesumus, ita tibi in hac vita fideliter servire, ut ad caelestes promissiones tuas sine offensione perveniamus Per Jesum Christum Dominum Nostrum. Amen.

Ingressum tuum instruat, progressum dirigat, egressum compleat Omnipotens et Misericors Deus, Pater Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. Amen.

Benedictio Dei Omnipotentis Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti sit super vos et vobiscum semper maneat. Amen"

Ekanayake returned to Ceylon at the end of October with his English friends, Mr. and Mrs. C. S. Thomson. On the 6th of November members of the Anglican Communion turned out in large numbers at a reception given to him at Bishop's House, Steuart Place, Colombo. A beautiful address on vellum got up in the style of an illuminated mediaeval manuscript in the form of a book with heavily embossed silver covers was presented to him. The letter press of the address was inscribed in "Church texts" type with illuminated capitals in the traditional style. The illumination included miniatures of the Cathedral, the old Divinity School, the old Church of S. Michael & All Angels, and All Saints' Church, Hulftsdorp, places with which Ekanayake had been closely associated in his priestly career. The address was read by Mr. C. P. Dias and signed on behalf of the Anglican community in Ceylon by the following : The Ven'ble Guy Vernon Smith, Archdeacon of Colombo ; the Ven'ble F. Lorensz Beven, Archdeacon of Jaffna ; Mr. E. B. Alexander ; Mr. C. P. Dias ; Mr. G. S. Schneider ; and Mr. N. W. Morgappah.

The text of the address ran as follows :

“ The Rev. George Benjamin Ekanayake, Master of Arts, Cambridge,
Doctor of Divinity, Lambeth.

Reverend Father.

You will permit us to use the occasion of your return to us after a well merited holiday in Europe or offering you our heartiest congratulations. Our delight derives its vitality and point both from your restoration to us in health and safety and from the honour recently conferred upon you of a Doctorate in Divinity. We feel honoured in the honour you enjoy. We are united here to felicitate you and welcome you back. You know we have ever held you dear.

Without any incidental disparagement of awards in Divinity made to scholars in the world academic centres and at the ancient universities, we specially and particularly prize this patent of scholarship which His Grace of Canterbury has deemed fit to bestow upon you. It is a rare distinction. Not only your great learning but also your light of service to the Church finds recognition in the high honour you have received. It is universally acknowledged that the present occupant of the Throne of Saint Augustine is a celebrated statesman of the Church, a Bishop of Bishops in Anglican Christendom, whose pre-eminence among the good is a household word. It is such an one and none other who has touched you with the honouring hand. We know your greatness too. You are kin with your spiritual liege in the learning that graces the Apostles of the Christian Church, in that literacy in heavenly things which has been the peculiar praise of the Church of England, that unaffected piety which is the crown of the Christian character. The Presbytery of this Diocese, the laity of our Church, your own countrymen, and members of every community in the Island unite in rejoicing with you.

It may well be you take your honours lightly, the deep strain of modesty in your character constraining you to preserve a serenity and equipoise that earthly honours cannot easily disturb. We however only obey a natural impulse prompting to speech and action in making this event in your life an occasion for publicly rejoicing. Whatever is true, whatever is honest, whatever is just, whatever pure, whatever lovely, whatever of good report, if there be any virtue, be any praise, such thoughts, such deeds, be yours, be ours, by the grace and gift of God. We wish you health and strength, such peace of mind as will enable you to respond to the claims the Church still makes on you, and further opportunity for the manifestation of your life's example. May you prosper in your Christian course and priestly office. May the blessing of the Holy One rest upon you and lead you onward till you see His face at last.”

In the absence of the Colonial Secretary, Justice Schneider spoke on behalf of the laity. He referred to the fact that Ekanayake and he had entered S. Thomas' College together on a day in September, forty-five years earlier. Both of them had won scholarships from two missionary schools in two different parts of the Island. They were both admitted

to the same form and were fond of sports and were members of the Debating Society. They were both loyal Thomians and cherished a warm affection for their old school. He said that they all rejoiced in the return of Father Ekanayake restored to health and wished him many years of good service in Ceylon.

The Rev. W. A. Stone, Warden of S. Thomas' College, spoke on behalf of the Clergy. He said that Dr. Ekanayake had never been idle since he was a boy and that was why his school career was so brilliant. He spoke of him in three capacities, a priest, a theologian and a man. He referred to Ekanayake's Cambridge days and the scholastic honour he had won. Dr. Ekanayake stood among the Oxford and Cambridge graduates in the Island in the very first rank and in his own subject he was absolutely supreme. He referred to his work in the Divinity School and his parochial work at Mattakooliya and All Saints'. Dr. Ekanayake had to do his work in very unpretentious quarters and had never been invited to live in a palace since he was born and believed that he would never be invited to do so. Ekanayake had trained over 30 per cent. of the Clergy in the Island and he made them work hard as Ekanayake worked twice as hard. Ekanayake had achieved all this as he had been from the beginning to the end of his career pre-eminently a man among men, genial, merry and cheerful. Ekanayake was the best post-prandial speaker he had ever met and was bountiful in his giving. Lastly, he referred to him as a statesman of the Church who during the last 25 years had been consulted in crises when great and momentous questions had to be solved. On all these occasions Ekanayake furnished the right answer. He concluded with the hope that Ekanayake would produce a book either in theology or on the priestly life.

The Bishop of Colombo made a few remarks and said that the chief conspirator in the plot was not himself but was Father Ponniah who had asked that this distinction be given to Dr. Ekanayake. The Bishop added that it was curious how in life little things were always close to great events. Since he heard the good news of the intention of the Archbishop of Canterbury there was one little thought that had caused him great amusement and that was the fact that Dr. Ekanayake, a Cambridge man to the core and an absolutely devoted son of Cambridge, must for the rest of his life wear a hood of the Oxford design. Possibly many did not realize that the hood of the Lambeth Degree of Doctor of Divinity took its shape and colour from the University of the Archbishop of the time. It was an extraordinary satisfaction to all his Oxford friends to see Dr. Ekanayake among the ranks of the great Doctors of Divinity of their own beloved University. They would see him habited as they were and they knew that he was worthy of taking his place by their side.

In conclusion the Bishop referred to Ekanayake as a courageous defender of the faith and to his learning and piety which had gained him this distinction.

Presenting Dr. Ekanayake with a cheque as a tiny token of friendship, devotion and affection that went far deeper than he could give expression to, he asked Dr. Ekanayake to accept it as a sign of their goodwill and love and asked him to remember that it was an expression of what could never be fully expressed—the affection of a wide circle of friends.

Dr. Ekanayake in reply said that he was in a very unenviable position. He had heard himself described in terms that he had never heard before. All that had come out of their loving hearts which had inspired what they had said of him. He would look upon that day not only as a day of love and affection but also that on which he was the happy victim of several conspiracies. His life had always been happy for he had tried to act on the principle that all men were lovable. Just before he went away some of his friends had conspired and he was the recipient of certain moneys and gifts which were to be spent for the restoration of his health. When he received these presents he felt as if he was reading his own obituary notice. Another conspiracy in which he was involved was with regard to the honour that had been conferred on him. Their Bishop had said that he was not the prime conspirator in that movement but that the prime conspirator was many miles away. Before he left for Ceylon there was another conspiracy in an English village. Then his relations had conspired against him. There was another conspiracy by the congregation of All Saints' Church and finally that evening he found the whole Anglican Church there. He fully realized that all these receptions had been arranged because of the love in their hearts and that a great honour had been done to him purely because of their enthusiasm. It was not that he had not realized this before, but they had made him realize it more fully. Mr. Stone had known him for 17 years in all his moods. When the day's work began he had found him in the depths of despondency, but he had said that he was always cheerful and they should not believe him. Mr. Dias had been well chosen for the purpose of reading the address because on a very important occasion in his life Mr. Dias had encouraged him with good wishes, and that was the day on which he had entered the Divinity School. Mr. Dias was the only churchman who had called on him and from one of his age it was a benediction to receive his good wishes. As His Lordship said he was now going to wear the Oxford hood. Therefore, he would try to cultivate the Oxford manner (*Laughter*). And if they found him behaving in a strange manner, not like his former self (*Laughter*), then let it be known that it was due to the Oxford manner (*Loud Laughter*).

In conclusion he said that he greatly valued and appreciated the great kindness shown to him during so many years and which had reached its culminating point on the present occasion. He would try in the short space of years that might be left him to serve them with the best of his power and to the glory of God whom he served.*

* *Ceylon Churchman*, December, 1926.

SECOND AND THIRD PORTS OF CALL

EKANAYAKE USED to say with pride that he had never been inducted or instituted to a parochial charge and that he never would be. For nearly 20 years he served as Assistant Priest at S. Michael's, Polwatte. On his appointment in 1908 as Divinity Professor of S. Thomas' College he was made an Assistant Curate of the Cathedral with an oversight of the Sinhalese work of the Parish and the Mattakooliya Mission. His work in the Cathedral also brought him into contact with the Hendala Leper Asylum. He acted as Chaplain to the Anglican patients of that institution from 1908 to 1921. In 1919 he was appointed Vicar of the Cathedral, when S. Thomas' College moved to Mt. Lavinia. From 1920 to 1923 he had no parochial work. In 1924 he was appointed Vicar of All Saints', Hulftsdorp, and continued in this Cure until his death in September, 1943.

Most of Ekanayake's life was thus spent in Colombo and the suburbs. He gave himself whole-heartedly to the work to which he had been called by God and was as diligent as a Parish Priest as he had been in the training of Divinity Students. He made no distinction among those to whom he was called upon to minister. Social differences mattered little to him. He was intent in his care for the souls of men and leading them in the narrow path to God. In his career he came into touch with men and women in varying social conditions. His work in Mattakooliya was among the poor and despised. At the Leper Asylum he ministered to those whom the world despised and ostracised. On the other hand, the congregation of All Saints', Hulftsdorp, consisted of people in very affluent circumstances.

As a Parish Priest he was much loved and sought after. He was loved by rich and poor alike. In matters spiritual as well as in material affairs his advice was valued. This was because he was motivated by one single purpose, the greater glory of God and of His Church. He had always tried to know and love God, and from this there grew in him an ever increasing solicitude for the welfare of all who lived within his Parish, whether Buddhist, Roman Catholic, Non-Conformist or Anglican. He was able to act as a true father to his people because he was able to understand their difficulties, hardships and worries. He always held and taught that "a Priest's lips should keep knowledge." He realized quite clearly that it was his business as a Parish Priest to declare the whole counsel of God and to bring all people to the knowledge and obedience of Christ.

He was an assiduous visitor. He was quick to understand the problems of the home life of his parishioners when he visited his people both in sickness and in health, and this he did unceasingly. His success

as a Parish Priest is mainly due to this. In the old days he used to go about in a rickshaw, and much of his time was taken up moving from one place to another, but later on he used a motor car. This made it possible for him to visit his people who lived several miles away from a Church. He never failed to pay attention to everyone of his parishioners. When people left his Parish he always wrote and commended them to the Priest in charge of the Parish into which they moved. Even after they had moved he continued to visit them and to keep in touch with them, because he never forgot the members of his flock and they never forgot him.

He could not be said to have had a very good "bedside manner." In spite of this he dutifully visited his sick parishioners and prayed for their recovery. His heart yearned and went forth to all sick and suffering. He had an intense zeal for the perfection of souls committed to his charge and he used to say that often in his early days at Polwatte he could never bring himself to leave the house where he was visiting, and only did so when he was asked to go.

Though many were drawn to him by his unbounded generosity, it was chiefly through the power of his own spiritual life that he was able to make himself felt in the lives of others. Penitents sought him because they were able to recognize in him the true Prince of Souls. He understood them with a true human heart, and, though by nature he was shy and reserved, they were able to feel his sympathy and unbounded love. He was cautious in the directions he gave, but he always knew how to guide a soul along the narrow way that leads to Eternal Life. As a good Catholic he knew what true reparation was. He knew how to bear his people's sins and gave himself to them and to others most unostentatiously in service and sacrificial love.

f | During his time at All Saints' he had far greater leisure than he ever had before, and was therefore able to give much time and thought to his brother clergy and also to the laity. He always refused the honour of leadership, but when a problem arose, his advice and his guidance were readily forthcoming. It can be said without exaggeration that Ekanayake in spite of his own reluctance was the accepted leader in all the problems which beset the Church of Ceylon in the early and middle years of the twentieth century. Because of his learning, his geniality and sympathy, men of all shades of opinion came to trust him as their guide, counsellor and friend in all grave questions which affected the welfare of the Church. Some perhaps would call him the "Bishop-maker." He was chiefly instrumental in securing the appointment of Bishop Mark in 1924, and of Bishop Cecil Douglas in 1938. He was master in the art of saying a thing pointedly in as few words as possible. On one occasion, towards the end of his life, he addressed a meeting together with Dr. R. F. Dias, the District Judge of Colombo. The meeting had been organized by the Ceylon Church Union on the subject of "Marriage and Divorce." The learned lawyer spoke at length, and kept his audience amused and interested. Ekanayake spoke only for

a few minutes. All he had to say could be deduced from his opening words : " Marriage was instituted for the child." That was the teaching in the preface to the Marriage Service in the Prayer Book. Like all great leaders, both in Church and State, he was born such.

Most people came to know him much better during his incumbency at All Saints' than in any earlier period. He became a little less reserved than before, and people were able to realize the ripe and mature wisdom that was his. To those who came to him with problems he would not at first offer his own opinion. Instead he would ask those who sought his advice to give their own opinions first, and then tell them that their judgment was quite sound ; but eventually he would give them the advice they sought, gradually and unostentatiously.

Ekanayake was always a good preacher. It was not that he had much eloquence or power of delivery or rhetoric. His sermons were always thoughtful and therefore appealing. His language was simple and he knew how to adapt himself to the congregation he spoke to. He had the same capacity for which Gore was noted ; he was simple with a village congregation and erudite in a town Church. He took immense trouble over his sermons. In his early days he wrote out every word, but latterly preached from notes. He never used gestures when preaching, but that did not mean he was not enthusiastic. He made his hearers know and love the Bible and the Church. To those who heard him the Bible was not a dull and dreary book, but something real and alive, giving out treasures new and old. He had a wonderful genius for presenting facts. He did not merely stir the emotions of his hearers, but sent them home with a great deal to think about. His preaching of the Three Hours on a Good Friday was masterly. His introductory address would take about an hour, the first word three-fourths of an hour, and the last word three minutes. He got in all he wanted. He realized and used often to tell others : " People were ready to listen at the beginning but as time went on they grew tired and allowed their attention to stray." His success as a preacher was mainly due to his ability to understand the psychology of his audiences. His written sermons would have been valuable for the teaching they contained. Posterity was not to have the benefit of them as he made it a point to burn them periodically.

Ekanayake was no misogynist. He never shunned the company of women but he was careful for himself. He always felt that he was intended for the single and dedicated life. He never held the view that a Priest should not marry after ordination, but that he was a free agent and ought to marry if he was called to such a life. On the other hand, he strongly advocated that the Priest who intended to marry should marry young. In a letter to an old student of his he stresses this : " If you marry you must marry young to be fair both to your wife and children."

He longed for the establishment of a Religious House in Ceylon as he realized that that was the only means of showing the public, Buddhist

as well as Christian, that the dedicated life was the highest and noblest calling. Writing to a brother Priest he says :

“Only a celibate priesthood living under Rule can succeed in Ceylon. When the laity see that Priests give up their all instead of bringing up families, the laity would be moved to greater liberality.”

He exemplified in his own life what he taught. He realized that it was only by his example that the Clergy whom he trained could be encouraged to live the priestly life. It was quite clear to him that a married Priest should not and ought not to be Principal of a Theological College. The work demanded a mind undisturbed and undistracted by the things of this world and so he gave himself realizing that his life was a surrender to God Himself and could not be shared with a wife or family. He was thus able to give himself up entirely and whole-heartedly to his work.

He believed unflinchingly in the intrinsic greatness of the Priesthood. To those who sought his advice, particularly in the matter of preferment, he would counsel them to accept or reject a particular offer but would always discourage them from “wire-pulling.” Just as he never *sought* high places for himself, he was equally anxious that others should not do so. He knew the problems of the Clergy, the financial difficulties they were in when they had families to support and children to educate. He realized the acute financial difficulties some of the Clergy had to face, and on one occasion at a Diocesan Council meeting he said in a very loud voice :

“We are ready to suffer poverty but penury takes the heart out of a man.”

In spite of these difficulties he did not want the Clergy whom he loved to fish for preferment or to engineer their promotions. They should wait till they were called and then make their decision with God's guidance.

A young Priest who had been instituted by the Bishop had a complete set of vestments given him by his parishioners. The Church was one of the C.M.S. tradition and vestments had never been used there before. Ekanayake's advice was sought and his reply was : “If they gave it to you, put it on your back next Sunday.”

This was done and there was no trouble.

The 13th March, 1942, was a great event in Ekanayake's life. On that day he attained the 50th anniversary of his Ordination to the Priesthood—a very rare event indeed in the life of a Priest. After a service of Holy Communion in the Church at which Ekanayake celebrated several Clergy gathered at All Saints' Vicarage. Many of his students were there having come from all parts of the Island. The gathering was quite informal but a very happy one. Canon O. J. C. Beven, the Senior Priest of the Diocese, who himself had celebrated his Sacerdotal Jubilee in 1935 presented a purse and some theological books to Canon Ekanayake in memory of this event in order to testify

the admiration and affection for their beloved friend and Priest. The Bishop of Colombo was away from the Diocese at the time, but on his return he wrote to Ekanayake :

“ I wish I had been told of your Sacerdotal Jubilee. I feel very sad that no one told me and so I could not send my blessing on that wonderful day.

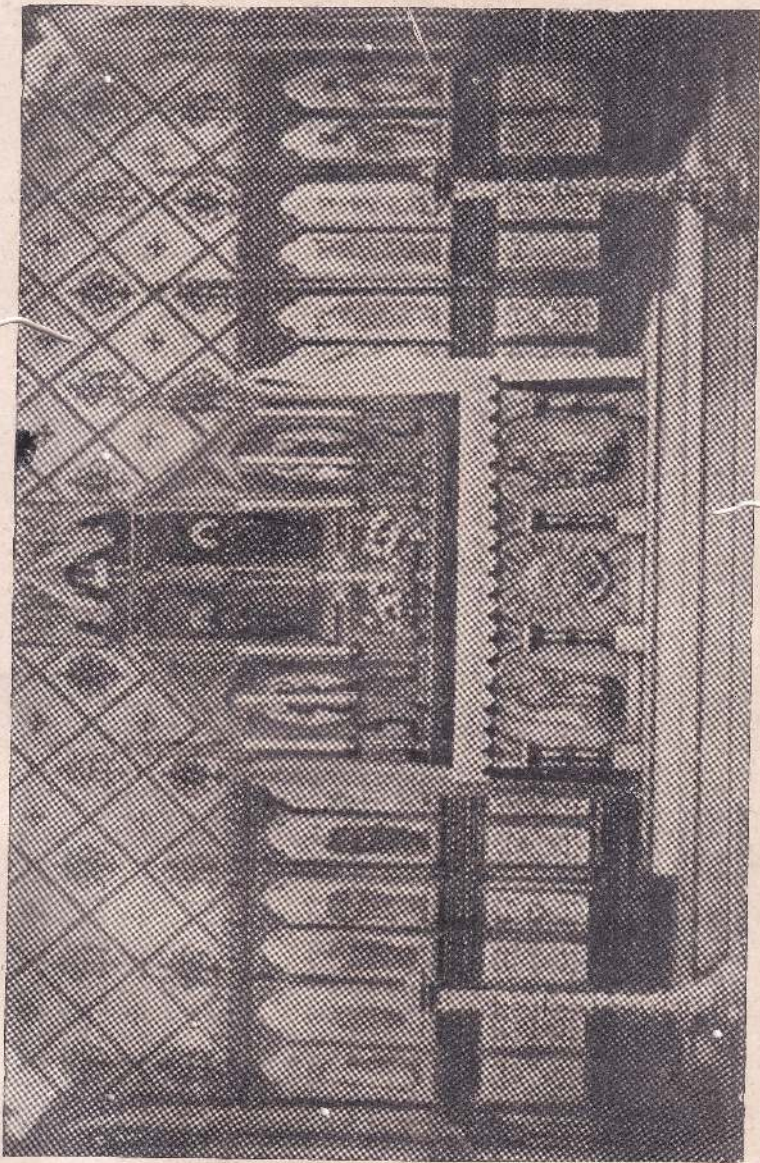
I can but send it now and thank you for all you are and have been in these many years past, meant and do mean to the Diocese you have served so faithfully.

Your affectionate Father in God,

✠ CECIL, COLOMBO.”

There is one matter which has been left to the last. Ekanayake, right through his Ministry, never lost sight of the fact that he was a Priest of God. His chief duty was to offer the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass for his people. A veritable product of the Catholic revival, he gave the first place to the Mass. To watch him celebrate was an object lesson in composure, quietness and devotion. His love and appreciation for the Mass had begun in the early days of his Ministry at S. Michael's. In the eighties this was perhaps the only Church in Ceylon to have a daily celebration which privilege it continues to possess to this day. To him it was the characteristic action of the Church and he therefore felt that it should fill the central place in his outlook. The Church might pray, but so could anyone else. She might hold services with scriptures and psalms, but other organizations too have their own ritual forms. The Church might teach the truth but other bodies also claim to do the same. The action of the Mass alone was the one peculiar privilege of the Church—the God-given method by which we on earth participate in the wonderful reality joining with Christ as He offers to His Father His Sacrifice for us and for all humanity in the heavenly places. All aspects of Christianity and of Christian living are gathered up, are focussed, and find their real meaning in the action of the Mass, which is the characteristic vehicle of expression of Christianity. When the Priest goes up to the Altar, Christ offers His Sacrifice to the Father through the Priest.

The teaching of the Mass was the pre-eminent factor which Ekanayake kept before all who came in contact with him—his students, his friends and acquaintances both of the Clergy and the laity, and the whole Diocese. He felt and taught that the Mass should be offered with the same intention as the Sacrifice of Calvary, namely, the adoration of God, the giving of thanks, the offering of satisfaction for sins, and supplications for new graces. The Mass was Calvary made present to us, the sacramental signs enabling us to take our part in it with Christ our Head. Out of Ekanayake's sympathy towards things Roman there grew a keenness to revive and nourish Eucharistic devotion and practice which marked the Roman Church, not as the superfluous tradition but as the direct outcome of the study of the Roman dogmas and the Roman liturgy, as far as it was compatible with the doctrine of the Church of England.



THE HIGH ALTAR OF S. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, COLOMBO, 1905
WHERE CANON ERANAYAKE BEGAN HIS MINISTRY

In this manner Ekanayake fulfilled his function as a true Priest ordained to offer the Holy Sacrifice. The fruitfulness of his Ministry which he maintained to the glory of God was the result of the emphasis he laid on the sacrifice of the Mass. The Mass alone mattered :

“ Oh, Priest, what art thou anyway ?

You are not self-made because you came from nothing,

Your end is not yourself, because you are a mediator between God and men :

You are not your own, because you belong to the Church by solemn vows ;

Your life is not to gain anything for yourself, because you are a servant of all :

You are not yourself because you are a Minister of God.

What are you, then ?

You are at once nothing and all things,

Oh Blessed Priest.”

MONSOONS, CALMS AND STORMS

EKANAYAKE'S LIFE was very varied. In the many problems which faced both Church and country he played his part as a Priest in the Church of God and a true citizen.

1. Early in his Ministry he came in contact with several social problems in his work at Polwatte. His work at Mattakooliya and the Leper Asylum gave him an insight into the life of suffering humanity, but it was not till he became Vicar of All Saints' that Ekanayake found the time to devote himself to social problems which had engaged his mind. He saw in poverty and suffering contradictions of Christian principles and of the teaching of Jesus Christ. They constituted a re-crucifixion of Christ in modern times. As has already been pointed out Ekanayake was extraordinarily sensitive. This increased his anxiety of finding a solution to the problem of interpreting Christ to suffering humanity. The houses of the labouring classes were a blasphemy and a fearful mockery to those who taught the goodness of the love of God. Men, women and children were herded together like animals in a room, 10 feet by 12 feet. The sanitation of the dwelling places of God's children was often repulsive in the extreme. That such houses could exist almost side by side with the more luxurious bungalows of the well-to-do was a horrible paradox. They constituted a tremendous indictment of and a challenge to the Christian gospel. No wonder then that the last 15 years of his life were chiefly spent in constant, though hidden and silent, warfare against the vices of society. He worked hard to rouse public opinion on these subjects. He contributed often to *Social Justice*, a paper which was started about this time by those who were concerned with such problems. An incessant war was waged for better housing, higher wages, equality of opportunity, fairness and justice; also against gambling and drink which had ruined the mental calibre of the working classes. Ekanayake had no doubts that the solution for the ills of society was to be found only in Christ and the true interpretation of the Christian gospel. He did not look on this work as social service rendered as a pastime, nor even as a method of social reform. It meant much more to him. What was necessary for a complete re-orientation of the outlook of the average Christian? The gospel of Christ could not be proclaimed in its fullness so long as these evils were not publicly challenged.

Ekanayake's interest in social justice had the two-fold aim of stirring the social conscience of the Church and of challenging public opinion. Landlords, whether Christian or non-Christian, should not merely be satisfied with the rents they received. They should consider it a duty to provide decent and proper habitations for those who lived in the

houses they owned. Labour should not be sweated, but employers should count it a duty to give their workmen a just and living wage. He saw clearly that the chief needs of the city of Colombo were better housing and the provision of an environment that would keep working men and women from the social vices of the age, such as drunkenness and gambling. His interest in the cause of fallen humanity was so unostentatious, that he was sometimes criticized for failure in this direction. This he did not mind, for both by the spoken and written word he fearlessly proclaimed the social implications of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

2. Ekanayake was a product of the Oxford Movement and drank deep at the well-spring of the Catholic revival in England. He was anxious, as many others were, to plant firmly in Ceylon the fruits of that revival. Both the Coplestons were sons of the Oxford Movement, but they did not carry the aims and ideals of that Movement to their full length. This was left to some of their clergy to do. Osmund Beven, Clement Ricketts,* Frank Strother, George Arndt, Edwin Botejue and Ekanayake did this when they founded the Anglo-Catholic Union of Ceylon in 1917. They were supported in this venture by several prominent laymen, among whom were: Messrs. J. G. C. Mendis, Aelian Ondaatjie and J. A. Duff-Joss. These men had a real personal devotion to our Lord, and in the worship of the sanctuary they apprehended the Divine Lord in the fullest and best way. From this intimate spiritual experience they were led to desire the evangelization of their own land of Lanka.

Ekanayake played a great part in the founding of this body. He realized that for the Catholic Church to grow to its full perfection it was necessary that every nation should bring its peculiar gifts to Christ the King. Only when the local Church in every land realized its function as part of the world-wide Catholic Church could the mission of the Church be fulfilled. As S. Paul puts it: "Until we all come in the unity of faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."

3. "Go ye therefore and make disciples." This was a true corollary of the revelation they had experienced. Ceylon was lying sick unto death needing the gospel to be proclaimed in the 10,000 villages in which Christ was completely unknown. The newly formed body of Catholic Priests and laymen realized that the remedy for strained parochial finances lay in the furtherance of missionary work. They were impelled by the sense of all that Our Lord meant to them to carry out his command: "Go ye unto all the world and make disciples of all men." Missionary work was no longer only the prerogative and privilege of the white man. It was equally the duty of the indigenous people of Ceylon. In this both Ceylonese and European had to bear their burden. This was the clarion call to the Church of Ceylon. The first demand of the Anglo-Catholic Union was therefore the founding of a Mission Centre.

* Now Bishop of Dunwich.

In response to this demand the Denepitiya Medical Mission was established in 1918.

4. (a) The Anglo-Catholic Union of Ceylon was launched in 1917. The first President was Mr. J. G. C. Mendis. In his presidential address he referred to the evangelization of Ceylon as the first aim of the Union. At the next Annual Meeting the following resolution proposed by the Rev. F. S. Strother, Vicar of All Saints', Galle, and seconded by Rev. O. J. C. Beven was passed :

"That the recommendation of the General Committee be adopted, namely, that the Anglo-Catholic Union of Ceylon starts and supports a Medical Mission at Denepitiya in the Southern Province on condition that after consultation with the Bishop and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel it is found that the Weligama Mission will be handed over to the Union as soon as it can provide for the same."

Ekanayake was responsible for the choice of Denepitiya. Weligama happened to be his native place, and the village of Denepitiya stood barely 3 miles away to the east. In 1919, Bishop E. A. Copleston blessed the project and thus the Denepitiya Medical Mission came into being. The original scheme provided for

- (1) the purchase of 8 acres of land in Denepitiya for a hospital with a dispensary, quarters for medical officer and priest, quarters for a nurse and mid-wife,
- (2) the taking over of the Weligama Mission.

For the next 25 years Ekanayake laboured indefatigably for the realization of this project. By speaking and writing about it he was able to get the Church of Ceylon interested in the work. He did much to help forward the work of the Mission by collecting money and preaching about it. On several occasions he acted as Secretary to the Mission and two days before his end he wrote an account of the progress of the Mission to the "Ceylon Churchman." He was quite convinced that unless the Church in this land had an abiding interest in missionary work it would become a dying Church. He saw in Medical Missions a vital method of bringing souls to Christ.

At the Third Annual General Meeting of the Anglo-Catholic Union he spoke in his capacity as President of the Union of this field of work :

* The Report will show you that the harder and more interesting part of the work now lies before us. I begin with the Denepitiya Medical Mission because I think we all wish that this Mission should occupy the first place in our thoughts, prayers and alms. It is the duty of every association of Christian men and women in this Diocese to put missionary effort in the very forefront of its work. Of the population of this country 60 per cent. are Buddhist, 23 per cent. Hindus, and 7 per cent. Muslims ; only 10 per cent. are Christians and of these only 1 in 10 is a member of our Church. You will thus see what a great field there is for evangelistic work. As a Medical Mission is a new departure in missionary enterprise in this country

* Pilot, Vol. III., p. 203.

so far as our Church is concerned I will draw your special attention to what is said in the Report on a Medical Mission as an evangelistic agency. Hitherto in this Diocese the chief means of missionary effort has been educational work. The Church through her schools presents Our Lord as *Christus Illuminator* and many notable conversions have taken place through that presentation. We have still to deny ourselves and forward the educational work of the Church. So well is the Church doing this work that non-Christians have also taken it up with enthusiasm; all light can lead ultimately only to the source of all true light. We can rejoice at this. There is room for us also to advance in a new direction. In a Buddhist and Hindu country, "all existence is suffering," is taken as the first fundamental article of belief and the meaning and purpose of suffering are not understood. We have therefore in such a country to present Our Lord as *Christus Consolator*. It is such a presentation that a Medical Mission will aim at. If suffering is bitter, love is endless. But what are our resources to carry on this great work of enlightening and consoling? In the earliest period of the work of our Church in this country much aid was given by the State. It enabled the Church to cover a large field and secure a prominent place in the life of the country. We can also be thankful that that aid has been withdrawn, for it is by depending on the enthusiasm, self-denial and self-abandonment of her sons and daughters and following humbly in the steps of Our Lord "who for our sakes became poor," that the Church can best show "the love of God," who came to seek and save that which is lost.

The proposed Medical Mission should be the means of drawing out our devotion to Our Lord as the Healer of the world's suffering and of enabling the Church to exhibit in her life that picture of Our Lord which the Gospels set forth: "Jesus went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues and preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom and healing every sickness and every disease among the people."

(b) In 1934 Ekanayake was responsible for the beginning of similar work in a village called Paranagama about 26 miles from Colombo, close to Veyangoda. This was more or less in the nature of reconstruction of a somewhat backward village including moral upliftment and the betterment of living conditions, although the idea of missionary work was not excluded. This work was begun as a result of the awful epidemic of malaria which destroyed hundreds of lives during the period 1933-1935. In many ways it was a one-man mission, but Ekanayake was able to rally many Christian-men and women to help him financially. He was ably assisted in this work by his niece, Miss Louisa Jayasekera, the Headmistress of S. Michael's School, Polwatte, who, through her Vicar, was able to interest the congregation of S. Michael & All Angels in this endeavour. Writing in 1937, Ekanayake made the following observations on the aims and achievements of the mission:



*“ Why Paranagama ? A somewhat inaccessible village in Siyane Korale East, 26 miles from Colombo, when there are hundreds and thousands of unevangelized people, rich and poor, near our Churches in Colombo. Why not attend to the work at our very doors instead of going further afield ?

In opening new centres of Christian work we follow the example of S. Paul's missionary strategy. His plan was not so much to convert whole districts before moving to new cities and towns as to plant centres of Christian life in places where Christ was not known from which the faith might spread. The book of the Acts of the Apostles may be read as a manual of missionary effort and it will be seen that evangelists were continually going further and further in planting new points of Christian activity from which the light of Christian truth would radiate.

Our house at Paranagama continues to attract both the sick and the whole, adults and children. Simple medicines are supplied to the sick and their simple ailments are attended to before they become serious. Olive oil and malted milk are supplied for under-nourished babies.

Village mothers are taught how to take care of their babies and keep them in good health. This side of our work has succeeded so well that the number of babies brought for treatment has steadily decreased and an appreciable number of little ones have been saved from death in infancy.

Older children are taught sewing, reading and writing. They are also trained to keep their bodies and clothes clean and to do healthy manual work by cultivating small garden plots. This is intended to cure them of listless and idle ways of spending the day. As there is not compulsory education of girls in villages we care for them more especially.

We have not yet, through want of workers, been able to reach youths and boys. Both those who attend school and those who have left school should be cared for. There is scope for work for anyone who knows how to lead them in games and manual work. A visit paid by some boys from S. Thomas' College led to scores of village boys and men coming to play games strenuously almost the whole day. We welcome such visits.

Mrs. Julie Fernando has been in residence in the village throughout the whole year. The Rev. T. A. M. Jayawardene, Vicar of S. Mary's, Veyangoda, pays a visit every month, celebrates the Holy Eucharist, and holds a class of instruction of our faith to supplement Mrs. Fernando's daily teaching.

One outstanding result in working for these villagers, for whom no man seems to have cared, is that the morality of the village which was in a deplorable state has improved somewhat. There is also a movement among them to work for their own betterment. We have

* *Paranagama Report*, 1:37.

roused in them the spirit of self-help which promises well for the future of this neglected and submerged village.

In evangelization we do not encourage any hasty decision and those who are attracted to our faith are given a long trial. Petty persecutions from their fellows have so far had a steady effect."

Ekanayake's interest in missionary work never flagged. Whether it was in the immediate vicinity of his own parish or at Denepitiya or Paranagama it was a cause which was very close to his heart and engaged much of his thought. His entire life's work had been confined to Colombo and this was the manner in which he showed his vital interest in the missionary work of the Church throughout the whole land.

He was aptly fitted for missionary work. All his work was undertaken with the utmost cheerfulness and generosity. He persevered in all he undertook with undaunted courage and resourcefulness. He acted as he was led by his conscience and his belief in the providence and power of God could never be shaken. In all matters in this sphere he was personally conscious of the guiding hand of God. In every crisis he instinctively sought Divine guidance. It was this living faith and trust in his Creator pervading his life which was responsible for the calmness which all who came in contact with him were struck by. It was his realization of his dependence on God which led him through the path of duty to the attainment of that true happiness which was the inspiration of all his work.

5. In November, 1926, Bishop Mark Carpenter-Garnier appointed Ekanayake as one of his Examining Chaplains. The Rev. J. McLeod Campbell, Principal of Trinity College, Kandy, was appointed at the same time. Ekanayake had not been appointed previously, although he was particularly qualified to act in this capacity and had for many years assisted the Archdeacons of Colombo in this work. He continued in this capacity till 1937 when he resigned owing to a difference of opinion between himself and a young Archdeacon of Jaffna. The young Archdeacon had prided himself in being the *oculus episcopi*, carrying every idle tale to the Bishop. The Bishop seemed to have believed these tales. This, as Ekanayake expressed to the writer, was "the saddest episode in my life as a Priest." The present Bishop of Colombo again appointed him Examining Chaplain in 1939, which post he held till his death in 1943.

The Ven'ble F. Lorenz Beven tells us of the remarkable contribution Ekanayake made as an Examining Chaplain, thus :

* "Some of his best work in the Diocese was done as one of the Bishop's Examining Chaplains. His fellow examiners were not slow to appreciate his remarkable gifts in this direction. He had a perfect genius for setting papers and they were such papers as his colleagues regarded with unfeigned admiration and with a desire to emulate them if only they knew how. Each paper was a model of its kind, simple, direct and apparently easy. They were yet so simple that

* *Ceylon Churchman*, October, 1943, p. 346.

they made it impossible for the idle and careless to deceive the examiner to hide their ignorance under a cloak of learning. He was in that degree a difficult examiner. He had no patience with looseness of thought and carelessness of expression. When others were in doubt as to whether some weak candidate should not be allowed a pass he would always say, 'I think he would be all the better for another year's study in that subject before we let him through.'"

In October, 1939, the Rt. Rev. Cecil Douglas Horsley, revived the ancient order of Canons attached to a Cathedral which had been in abeyance since 1861. Six honorary Canons were appointed together with one missionary Canon to stalls commemorating some incident in the life of Our Lord or of some Saint or Missionary. Ekanayake was one of the six honorary Canons and was appointed, "in recognition of his scholarship and priestly ideals and long service in the training of our clergy." He was appointed to the stall of S. Matthew the Apostle, which office he held till his death.

6. At one time or another Ekanayake served on practically every Committee and Sub-Committee in the Councils of the Diocese of Colombo. He served as a Member of the Standing Committee of the Diocese for 20 years. He thereafter refused to allow his name to be put forward, as he wished the younger clergy to play their part. His contributions to the Committees on which he served were marked by sound wisdom, impartial judgment and a concern for the welfare of the Church. His best speeches in Synod (now the Diocesan Council) were made on the subjects of the Peradeniya Training Colony and the need for the division of the Diocese. The ability as a debater which he had gained in his early days at S. Thomas' College stood him in good stead. For many years he served as Secretary of the Committee of Religious Inspection of Schools, and the reports he wrote in this connexion make very illuminating reading. When the Council of Synod was inaugurated in 1931 he served as one of the members nominated by the Bishop. The contributions he made in these spheres are summed up in the following remarks of the late Archdeacon Beven :

*" Dr. Ekanayake was a familiar figure in the Annual Diocesan Council. We read of old parliamentarians who are so thoroughly familiar with the atmosphere of the House of Commons that they move freely in it as in their own homes, and are even more at home in it than in their homes. Dr. Ekanayake held that position in our Council. He could feel the pulse of the house and quickly realize what its temper was, as some important discussion is rousing its members to attention. He could tell how far he could go with them and at what point to cry a halt, and the easy way he would move about the house while a debate was going on, showed how much he was at home.

Now and then some familiar manoeuvre on Dr. Ekanayake's part would raise a good-humoured smile from those who were familiar with his ways. For instance, we knew well when the Doctor was

* *Ceylon Churchman*, October, 1943, p. 347.

weary of some dull debate and wished to see the end of it. As the discussion went on one would notice at the far end of the hall a slight movement and the familiar figure of Dr. Ekanayake would rise and move along the rows, step by step, from the outskirts of the gathering till he had made his way to where the Chairman sat. There he would stand patiently till the speaker had ceased and step forward and say : ' My Lord, I move that the motion be now put,' and without waiting to see whether it was put or not he would quietly turn and make his way back to his seat knowing well that the debate would go on no further."

The Ceylon Liturgy, an indigenous product, the contribution of Ceylon to Liturgiology, was brought out in 1931. Of this Liturgy in which Eastern and Western sources were skilfully blended together it was said, that " it was a form of service which we ought to welcome in the Church of Ceylon being confident that its form, eclectic, comprehensive and doctrinally sound, should provide for our people both the necessary grounding in the principles of the faith and wholesome training in thoughtful and reverent worship."

Ekanayake was the second President of the Committee which drew up the Ceylon Liturgy. He was appointed to this post on the death of Rev. Charles Henry. The knowledge which had enabled him to win the George Williams prize at Cambridge was a great asset. The ancient Liturgies had to be read for this prize and undoubtedly this enabled him to make his contribution really worthwhile. He missed none of the Committee meetings. Together with one of his students, the late Canon Wirasinha, he played a leading part in this production.

Soon after Ekanayake's return from Cambridge, the question of translating the Book of Common Prayer was exercising the mind of the Diocese. The existing Sinhalese version, that by Canon Dias, did not satisfy all. The language used was more or less what is described as classical Sinhalese and was therefore not in full contact with the language spoken by the common people. Ekanayake served on the Committee which was appointed to attend to the revision—the Prayer Book Revision Committee. The Sinhalese Prayer Book in use today owes much to Ekanayake's knowledge of Hebrew, Latin and Greek.

Ekanayake served several years in the Ceylon Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society. On one occasion he acted as Secretary. He gave of his knowledge in the service of the last Committee to revise the Sinhalese Bible. Here too his knowledge of Hebrew was a valued asset in the translation of the Old Testament. He was anxious that the translation of the Bible should be carried out as accurately as possible into a language which could be understood by the people. The present version of the Sinhalese Bible was a marked improvement on the older versions of which the Baptist version was the first. In recognition of these services in support of missionary endeavour the Bible Society in England elected him Honorary Life Governor in 1940, this being the highest distinction which the Society could confer. He was connected with the Society till his death in 1943.

7. Ekanayake showed great interest in matters literary and journalistic both in his College days and afterwards. Encouraged by the late Sir Hector Van Cuylenburg who was noted for his journalistic "finds," he became a leader writer in *The Ceylon Independent* from about the year 1896. In order to be able to do this he read all the administration reports and Blue Books from which he drew most of the matter for his editorials when it was necessary to attack the Government or to point ways and means by which the Government should come to the aid of the people. He had a very forceful way of writing and his sentences were very often short. In all he wrote he was ruled by good sense. He was not worried by distinctions of race, caste, colour or creed. He fought for truth and justice in whatever subject he wrote, and there were many subjects which he did not touch upon. All he wrote was planned with care and caution. His students would often see a man walking into his rooms at the Divinity School practically every morning and removing a roll of papers. That was the leader written for the next day's issue of *The Ceylon Independent*. Ekanayake always proved a great friend of *The Ceylon Independent* and of Sir Hector Van Cuylenburg. In several crises Sir Hector availed himself of Ekanayake's advice on problems both social and political.

Ekanayake was always concerned in the social and moral welfare of the people. It was in no uncertain terms that he did condemn even the policy of Government if it conflicted with his ideas of a just and a fair Government. We may quote one such instance. When Sir Alexander Ashmore was Lt.-Governor of Ceylon, Ekanayake spoke from a public platform and made a very telling speech and was followed afterwards by the Rev. O. J. C. Beven who also had much to say in condemning the policy of the Government. But the wrath of the Lt.-Governor fell on Ekanayake and he wrote or spoke to the Bishop about it. Ekanayake was then Chaplain to Bishop Ernest Arthur Copleston. The Bishop spoke to Ekanayake, but he would not retract a word of what he had said, but as his position as Bishop's Chaplain would compromise the Bishop's cordial relations he begged the Bishop to allow him to resign from being his Chaplain. This Ekanayake did, the Bishop consenting. A few months later Sir Alexander Ashmore was called to his rest. During the years 1911-1915 Ekanayake was Editor of *The Ceylon Churchman*.

8. As has already been remarked Ekanayake was a poor man. Perhaps the greatest tribute to his pastoral care was the presence at his funeral of so many who dwelt in the numerous slum areas of Colombo. He was often called out in the dead of night to visit the sick or to settle family quarrels. No man who came to him went away empty-handed. He set but small store on money and the few earthly goods he possessed. He even thought it unnecessary to burden himself with such things as keys! He gave, but not expecting a return. On the other hand, neither he nor his work was ever in want. His friends came to his help whenever he needed medical attention. It was through the consideration of his friends that he was enabled to visit the South of France

to recover his health. He was simple and humble and therefore loved by all. He hardly had any enemies.

In spite of his poverty and his dependence on others in matters financial, he was very considerate towards all members of his family. Those who were in want he helped financially. He helped in the education and upbringing of the children of his relations. All that he had he spent on them. He sympathized with them and shared their joys as well as their sorrows. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*, but it must be mentioned here that at times Ekanayake's loyalty to his relatives amounted to a fault. He would stand by them under all conditions and would seldom be willing to admit that they had faults. He would support them whether they were right or wrong. No one ever succeeded in converting him from this. It is worth noting, however, that in spite of his educational attainments he never despised his poor relatives as many people in this land are wont to do.

9. Ekanayake was a mass of contradictions. He was a riddle to himself. One could never tell whether he was an idealist or a rationalist or romantic. In this he was the truly human synthesis of apparently contrasting characteristics. Though his dealings with others were marked by a frankness found in few, yet his life was that of a recluse into which even his friends were seldom admitted. He was always reticent himself, yet the inner man in him was always at work, and hence he was able to see and notice many things which others did not. Till he went to Cambridge no one realized what a brilliant student he was. His brilliance was hidden and his versatile outlook was apparent only when he mixed freely with people of other nations. He never spoke of himself nor did he seek the plaudits of men. His true genius was revealed not in his speeches, sermons or lectures, but in the calmness and quietness of his life. It was with the greatest difficulty that he was persuaded to accept what was his due. The welcome he received from the entire Church of Ceylon after the Doctorate in Divinity had been conferred on him by the Archbishop of Canterbury was an ordeal to him—none could have been greater. Both the Degree and the encomiums he received were given unsought. Those who knew him, and particularly his students, would be able to speak of his continuous personal holiness. Yet he was extremely hearty in the company of both young and old. This was not something that was forced, but was quite natural, and perhaps even childlike. He was noted for his kindness. On very difficult occasions he was able to keep his temper as a Christian gentleman.

His outlook was supernatural rather than national. He moved freely with Europeans and Ceylonese. In most matters he took a long view of things. He was willing to think the best of those with whom he differed, but he did not hesitate to speak out his mind to them. As a result he gave offence and sometimes suffered at their hands. It was his keen sense of humour which upheld him at such times. His first interest as a missionary was the souls of men. It has been said that the mills of God grind slowly; so do also the mills of the Church. Eka-

nayake was one such : calm, quiet and contented in all things, holding fast with dogged determination, upholding the buoyancy of mind, if not of body, in dealing with the souls and bodies of his fellow men.

Ekanayake had no personal ambition. He never accepted any offer of work unless he was certain he could do it to the best of his ability. Although he was an undoubted leader of the Church, he never posed as such. In spite of his wisdom and experience he never obtruded his views or opinions. He did not offer his advice unless it was sought. He spoke his mind out when his opinion was asked, but in as few words as possible. As a result of his attitude he was subjected to criticism, because he spoke in an advisory capacity and not authoritatively.

He was extremely unpractical and unbusinesslike. He was good to others, but bad to himself. Money or possessions he was never careful of. They were always for others. Though he did none of these things for himself, he would often advise others how to balance their budgets or how to take care of their health or on the necessity of physical exercise. On the other hand he knew exactly what ought to be said at the crucial moment. In 1919 he met with a nasty accident together with Bishop E. A. Copleston. They had both gone up the tower of the Cathedral. They had conversed there on many subjects, both ecclesiastical and political. As they were descending Ekanayake had put a poser to the Bishop about the introduction of vestments in the services in the Cathedral. The Bishop had just consented when a plank on the staircase gave way and they both had a bad fall. Nothing serious happened, but the battle of the vestments was won !

10. The following appreciation by a Methodist indicates how Ekanayake was all things to all men :

“The first impression formed of Dr. G. B. Ekanayake, even by those whom he honours with his friendship, is that he is perpetually engaged in solving a problem. There seems to be always some difficulty which he is trying to surmount, something amiss which he is seeking to unriddle. It may not be a religious problem concerning the essential questions of man's relationship with the Divine ; on these there is no room in his mind for dispute or doubt. But it may be a comparatively minor matter of ecclesiastical polity or the accurate meaning of a theological word or phrase. It may be a social problem, public or individual. Men rush to him in every sort of difficulty, and his assistance is never withheld. He has apparently not much time for literature. The books he desires to read are those which solve problems, and there are many problems which he is compelled to study and solve.

It must not be supposed, however, that Dr. Ekanayake belongs to a morose or aloof type of highbrow. On the contrary, as there is no adviser more helpful, so is there no companion more genial. He will cap your good story with a better. He has a ready retort for every small sally you happen to make against him or anybody else. It was fortunate, he said once, that he had cultivated the fine art of self-defence but for which he would not be alive

Though a co-founder of the Anglo-Catholic Union of Ceylon he cannot be claimed exclusively by that body. He belongs to the whole Church and the highest office in the Church might well have been his. His gifts of statesmanship, his courage in times of crisis, his sympathy—all these are as marked as his learning."

11. We close this Chapter with the following anecdote related by Canon Christopherson, Dean of Peterborough, who served as Archdeacon of Colombo, from 1929 to 1935 :

"* Then my memory takes a different turn. It goes to the annexe of one of the Kollupitiya bungalows in Steuart Place. This time it is a rather lighter thought that comes to mind. It is a recollection of Dr. Ekanayake. He was, somewhat vainly I fear, trying to teach Fr. Green, Fr. Denyer, and myself Sinhalese. He always had us for instruction at 2 p.m., a rather dreadful time I think. The bungalow annexe was unceiled, and seemed to keep out little of the sun's heat. On one occasion both my fellow-pupils were away, and I had what I hoped would be the undivided attention of one of the best teachers I have met. He asked me to read the Prayer for the Church Militant ; and I began to read. Whether it was the dulcet tones of my voice, or the heat alone, I cannot say, but shortly my master's head began to nod. This happened once or twice, and then his head fell upon his breast and he slumbered. And still I read on. The prayer I was reading is a long one, but came to an end. I started at the beginning again, hoping that the sound of my voice, which I raised a bit, would waken him. But it seemed to send him faster to sleep ; for he snored. I got to the end, and started once again, and still he slumbered, and still he snored, though now a little louder. So I read a little louder still. I wondered if my voice was waking Bishop Mark who used to rest at that hour two bungalows away. At last thinking that drastic action was needed, I dropped a large and heavy book on the floor close to him with a resounding bang. That did it. He started, woke up, and said immediately : ' Thank you, Archdeacon, that is much better. I think you might now try celebrating in Sinhalese in Church, when you have an opportunity.' You cannot doubt a Doctor of Divinity, but the dear man had been apparently sleeping for five minutes, and can have heard but the first few lines of my reading. I pulled his leg about that one day later, and was rewarded with a wise remark, and that delightful twinkle of the eyes behind his spectacles that we all know so well. A wise and good man, whose sense of fun made him as human as he was good and wise."

* *Ceylon Churchman*, Centenary Number, 1945.

THE MOTIVE FORCE

POETS, it is said, are born not made. With theologians it is different, for some are born and some are made. Of George Benjamin Ekanayake it can truly be said that he was a theologian both born and made. His early career depicted in this Memoir shows in him nothing out of the ordinary ; but Cambridge brought out his native genius as a theologian, while his work at the Divinity School revealed him as a dynamic force, generating and storing knowledge and thought of a very high order.

Ekanayake was without doubt a theologian of the front rank, but he was from start to finish a student, who continually drew in from the fresh springs of contemporary theology and gave out to his students, who themselves were to become teachers of the Christian Faith, treasures new and old. His table was always laden with the newest theological works which he read and inwardly digested, not only for his own edification but also for the enlightenment of his students in particular and the Church in general.

Most theologians attain prominence from the books they write ; but Ekanayake produced no theological books ; he produced theological men. It may be that he had not the facilities for research in this country, or it may be that he found satisfaction in imparting his knowledge to his students. Pre-eminently a born teacher, he possessed in an unusual degree the power to express the truths of the Christian Faith with a freshness and lucidity, which turned even dull students into tolerable literates.

It has been already pointed out in a previous chapter that few of Ekanayake's papers and writings were found intact at his death, since he made periodical bonfires of them. His students will remember how on occasions he came to lunch with a beaming smile, so characteristic of him, and remarked : " I have burnt my papers." Probably his carefully prepared notes of lectures have gone the same way, and he may have reserved the last smile for the servants who alone saw the smoke ascend. But the vast store of knowledge, which he imparted to his students during the course of twenty-five years, is not altogether lost. The few papers and essays which have been recovered are published together with this Memoir ; and some of the students are known to have preserved the notes of his lectures. The present writer is the proud and fortunate possessor of forty-three exercise books, grey with years, containing over 2,500 pages of manuscript notes, which, if classified, indexed and published, would not only be a valuable contribution to the theological studies but also a lasting monument to the memory of a great and beloved teacher, who was so modest about his own learning.

Ekanayake's theology contains nothing revolutionary or startling. A true product of the *Lux Mundi* school, he made an attempt to harmonize the historic Christian Faith with contemporary philosophy and science. Gore was his great model ; his Bampton lectures and the trilogy on the Reconstruction of Belief had a profound influence on Ekanayake, no less than *Lux Mundi*. Like Gore he refused to believe that there was an unbridgeable gulf between the Historic Faith and truth as revealed from day to day through the researches of philosophers and scientists.

Ekanayake did not belie the early promise he showed at Cambridge, where he won prizes for almost every subject he offered. For, in after life he was versatile to an extent rare even in the best of theologians. The vast field of theology—historical, systematic and exegetical—was not too vast for his scholarship. In the Divinity School, where he was Principal and sole tutor, except for brief spells of occasional help in pastoral theology, he lectured to his students on a variety of subjects the necessary equipment of every priest. And the wonder of it was, that he was proficient in whatever subject he taught. He had the rare ability of putting in a small compass what another would take a volume to write. Read his exposition of the Creed, the essays on the Incarnation and the Atonement, and the inquiry into the History of the Christian Ministry—the truth of the statement will be evident.

This multiplicity of departments of theology in which Ekanayake was master makes it exceedingly difficult to unfold his theological mind. The works appended to this Memoir give a glimpse of the wide field he covered. To review them would be to paint the lily. It would be far more profitable to supplement what they contain with excerpts from his notes.

It is not easy to say in which subject Ekanayake excelled, each batch of students holding different valuations ; but all will agree that there were five departments of which he was master, viz Higher Criticism and Exegetical Theology, Liturgiology, Church History, Apologetics and the Thirty-Nine Articles. It was when teaching the last-mentioned subject that his theological mind was unfolded.

During the last eighty years the Church of England steadily addressed itself to the problem of testing the relation of historical criticism and scientific speculation with the traditional statements of faith. In this Ekanayake was a master mind and a pioneer in the Diocese of Colombo. Aided by his perfect knowledge of Hebrew and New Testament Greek, he reduced Higher Criticism to a fine art. Nothing that he did not know of J.E.D.P. of the Old Testament and Ur-Markus and Q of the New was worth knowing. Of the composite authorship of the Hexateuch, he had no doubts ; he would not open the early chapters of Genesis to learn his geology, astronomy, biology or anthropology ; he knew where legend ended and history began ; for example, touching the Old Testament, he would agree that from the time of Abraham there is a reasonably historical narrative, but previous to that legend only ; over

Jonah's excursion in the belly of the whale, he would chuckle ; Daniel was not among the prophets in his Hebrew Bible ; of the credibility of the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles, he was convinced ; he could not reconcile the Greek of the First Epistle of S. Peter with that of the Second which bears the Apostle's name ; the Epistle to the Hebrews, he would ascribe neither to S. Paul nor to Priscilla ; the authorship of the Apocalypse, he left an open question ; and the texts, commonly accepted as interpolations, including S. Mark 16. 9-20, presented no debatable problems to him.

But on the whole Ekanayake pursued the study of criticism with the caution that reason demands, where so much is tentative. The story has lasted long enough now to provide ample justification for this caution. For what has been supposed to be the assured results of criticism has continually been modified by fresh study, while the picture that science presents of the universe changes with bewildering rapidity. Generally speaking, astronomy and physics held the field in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ; the nineteenth century saw the rise of the biological sciences ; in the present century, psychology had made rapid progress ; in the meantime, atomic energy has begun to shake the world. Nevertheless, modern criticism has cleared up the confusion of the prophetic, historic and legal elements in the Old Testament. The effect of the critical movement as a whole has been not destructive but constructive and illuminating, and Ekanayake appreciated to the full its significance and value.

With Higher Criticism is closely connected the doctrine of the Inspiration of the Bible. It is briefly referred to in Ekanayake's Exposition of the Creed, wherein, stating that the Church has not defined the doctrine of Inspiration, he points to Gore's Essay on the Holy Spirit in *Lux Mundi* as the nearest approach to a formulated definition. Hitherto, verbal inspiration of the Bible held sway. The Bible was regarded not as the vehicle of revelation, but as the revelation itself. While God dictated, they thought, inspired men transcribed the message. Hence arose the belief that the Bible was infallible in every detail. The effect of this outworn theory of Inspiration has not only left the Bible to be misunderstood for centuries, but also has been destructive of faith and provocative both of despair and scepticism. Ekanayake calls it "a pagan idea, which makes the Biblical writer a mere automaton," and sums up the Christian way of looking at it in a sentence full of meaning : "according to a man's capacity his moral and spiritual faculties are purified and illuminated, and he becomes an agent of the Holy Spirit." And he explains elsewhere, commenting on the preface to S. Luke's Gospel :

"This preface shows that inspiration would not absolve a man from the necessity of careful research and accurate writing. The human element was not atrophied by inspiration."

The following taken from Ekanayake's notes on the Thirty-nine Articles further illustrates his point of view :

“Where there is a revelation, there must be inspiration. God revealed to men that which they could not find out for themselves. That is revelation. The spiritual and intellectual faculties of the men who received that revelation were illuminated to receive that revelation. That is inspiration. The men to whom revelation came in this way recorded their spiritual experience in the books of the Bible. The Bible is thus not the revelation, but the record of a revelation. It is the product of experts in spiritual things, of spiritually gifted persons, to whom God revealed Himself.

“All parts of the Bible are not equally inspired, because the character of a book depends on the nature of the truth revealed, and on the receptiveness of the author. It is said that the Scriptures are profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness. Thus the test of inspiration lies in the result, viz the truth and value of the message to the heart and conscience of men.”

It would be convenient now to give a brief space to the consideration of a subject very closely connected with the foregoing. What is the origin of man? Ekanayake has answered the question in his Exposition of the Creed, with a reference to Darwin's theory of Evolution. Pointing out its defects as an explanation of the origin of man, he argues: “Man is not merely material; he is also spiritual. Natural science alone, therefore, cannot explain his origin and goal.”

But he argues elsewhere that Evolution is not incompatible with Catholic belief. An evolutionary process is clearly visible in the world—first the inanimate, then the sentient, next the rational, and finally the culmination in the perfect humanity of Christ.

A distinction, however, must be made here between Evolution and Darwinism. There had been evolutionists before Darwin, as early as the fifth century before Christ, as late as Goethe and Hegel. S. Augustine regarded creation as a process of growth, although he said nothing about the way in which different species are related to one another. The “Schoolmen” of the Middle Ages, for the most part, were of the same opinion. Newman was a child of his age when he wrote a book on the Development of Christian Doctrine. Darwin, it should be noted, enunciated a theory of Evolution, which left many gaps unexplained. It has become more and more clear that his theory of “natural selection” by itself does not provide a formula which will cover all the facts in favour of interpreting creation in terms of evolution. Darwin himself was aware of this, as Ekanayake points out, but not his followers.

What, then, is our conclusion? There is nothing in Darwin's theory itself that is necessarily incongruous with God's ways of working as shown in the Scriptures. Few people believe today that the Bible is a handbook of science. The aim of the writers of the first chapters of Genesis “was not to give a scientific account, but through a current tradition to point man to his Creator.” “God created heaven and earth, and all things visible and invisible”; that is the credal statement

which is still true today. Darwin gives a little insight into how God did it.

This section of this résumé will not be complete without a reference to Ekanayake's exegetical contributions. He always consulted the best authorities, but while imbibing the best of what they could offer he was never dependent on them for explanations. For the most part he has traversed familiar ground, but he has never failed to explore a fresh point of view or to re-state a well known interpretation in stimulating terms. His explanations are clear and to the point; simple, yet so illuminating. To quote at length is neither possible nor necessary. The two quotations which follow are sufficient as illustrations.

The first, which is Ekanayake's interpretation of the exceptive clause in S. Matthew 5. 32 and 19. 9, shows the uncompromising stand he made against divorce. Here are the *ipsissima verba* :

"In Our Lord's days there was a difference of opinion between two Rabbinical Schools on divorce. Both were agreed that the Old Testament allowed divorce; but they differed on the question of the precise nature of the condition laid down in Deuteronomy justifying divorce. The justifying cause was given as 'unseemly thing found in the wife.' The School of Shammai taught that the justifying cause was unchastity, while that of Hillel allowed divorce for even trivial causes. The opinion of Hillel was generally accepted as a representation of the Law. Upon this vexed question of the Rabbinical Schools, the judgment of Our Lord was sought. Now, if we had only S. Mark's and S. Luke's Gospels, we would say at once that Our Lord prohibited divorce absolutely. But when we turn to S. Matthew's Gospel, we find an exception to the prohibition of divorce, namely, 'except for the cause of fornication'."

How are we to explain this exceptive clause? We may sweep aside at once all explanations based on translating *porneia* as pre-nuptial sin and not adultery, that is post-nuptial sin, for *porneia* is used in the New Testament to describe both pre-nuptial and post-nuptial sin.

Is the exceptive clause then a later addition? The following considerations show that it is :

(1) In the narrative even in S. Matthew Our Lord begins His reply by saying that the marriage bond is indissoluble, and that divorce is an accommodation to a rude state of society, but was not God's original intention. Having thus condemned divorce completely, would He immediately agree with the School of Shammai, that divorce is allowable in a particular case? S. Matthew's account of Our Lord's words, as it stands, is inconsistent.

(2) The School of Shammai taught that unchastity was a sufficient ground for divorce, and no other ground was allowed. If then Our Lord merely reiterated the teaching of Shammai, why did

His disciples say to Him afterwards, it was good not to marry at all? Rejecting the strict teaching of Shammai, did they ask for the laxity of Hillel? We can hardly believe that. The perplexity of the disciples is perfectly plain, if it was caused by Our Lord's absolute prohibition of divorce.

- (3) In S. Matthew 5.32 Our Lord says: "Everyone that putteth away his wife except for the cause of fornication maketh her an adulteress." How can putting away make her an adulteress, when she had already before she was put away been guilty of adultery? But, if the words "except for the cause of fornication" were omitted, everything is plain. The divorced woman, even if she was the innocent party, will marry. She will then be an adulteress. And thus her being put away led her to become an adulteress.

The conclusion then is, that in both passages in S. Matthew, the words "except for the cause of fornication" are an intrusion. How is it to be accounted for? Our Lord was probably asked on one occasion, is marriage indissoluble? On another, for what reasons can a man separate from his wife? To the first question Our Lord says, yes; to the second, for fornication only. S. Matthew combines the two questions and answers.

Our Lord's teaching then is:

- (1) Marriage is indissoluble;
- (2) If a man puts away his wife for any cause whatsoever and remarries, he commits adultery; and
- (3) a wife can be put away only for one cause.

We conclude, therefore, that:

- (1) Marriage cannot be dissolved;
- (2) re-marriage is not allowed; and
- (3) putting away, that is separation *a toro et mensa* is allowed for one cause, namely, fornication.

This exposition will stand as a reproof against recent tendencies in those in high authority in the Church of England to tone down the teaching of Our Lord and the Prayer Book on this vital question.

The second quotation is an exposition of S. Matthew 9.6—"The Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins." Here, the priestly function of forgiving sins is explained in an arresting way:

"The Son of Man hath power to forgive sins. What does Our Lord mean? Note here the expression, 'the Son of Man.' Our Lord claims to forgive sins not as 'Son of God,' but as man's representative. He points out that man on earth shares with God in heaven the prerogative of forgiving sins. The question then arises how man obtained this power. Our Lord Jesus Christ has left power to His Church to forgive sins, and the Church exercises this function of forgiving sin through her duly ordained ministers. It was on the first Easter day that Our Lord gave this power to His Church, when,

as described in S. John 20, Our Lord came to His Apostles and others gathered with them and said : ' Receive ye the Holy Ghost : whose soever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them.' Thus He left the power of absolution to the whole Church, and the Church exercises it through her ministers."

We pass on. One of Ekanayake's favourite subjects was the Prayer Book. In spite of much Calvinistic and Zwinglian teaching introduced into it through the influence of Continental reformers, Ekanayake was convinced that by far the greatest bulwark of Catholic teaching the English Church possesses or seems likely to possess was in the Book of Common Prayer. "What I believe and what I try to practise is contained in the Book of Common Prayer," he once wrote to the editor of a Sunday newspaper, when questioned about his personal belief. Nevertheless, he was never convinced that the Prayer Book of 1662 was a perfect one. He welcomed, therefore, the amendments proposed in 1928, with the exception of the rubrics relating to Reservation, as enriching the existing book.

It is the Thirty Nine Articles, however, that Ekanayake made use of primarily as the basis for his doctrinal teaching. He interpreted them as a real Tractarian. The *author of *Little Chapters* indeed calls him "an out and out product of the Oxford Movement."

The Articles, Ekanayake would argue, are not a complete confession of faith ; they are in fact Articles, not of Faith, but of Religion, to which only the Clergy are expected to subscribe. Intended for the critical times of the Church of England in relation to the controversies of the moment, they are largely concerned with questions no longer foremost in our minds ; but some of them as statements of faith have a permanent value.

Ekanayake's notes on the Articles are copious and instructive ; the space at the disposal of the present writer, however, does not permit of even a bare summary of them, but in dealing with Ekanayake's theology on the Being of God, the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Church and the Holy Eucharist, they will be made use of to illustrate his teaching.

The first subject that calls for our attention is naturally the Being of God. "I believe in God" is the first Article of our Creed. But, what is "God?" Ekanayake answers in a note on the Articles : "By God we mean the One self-existent Being, the Author and Sustainer of all that is, upon whom all things depend, and in whom they find their goal."

Belief in one God, Ekanayake points out, is opposed to Buddhism, Hindaism and Agnosticism. What grounds, then, have Christians for the assertion? They are stated briefly in the Exposition of the Creed. Elsewhere, in connexion with Apologetics, they are considered in detail. There are arguments for the existence of God from consciousness and conscience, from history and from reason, from nature and from design, from mind and from personality.

* The Rev. J. S. H. Edirisinghe

The idea that God is One runs like a thread of gold throughout the pages of the Old Testament. Why does the Old Testament lay so much stress on the unity of the Godhead? Ekanayake answers :

“ The unity of the Godhead must first be established and firmly fixed in the minds of God’s chosen people before the further revelation can be safely made, and the existence of distinct Persons within the Godhead be disclosed without fear of leading men to polytheism.”

In the New Testament God reveals Himself as a Trinity in Unity. Is it reasonable? Among others, Ekanayake gives two reasons which may be briefly summarized : the first, “ God is eternal, and in His essence love ; therefore, from eternity there must be of necessity an object of love, and the bond of love ” ; the second, “ Our own personality is necessarily triune—will, reason and affection, and in any person they exist in a unity.” The two reasons cohere in one.

The following note on the history of the doctrine is worth reproducing: “ From the very first the doctrine of the Holy Trinity was believed implicitly. No technical phraseology was required to express the relation of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, or the exact character of the unity. But the faith of the Church was clearly monotheistic, and at the same time the Son and the Holy Spirit were believed in as God without confusion with the Person of the Father. Among the Early Fathers the language of Clement of Rome and Ignatius is most emphatic on the real distinctions within the Godhead.

During the latter half of the second century, the language of the Fathers begins to be more precise and more formal. Recognized terms now begin to appear. Theophilus of Antioch uses the Greek *Trias*, for the first time. Tertullian uses the Latin word *Trinitas* a few years later. The language of Athenagoras shows the true relation of the three Persons of the Godhead.

But it was not till the rise of false teaching, which forced the orthodox to say what they meant by their belief, that the terms ‘ Person ’ and ‘ Substance ’ came into use.

The term ‘ Person ’ was only fixed upon to express the doctrine after much hesitation, because it became absolutely necessary, in the face of heresy, to use some term to describe what the Church meant by her teaching on ‘ the three in the Godhead.’ The term ‘ cannot be employed without considerable intellectual caution.’ It neither denotes ‘ character ’ nor ‘ three separate existences.’ It should not be made synonymous with ‘ individual,’ nor accepted in the classical sense of a ‘ mask ’ or ‘ character.’ All that the Church intends to express by the use of the term ‘ three Persons ’ is that which she understands Holy Scripture to teach, namely, that there are ‘ three eternal distinctions in the Divine Nature, anterior to, and independent of, any relation to eternal life, thus guarding against two dangers: (1) that of confounding the ‘ Persons ’ as the Sabellians did, and (2) that of ‘ dividing the substance ’ as the Arians did.

“ That the distinctions are eternal is clearly taught in S. John 1.1. ‘ The word ’ which was in the beginning with God (*PROS TON*

THEON) must have been distinct from God (HO THEOS); and yet, 'the word was God' (THEOS). Further, the saying of Our Lord recorded in S. John 17.5—'the glory which I had with Thee before the world was'—would show that the Trinity is not merely 'economic,' but that it is 'immanent.'

"It is implied with equal clearness that though distinct, they are not 'separate.' Our Lord's utterance, 'I and the Father are One' establishes His unity with the Father. The plural verb emphasizes the distinction of Persons, while the neuter brings out the truth that the Son is 'of one substance with the Father.'

"It should also be borne in mind that the Scriptures teach the truth that the Father alone is unoriginate, the fount of Deity in the eternal life of the Trinity. The Son and the Holy Ghost from all Eternity derive their Divine Nature from the Father. S. John 5.26, 6.37: 'I live because of the Father.' Thus the Father is the First Person of the Holy Trinity by a priority, not of time, but of order. It is to this subordination probably that Our Lord referred when He said: 'The Father is greater than I.'

"The Holy Scripture teaches another truth to guard fully the unity of the Holy Trinity. It is the doctrine of the perichoresis or co-inherence, that is the mutual indwelling of the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity. The doctrine is based on S. John 14.10—'the Father abiding in me,' with which should be compared S. Paul's words in 1 Cor. 2.11."

The Eternal God who reveals Himself to man in nature, in conscience, in history, in the religious experience of Israel, finally revealed Himself in Jesus Christ, the Word made flesh. That brings us to the subject of the Incarnation.

The Incarnation is naturally the foundation fact of Christianity. Ekanayake says, 'it should occupy the central position in the teaching of the Church.' But at the same time he points out the necessity of placing it in its context, for isolated from its context, 'the doctrine appears improbable, strange, paradoxical and too utterly stupendous to be true.' It is with that thought in mind, that the two essays on the Incarnation and the Atonement have been written, clearly bringing out the relation of one doctrine to the other. "God's purpose for man was union with Himself. Sin was an episode in man's relation to God. The Atonement, therefore, arose out of man's sin God's eternal purpose was man's union with Him. The Incarnation in spite of man's wild rebellion secured it."

Later on in the same essay he brings out the relation of the Sacraments to the Incarnation: "for through Baptism and the Holy Communion the Divine human life of Christ is imparted to us to quicken and strengthen and confirm our faith in Him, and through other sacramental rites various graces are imparted for various human vocations and special needs. But, because of man's sin, the Cross had to be suffered before the Risen Christ could give us life." Thus it will

be seen that the Incarnation, the Atonement and the Sacraments are all of one piece.

What are the purposes of the Incarnation? The answer is found in the second part of the essay. First, the Incarnation "was the predestined goal of natural development"; second, "it is the answer to the agelong yearning of man for light from God"; and third, in it "God's seal was set upon the sacramental principle which culminates in the Eucharist."

The doctrine of the Incarnation was not defined without difficulties, and many today raise the old questions, which convulsed the Church in the first five centuries of her life. An account of these various heresies is given in summary form, not for the learned, but for the intelligent, as "an equipment to recognize an erroneous theory, an old enemy with a new face."

What does the Incarnation really mean? How can it be defined? Ekanayake finds no better definition than that found in the second of the Thirty-Nine Articles:

"The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, and of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the Blessed Virgin, of her substance, so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say the Godhead and the manhood, were joined together in one person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man."

In this stupendous mystery, the Virgin Birth was the entrance which God chose to put on our human flesh and human nature. The Church of England declares boldly the Virgin Birth. It is the Modernist who denies it; and Ekanayake was no Modernist, though he was a Higher Critic.

In his Exposition of the Creed, Ekanayake first sets out the Biblical authority for the Virgin Birth, and then gives the reasons. It was "the prelude to the atoning work of God," for it was necessary that "He who wrought the Atonement should be both Divine and human, and sinless. Man could not possibly work that Atonement. It must be an act of God." The Virgin Birth secured the Divine personality of Christ. But He must be human and sinless too. How was that secured? The following note on the second of the Thirty-Nine Articles elucidates the point:

"Though the historical authority for the Virgin Birth is sufficient, it should be clinched by a consideration of the fitness and necessity of Christ's entrance into the world after a new mode.

First, Christ came to cut off the entail of sin which was the universal inheritance of the human race. How could this entail be cut off, if He was born of a process which has always resulted in the transmission of a sin-entailed nature? The Virgin Birth secured that He should be born without the taint of sin clinging to Him.

Secondly, Christ came as a representative of mankind, He was not a man but *man*. This could not be accomplished, if He was born like other men. S. Paul calls Him the Second Adam, that is the representative of the whole human race. If the First Adam came into existence as no other man has come, in order to be the representative of the whole race, the Second Adam it might be expected would, for the same purpose, enter the conditions of human life after a new order.

Thirdly, it has been shown before that the personality in Christ is that of the Second Person of the Godhead, and that He had no human personality. If He was born like other men, He could not have avoided taking a human personality. The Virgin Birth secured that he took to His Divine personality human nature without human personality.

Thus for the Virgin Birth there is both sufficient historical authority and sufficient reason for a departure from the ordinary course after which men are born into this world."

This leaves one aspect of the problem unanswered. Ekanayake himself puts it into a question, and answers, "As the Blessed Virgin Mary was also a member of the sinful race, would not her child have inherited a sinful nature from her?" His reply in the Exposition of the Creed is very meagre, but he takes a bold line in his lecture on the Historical Position of the Church of England. "The question has been met through the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception," he says, and then goes on to explain the doctrine :

"It is that when the natural life of the Blessed Virgin began, the Holy Spirit began to act on her, so that the supernatural life was, in her case, simultaneous with her natural life, and therefore, the natural life and the life of grace beginning together, she was sinless from her mother's womb. The sinlessness was secured by the operation of the Holy Spirit acting on her even from her mother's womb."

Does any other explanation fit in with the divine economy? Dr. Gore refuses to accept the doctrine and pleads that there is no scriptural authority for it. Ekanayake declares that "sanctification from a mother's womb is not an idea foreign to the Holy Scriptures," and pointing to the Christmas Day collect, where the mother of Our Lord is called "a pure virgin," emphasizes that the doctrine can be and might be held as an opinion. "But Rome imposes it on her people as something which they must believe as necessary for salvation. That is my objection to the view-point of the Roman Church," says Ekanayake.

The Incarnation of the Son of God opens out to our view endless vistas of God's purpose for mankind and the whole universe. Man fell; he had to be redeemed, reconciled to God and brought into union with Him. How was that effected? By the Atonement, is the answer.

What is meant by the Atonement? The Church has not formulated a theory of Atonement. The Son "truly suffered, was crucified, dead

and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men." That is how the work of redemption is described in one of the Articles. That is sufficient for the believer, for "it is not on our understanding of the method of the work Our Lord accomplished for us, that our appropriation of the blessings of His precious blood-shedding depends, but on the fact that He did die for us." But we must try, however imperfectly, to understand the mystery of the Cross. Earnest men down the ages from time to time had tried to explain it. The Christian Fathers regarded the Death of Our Lord "as a ransom paid by Him to rescue man from Satan's power"; the Schoolmen, "as a satisfaction rendered by Him on man's behalf"; and the post-Reformation writers, "as a punishment endured by Him as man's substitute." So we have the Ransom theory, the Satisfaction theory, and the Substitution theory. These are briefly, but lucidly, explained in the essay on the Atonement. In each theory, Ekanayake points out, "there is something erroneous, and also something valuable," and not refusing the true elements in them, he proceeds to formulate a theory of the Atonement, which has similarities with Gore's view expressed in his book *Belief in Christ*.

The following note on one of the Articles is a summary of Ekanayake's teaching on the subject :

1. God is willing to forgive man. He needs nothing to make Him willing, for 'God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son.'
2. But before He forgives an act of reparation is necessary, because it must be placarded before men that God abhors sin; otherwise man would have a wrong conception about God's way of looking at sin. This act of reparation consists in Christ's obedience, even unto death. He is our Representative. The sufferings of Christ, therefore, are vicarious, They are a sacrifice and a propitiation.
3. In a sacrifice the culmination is the offering up of blood, which signifies the life of the victim. By the death of Christ His blood was shed, and by His Resurrection, His life is set free to enter into us, that we may live in newness of life.
4. In the Holy Communion: (a) we plead the sacrifice; and (b) Christ's life comes into us.
5. In our life: (a) our life, like Christ's should be a sacrifice for our fellowmen; and (b) we must live the life of Christ in the strength He gives.

This brings us face to face with a consideration of the relation of the Holy Eucharist to the sacrifice on Calvary. The sacrifice on Calvary was offered once for all, "a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world." It cannot be repeated. How is the Eucharist then a sacrifice? The answer is given briefly in a letter written to the "Ceylon Churchman" in 1925 on "The Sacrificial Aspect of the Holy Eucharist," where first reasoning out that the Holy Eucharist is a sacrifice, he proceeds to show its relation to Calvary :

“Christ as our High Priest is pleading before the Father, as set forth in the Epistle to the Hebrews, the merits of His full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice. We who are in union with Him are joining Him in doing on earth what He is doing in Heaven, pleading the merits of His death. The Holy Eucharist is the special occasion on which we are, consciously and deliberately as a Church, taking part in that pleading.”

That is only one aspect of the Holy Eucharist. There is another. The Holy Eucharist vouchsafes unto us the Real Presence of Christ. Ekanayake has left no essay on the subject, but his teaching can be gathered from his notes scattered about.

All Christians, except the Zwinglians and Anabaptists, Ekanayake has pointed out, believe that there is a Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist; but while some believe in the objective Presence, others believe in the subjective, making the Presence dependent on the faith of the recipient. Faith being thus the means by which Christ is present, He may be at one and the same Eucharist present to some and absent to others. Ekanayake shows the incongruity of such a belief and explains that Christ's Presence is not dependent on the faith of the recipient, but is effected by the Holy Spirit in answer to the prayers of the Church. He quotes the well-known statement: “Faith does not create, but apprehends.” Christ is in the Holy Eucharist, whether we believe it or not, but it is faith that recognizes Him.

But Ekanayake is fair to the other school of thought. Although the witness of Holy Scripture and of the early Christian writers preponderates in favour of the objective Presence, the language of the Prayer Book, he says, supports both views. One party, therefore, should not accuse the other of disloyalty to Anglican doctrine when their views differ, is his opinion.

We pass on to another consideration. What is the real difference in teaching between the Church of England and the Church of Rome on the subject? In his brilliant lecture on *The Historical Position of the Church of England* Ekanayake makes the difference thin. Both the Churches believe implicitly in the Real Presence. That a change takes place in the elements at the Consecration is a fact. The Church of England, however, does not explain the mode or manner of the Presence. Our Lord has said it, and she believes it. But the Church of Rome explains it in terms of mediaeval philosophy, and calls it Transubstantiation. Not only does Rome explain it, but she also enforces it on her children as a doctrine necessary for salvation. That is where, Ekanayake points out, we differ from Rome, “At best,” he says, “it is but a theory of the schools, a philosophical opinion. As such we decline to be bound by it. But as an ‘opinion,’ hard as it is to free it altogether from materialistic conceptions, it has been conceded by Anglican divines.”

In the same lecture Ekanayake has reduced the differences between ourselves and Rome to four points, namely, the Immaculate Conception, Transubstantiation, Infallibility and Supremacy. The first two points have already been considered, and Ekanayake knew enough Church

History and Scripture to prove that neither Infallibility nor Supremacy stood the test of History or Scripture. That S. Peter had a primacy, but not a supremacy among the Apostles, he would admit; but that it could be handed down to his successors, he would dispute. At the same time, historically a primacy of honour was assigned to the Bishop of Rome, because of Rome's imperial position. Apostolic foundation and orthodoxy, he would not deny. But "primacy," he says, "should not be confused with supremacy."

A subject which was very near the heart of Ekanayake was the question of Reunion. The Unity of Christendom is the will of Our Lord, he acknowledged. He was zealous for the fulfilment of the High Priestly prayer of Our Lord, *ut omnes unum sint*; but he would not have short cuts towards it.

"The Church of England lies four square, with the Bible, the Creeds, the Sacraments and the Ministry"; that is the glorious heritage which she has preserved throughout the ages. In face of the peril in South India, how nobly he defended those principles which were in danger is to be seen in the brochure, wherein he has critically analysed the South Indian Scheme.

References have already been made in detail to the Bible and the Sacraments, and now a word must be said about the Ministry. In his essay † on the subject, Ekanayake traces the origin and the history of the Ministry. Like Gore he does not believe in Streeter's joke, "that the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian and the Independent can each discover the prototype of the system to which he himself adheres at the end of the first century." Episcopacy is of Divine institution, and is of the *esse* of the Church. It is that which guarantees the unity, the continuity and the orthodoxy of the Church. No scheme, therefore, which does not recognize it is adequate to safeguard the Catholic Faith, is the position he consistently maintained.

The Church is the Spirit-inspired vehicle through which the Catholic Faith has come down from Apostolic times. It is a Divine Society. *Ecclesia Anglicana* is a province thereof, but she has an ethos all her own. The Catholicism characteristic of the Church of England differs from that of the East and Rome, yet she is equally Catholic with either of them. That is the position which Ekanayake tenaciously held.

For want of space, much has had to be left out of the purview of this résumé. For instance, nothing has been said of the Resurrection and Ascension, of the Holy Spirit, of Baptism, Confirmation and Unction, of the Communion of Saints, of the Life Everlasting. All of these, except Baptism and Confirmation, have been described in the Exposition of the Creed in words of singular beauty and charm. Enough, however, has been written to unfold the theological views of a great mind.

Many may wish that Ekanayake had written more and had left it in a lasting form. Evidently he did not think that to be his work. He chose to write in minds, a writing which does not perish.

THE VOYAGE ENDS

EKANAYAKE WAS not one of those who were born great, nor one who had greatness thrust upon him. By dint of perseverance and hard work he achieved greatness though he was often not willing to accept it for himself. Educated in a Christian atmosphere, the background of his religious training was sound. The Christian spirit and the moral background in which Thomians both Christian and non-Christian were trained was well-defined. The Thomian system of education from the very first had been marked by a balance between determination and adaptability. The Wardens devoted themselves to the task of developing the characters and personalities of the boys committed to their charge so that none could mistake even in later life the marks of one who belonged to S. Thomas'. Creating a fine type of citizen, the College was able to provide Ceylon with leaders both in Church and State.

The Thomian Christian spirit was indomitable and far-reaching in contrast to the normal Sinhalese mentality which was fatalistic, indifferent and syncretic. The education imparted at S. Thomas' was specially meant for this type of mentality. People in Ceylon as well as in other parts of the world were beginning to say that all religions were alike and that the good elements in all religions ought to be incorporated into a synthetic whole. As a result of the materialistic spirit which pervades our age some were trying to discredit Christianity on the ground that it was a "foreign" religion. Ekanayake surpassed the elements of this narrow nationalism and in spite of the animosity against Christian missions was able to give young Ceylon an example of scholarship, sagacity and a sound mind. He was a Thomian *par excellence* both in Church and State.

His beautiful and beneficent life drew to a close on 22nd September, 1943, in his seventy-seventh year, and in the fifty-first year of his Priesthood.

His latter years spent at All Saints' had been quiet. They were not without their sorrows and their worries. Like many in Ceylon and other eastern countries he was the victim of that dire curse, diabetes. Although his mind continued to be as energetic as ever, physical pain gradually began to lay its traces on his face. He aged very quickly. Work seemed to him very heavy, but this he did not show to others even to the very last. On the Sunday previous to his end he was able to conduct worship at All Saints'. No one expected the end to be so near. He was taken ill about 4 o'clock on Thursday morning and succumbed to heart failure by daylight before any medical aid could be summoned.

The funeral took place the following day. A Requiem Mass was said in All Saints' Church in the presence of the body with the Bishop of the

Diocese in the Sanctuary. Throughout the day a vast concourse of people came to pay their last respects and to look for the last time on that calm and noble personage. In the evening his mortal remains were laid to rest at the General Cemetery, Kanatte, by the Bishop of the Diocese in the presence of a great crowd of people, both Christian and non-Christian.

So went forth a great Priest who was loved by all, the memory of whose life will live in the minds of all who had the privilege of knowing him in the days of his flesh. He passed away unknown and unnoticed as he would have wished. His death was a great loss to the Church of Ceylon.

*Now the labourer's task is o'er ;
Now the battle day is past ;
Now upon the farther shore*

... ..
*Leaving him to sleep in trust
Till the resurrection day
Father, in thy gracious keeping
Leave we now thy servant sleeping.*

As we have seen at several points before, Ekanayake was not blessed with this world's goods. All he had he left in his Last Will and Testament which was dated Easter Day, 1942, sealed in an envelope with the express instruction : " To be opened after my death." This was indeed a gem which would have baffled even the Commissioner of Income Tax, Estate Duty & Stamps.

Funeral.—A poor man's funeral. To be entrusted to coffin-makers in Regent Street, Maradana. Coffin inexpensive. No pall-bearers. If any, only clergy. No choir.

Finance.—My salary to be paid to Mrs. Mattie Silva, 34, Cameron Place, Colpetty. Account in Eastern Bank (Rs. 5), Post Office Savings Bank and Thomas Cook & Sons, all to be paid to Mrs. Mattie Silva, my niece.

Furniture.—Let Francis choose for himself any furniture, and the rest to be given to anyone who likes to have any pieces.

Books.—To the Divinity School. Any not accepted there are to be sold at an auction room.

Motor Car.—This is in Lenoris' name. Let him have it.

Gold.—Crucifix to my nephew the Rev. W. H. W. Jayasekera. Ring to Mrs. Mattie Silva. Watch to George Henry Ekanayake.

Whatever property I had has been given already to my niece Mrs. Matthew Jayasekera.

Sgd. G. B. EKANAYAKE.

P.S.—Any money after paying expenses to Mrs. Mattie Silva.

Sgd. G. B. EKANAYAKE."

The Rt. Rev. Mark Carpenter-Garnier, formerly Bishop of Colombo, wrote the following letter dated 15th November, 1943, to Ekanayake's nephew, the Rev. W. H. W. Jayasekera :—

South Canonry,
Salisbury, Wilts.

My dear Jayasekera,

I have delayed too long in writing to you to thank you for sending me a cable and to express to you my deep sympathy in your bereavement.

I am very deeply concerned to hear of the death of our dear Father. I realize how very many there are experiencing a sense of loss through his passing. He was a spiritual Father to so many and a leader and a guide to people in all walks of life. Not only the clergy but very many of the laity will feel they have been bereft of a dear friend and a wise and thankful counsellor. The Church of Ceylon as a family will be the poorer for the loss from sight and hearing of one of the greatest of her sons.

I am sure the loss must mean a very great deal to you and to all his close relatives. He has meant so much to you all throughout your life and I think the high ideal which you yourself have always maintained of the priesthood must have been learnt from him. But while it is natural that we should dwell upon our loss in such a case as this, we as Christians look far beyond it and we thank God for all His grace, and we praise Him with the sure and certain hope of eternal life. And so it is that in Christ we possess this good priest still and are at one with him and benefit still by his life, his example, and his prayers. And the fruit of his example and influence will last on and be of abiding value to his many spiritual children.

Please will you express to your sisters and near relatives my heartfelt sympathy and say how I mourn with them the loss of a dear friend and spiritual Father even while I thank God for the example and help of his life.

Yours very sincerely,

✠ MARK CARPENTER-GARNIER.

The following estimate by Bishop Horsley summarises Ekanayake's life in a nutshell :—

“ His scholastic and academic attainments were in a class by themselves. So far as the Church of Ceylon is concerned his sympathy and pastoral zeal for souls was of a very high order. There must be many men and women who will be grateful all their lives for what he did for them spiritually and materially.

How many men do not owe their positions in life to the efforts he made on their behalf? How many Priests did not go to him again and again for counsel and advice? How many families looked to him as a guide, philosopher and friend? To how many penitents was he not a wise and patient confessor?

He kept up his love of reading all his life. In that alone he was an example to us all. Every penny he could spare he gave away to

other people. He did not shrink from speaking out on social problems of the day. He was associated with Christians of all denominations, Roman Catholic and Protestant, in work for the amelioration of social conditions, a high standard in social justice and the eradication of disease, dirt and slums.

I have lost in him not only a Canon of the Cathedral but an Examining Chaplain and one of my nominated members to the Council of Synod. At all times he was ready to give me advice when I asked him for it. Never once did he obtrude himself or attempt to interfere with my actions or influence my judgment. He was a model of what an older priest of ripe scholarship and experience should be in his relationships towards a younger Diocesan unacquainted with the ways of a country, of which previously I had not firsthand knowledge.

He fulfilled his duties as Parish Priest right up to the very last Sunday. The last matter over which I turned to him for advice was duly attended to by him and I received his letter after coming back from the Requiem at All Saints'.

I was glad to have been present in the Sanctuary on that occasion and to have committed his mortal remains to the grave later in the day. A vast concourse attended the cemetery, a fitting tribute to Canon Ekanayake's devotion to duty, high principles and indiscriminate love for rich and poor alike. *Requiescat in pace!*"

Soon after his death S. J. K. Crowther one of his old pupils wrote to *Social Justice*, September, 1943 : " Whatever he had to give he gave in full measure. And to the Social Justice Movement he gave of his best Social Justice was no new fad with him. Long before the enthusiasm of Father Peter Pillai gave it form and expression, Canon Ekanayake was devoted to the cause of the poor. Ever acutely conscious of the disabilities under which the poor suffered, he had endeavoured by pen and speech, in the pulpit and in private conversation to improve their lot For a considerable time I lived with him and was able to note his wonderful simplicity of character, his selflessness and his humility. He never stood on his dignity and by instinct always chose the lowest place. And people gave him the highest place in their hearts. He never sought self-advancement and strongly opposed his friends' efforts to seek promotion for him. There was indeed no office which he was not fit to adorn, but he vehemently resisted all suggestions to that end. Christ's command to give to him that asketh was literally observed. Whatever money he had he gave away to those in need. When he was reproached for his apparent improvidence he would protest that giving money away never left him in need. Whatever money was wanted for his work was readily forthcoming from those who knew that he could be relied upon to spend their money in the best way possible—for their own good as well as for the good of those who benefited by it. He gave what money cannot buy, large-hearted sympathy. Nobody in trouble appealed to him in

vain. It did not matter whether they were even known to him. He helped those whom he did not know by face or name."

The following lines which appeared in *Truth* in 1913 to mark the passing away of Father Stanton of S. Alban's Holborn, might very well have been written of Ekanayake :

Good-bye, Father !

*For place, Ambition's fighters strive,
Her priests for stalls and mitres strive,
Make gain of serving God.
You chose the poor, the lowly road,
Renunciation's Holy Road
That the Man of Sorrows trod.*

Good-bye, Father !

*So passing saintly through the World,
You brought His message to the World
In the only way it heeds ;
Not those who make a strife of Christ
But those who live the life of Christ
Can give it what it needs.*

“THE LAST POST”

(A tribute by Canon Lucien Jansz, M.A. Cantab delivered at Christ Church Cathedral on 13th October, 1943)

WE USE the occasion of this Solemn Office to remember George Benjamin Ekanayake very specially. He has passed beyond the veil, and we hold it true, as we are taught by our most holy Faith, that his portion now is refreshment, light and peace in the Paradise of God. We intercede, praying that this recompense will be vouchsafed to him in increasing abundance. Our hearts yearn for him, and our love for our brother, who is no longer present with us in the flesh, deeply moves us to earnest supplication before the throne of Christ which is also the Mercy Seat of the Most High. Our prayer is not tainted by doubt or incertitude. It is not venturesome and presumptuous, nor is it fantastic and feigned after the manner of poetic fictions. The voice of the Spirit of the God of all comfort is heard in our hearts as an authentic utterance, saying that the souls of the righteous are in the Hand of God; that the spirits of just men are made perfect in that abode where the light shines more and more unto the perfect day. The God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob is the God of the living, and the Father of Jesus holds all souls in life. The Redeemed in Christ Jesus can never perish. When we speak of these high matters of intrinsic sublimity, the very fact of the awe and calm that come upon us, to solemnize us, of a surety establishes the mystic and majestic truth. This is the truth as it is in Jesus, this is a declaration of the whole counsel of God. We are on holy ground and have put off from our feet the shoes of our earthly and worldly preoccupations, our limitations, our fallibility and unworth, in order to gaze with the inward eye on the miracle of the work of Him who doeth all things well. We plead the fragrant merits of the Crucified One Who has wrought our great salvation, and has so sanctified all aspects of our life that we are enabled to offer ourselves, body, soul and spirit, as a reasonable, holy and living sacrifice to God. We must be in this frame of mind as we spend these moments in the Vestibule, as it were, of Heaven. The Faithful Departed have their place in the Fellowship of Saints even as we have our place in that Communion. We have therefore found the perfect setting for the purpose underlying this Requiem. We are gathered to pray for the soul of our beloved friend. We are also here to render thanks to God for the example of a beautiful life.

George Benjamin Ekanayake was in the best and truest sense a man of God. And we hold that a man of God can also prove to be a cultured Christian gentleman. He was a man of character, influence and renown. But above all things he was just himself; he never posed or

attitudinized ; nature and nurture and grace conspired to make him a servant of his Master, dedicated to the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments. When we appraise a character, we have to be satisfied that it is genuine, integral, sincere. Human nature has its inconsistencies and contradictions. The Sanctifying Spirit unifies the character, harmonies it, hallows it, but does not obliterate personality, which is a primary endowment.

The wise saying has it, that, when God makes a prophet, He does not unmake a man. Paul is Paul, while Peter is Peter ; John is not the same as his brother James. George Benjamin Ekanayake was enabled by the grace of God, all throughout his life of learning, piety and service, to give free course to the spirit of joy and unfailing goodwill. This address is not in any sense a biographical narrative, nor is it a cento of anecdotes. This is neither the time nor the place for such an attempt. But some incidents and a few episodes and situations must be mentioned as bearing out the truth of some assertions.

The contacts he made were innumerable. He could literally reckon thousands as his good friends. The secret of his friendliness was his sagacity, his sincerity and his sympathy. He knew and he drew. He understood his friends and they were irresistibly drawn to him. All felt the better for knowing him and derived no small benefit from association with him. Generations of divinity students whom he trained with such patience, love and self-giving would be the first to confirm this observation. At any gathering where his dear pupils were found, they invariably gravitated towards him. In any matter concerning the graver issues of Church policy, discipline, doctrine, or venture of faith, he never failed to rally a goodly number of zealous supporters around him. He was their oriflamme. He was their Henry of Navarre.

Yet he never courted popularity as such. But his sympathy and kind offices could always be reckoned on for all that was proper and good, for all that envisaged amelioration. We might here most appositely mention that there need be no legend about George Benjamin Ekanayake, depicting him as a universal favourite. He certainly had his critics. Plainly not a few were disaffected and alienated. One must not be distressed to know that he had his opponents and adversaries. His mind was clear upon things that matter. He hated meanness and hypocrisy. He knew that great things were great and little things little. He was not all things to all men in a too literal application of Pauline expediency. He could agree to differ. He could suffer fools gladly. He accepted without demur the price to be paid in a gainsaying and contradictory world. He was meek, but in the full Aristotelian definition of that element of character, which is a power born of self-discipline. Meekness is the personal power of having the passion of resentment under perfect control, and is a virtue of heroic excellence. He might well have repeated to himself the lines in Myers' *Saint Paul* :

*Yet it was well and Thou hast said in season
'As is the Master shall the servant be':
Let me not subtly slide into the treason
Seeking an honour which they gave not Thee.*

The Gospel shows that the Incarnate Word was sociable, while the Herald of the Morn was austere; yet both were blamed. Wisdom is ever and again justified of her children. George Benjamin Ekanayake was happy in whatever company he found himself; he could speak with ease and opportunity with anyone he met. He moved with cheerful self-possession and happy correctitude with the princes of Church and State no less than with the poorest and humblest of his fellowmen.

We spoke of meekness, but there is a pendant to that. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick in his *Manhood of the Master* says a tremendous thing: To lack indignation is to lack a sinew of the mind and to possess but a maimed character. George Ekanayake could always gauge a situation with justice and precision. He could be indignant. He was master of the trenchant phrase and could speak with fearless candour, when the occasion called for it. He had first-hand knowledge of housing conditions; the problem of phthisis; the scandal of illiteracy and ignorance; the misery of poverty; the urgent call for evangelisation. He spoke on these themes with propriety and force. Many will remember his pleading for better incomes for underpaid clergy. Poverty, said he, may be a valuable discipline, but penury corrodes the mind; the iron enters into the soul. In his youth he was a fiery patriot and boldly spoke in his nation's cause; the passage of years toned him, but the fire was never spent. Without analysing too keenly, without calculating too nicely, without affronting the memory of a modest and meek man, we can truthfully aver that George Ekanayake gave proof that he was endowed with the cardinal virtues of wisdom, bravery, temperance and justice, united to the evangelical virtues of faith, hope and charity. He augmented, indeed he crowned them, with the graces of humility and humour. It has been urged by many that humour has no place in the Gospel of Jesus. But it must be contended that if humour was not explicitly taught, it was always implicit. The sayings of our Blessed Lord do contain in the very abandon of His hyperboles, and in His fearless use of paronomasia, that sense of humour which sustained the tender-hearted Man of Sorrows. The beam in the eye of the censorious, the straining out of the gnat and the swallowing of the camel illustrate the hyperbole. Peter the Rock and Zebedee's Sons of Thunder exemplify the play upon words, closely knit with sympathy and wit. We must add the joyous observation and felicitous satiric thrust in the Parable of the Lilies of the Field: Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. George Ekanayake had early caught and absorbed the lively humour of the glorious Gospel.

Doctor Ekanayake as a theologian and exponent of the Word, reading the Oracles of God in their originals, the Hebrew and the Greek, assimilated the teaching of the Sacred Scriptures and accepted the admirable

rule of the Church that nothing should be held as an Article of Faith but what was provable from the most certain warranty of the Holy Bible. To the last he was a student of the Scriptures and a competent expositor. The Fourth Gospel was specially dear to him. Such a predilection has a profound significance. It tells of insight and understanding. But Dr. Ekanayake was well acquainted with the world's best literature besides the Scriptures. Widely read, well-informed, abreast of the latest knowledge, he possessed a true aesthetic sense with the critical faculty of a trained mind. The Roman and Greek Classics afforded him real mental relaxation; his intellectual pleasure in them was unfeigned. Homer, Euripides, Thucydides and Plato were no mere names to him. The Latin orators, historians and poets were equally his delight. An alumnus of Saint Thomas' College, a pupil of Warden Miller, an actor in the Cyclops of Euripides, he had laid for him the sound foundation of a liberal education and an initiation into the Humanities.

Abeunt studia in mores—Studies pass into the fabric of a man's character. Thus the Doctor was adequately equipped for the duties of life, for the problems of the workaday world, for the very crises that never fail to arise. His self-possession, when a difficulty confronted him, was wonderful. His counsel to others was the fruit of his own experience. He knew the watchwords for the hour of trial. *Caelitus mihi vires. In te Domine speravi. Solvitur ambulando. Vires acquirit eundo. Aquam memento.* From heaven is our strength. In God is my trust. Difficulties are solved as we persist in progressing, pausing yet pressing, and we gain strength as we proceed. Poise and self-recollection prevail over troubles. Should a multitude of demands arise, use expedition; first things first; with one thing at a time and that done well.

He was ever a host in himself. He always proved a tower of strength to friends who needed his aid. And saying this, we approach the fact of his amazing generosity. He gave of his best, he gave unstintingly. His practice was based on the imperishable truth expressed in the Courtenay Epitaph at Tiverton in Devon and repeated elsewhere with variants; it is the thought which informed Watts's arresting picture *Sic transit gloria mundi* :—

What we gave we have :

What we spent we had :

What we left we lost.

He rendered not only material aid, but he also gave what is infinitely more difficult to give; he gave of his time, of his personal attention and interest, of his abounding sympathy and patient loyalty. He understood the inner meaning of such service. Are we not stewards of the Lord's Household? Are we not Almoners under the Divine Hand?

To comfort and to bless,

To find a balm for woe,

To tend the lone and fatherless

Is Angels' work below.

*The captive to release,
To God the lost to bring,
To teach the way of life and peace
It is a Christlike thing.*

He evinced in his life the ready response of an enlightened heart to the highest revelation. He knew the poignant truth we read in John Inglesant: Nothing but the Infinite Pity is sufficient for the Infinite Pathos of human life. So he placed himself in the stream of that inspiration, and justified the Apostolic claim that a faithful servant is in very deed a fellow-worker with God.

His visits to his friends were a benediction to them. When we honoured him, we were honouring ourselves. Those of us who worked under his direction in compiling the Ceylon Liturgy during four years of patient study, reference and experimentation, will remember with the deepest gratitude the solace of his presence with us, his inspiring and inspiriting influence.

We have not made the vain endeavour to compress into a brief address the biographical details of an interesting and exemplary life. We have rehearsed only a few outstanding facts of significance, and we now conclude this tribute, leaving out much which would figure best in a memoir.

George Benjamin Ekanayake has given us admirable and convincing proof of the feasibility of living an acceptable life in all simplicity and fidelity in a world of conflict and confusion.

Our truest answer and response to the appeal of such a life should be the use of our gifts in the courageous, hopeful and happy way he used his. He has left us. But his memory abides. We may acclaim him, without incurring the charge of fulsome, foolish praise, as not merely a good son of the Church of Ceylon or of the regional Church of these parts, but as a noble son of the Church Universal, a member of the moral and spiritual *élite* of all ages, a saint and a scholar, whom we were privileged to know, whom we shall do well to emulate, whom we shall ever hold in our thoughts and prayers.

We may be sure he even now joins his intercessions with ours for the increase of faith in our land, for the furtherance of the Gospel, for the promotion of the work of the Church, for the advancement of the Kingdom of Christ. *Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam.*

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PART TWO

PART TWO

AN EXPOSITION OF THE APOSTLES' CREED*

" I BELIEVE IN GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY "

BELIEF IN one God, the Creator of all, is opposed to the atheistical and materialist philosophy of Buddhism, polytheism of lower forms of Hinduism and pantheism of the higher forms, and Agnosticism which refuses to face facts and come to a conclusion.

It is perhaps true of some Christians that they know a good deal of what they ought to do and that they strive to live up to the Christian standard of conduct, but they do not have an equal knowledge of the reasons for the beliefs on which their conduct is based. If we know more clearly the reasons for our Creed, we would not be easily moved by every kind of doctrine and would be more enthusiastic about our Christian profession.

" I believe in God " is the first article of our Creed. What grounds have we for that assertion ? It will be generally admitted by all, whatever their religion might be, that what we see around us is not all that there is, but above and behind what is seen there is some great Reality, what is seen being only a partial manifestation of that Reality.

But the trouble begins when the Christian affirms that that Reality is not impersonal force or a material organization but that It is a Personality—a Person, just, good, merciful, pitiful, patient and loving, i.e. invested with qualities which we associate with personality.

Is it possible to set forth any considerations to show that this is a reasonable belief ? It is possible. In the first place, there are all around us beings who are rational and capable of love, mercy, compassion, etc. If the Power behind the universe were deprived of these qualities, He would be inferior to these beings, earth would be the scene of greater moral grandeur than Heaven. If men were invested with personal qualities, that Reality, who is the strength and stay of the universe, would be possessed of similar or higher qualities. Human personality is thus a guarantee of Divine Personality.

Then, secondly, when we look back on the years behind us, do we not know that in our highest and best life we have been guided and protected by a Power other than ourselves ? But someone might say that that is only self-delusion. But consider, are there not thousands who have the same experience ? We cannot safely depend on an argument based only on counting heads. The subject you experience, however widely diffused, should be reinforced by external testimony.

Now physical science is discovering continually the wonders of arrangement, order, contrivance, and adaptation both in the heavens

* Hitherto unpublished.

and on earth. The wonders of what the telescope reveals have their counterpart in what the microscope reveals. Earth, sea and sky are crammed with purposeful arrangement. All this is evidence that mind has worked and is working behind all phenomena. Where mind is at work we can confidently point to personal action.

Then again every man is convinced that he has a duty to perform. Fulfil that duty—there is a sense of satisfaction; neglect it—there is discomfort, if not actual unhappiness. What is the basis of this sense of being under an obligation essential to a good and happy life? We cannot but trace it to a Power, Who is Himself good and righteous—qualities which can exist not in any impersonal force but in a personal Being.

Consider again—man in his highest life is ever seeking Truth and Beauty. That search implies that somewhere in the universe there is both Truth and Beauty in perfection. Thus the subjective experience of supernatural guidance is supported by what can be objectively traced in the world around us. It is this double experience of a Power greater, better and more intelligent than ourselves which prompts the Christian to affirm "I believe in God."

It is even more important to know the nature and character of God than merely to profess our conviction of His existence. Through many centuries God revealed Himself according to man's capacity till in the fulness of time there appeared on earth One, Jesus Christ, as a culmination of God's self-revelation. He said: "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father." What is God like in character? In Jesus Christ He has revealed Himself as self-sacrificing love, appealing to us to follow, however haltingly, in the steps of His most Holy life. "Be ye perfect even as your Father in heaven is perfect." "The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give His life a ransom for many."

1. **The Father.**—God is the Father of all mankind as Creator. He is a Father in a special sense to Christians who by baptism are adopted into His Family, the Church. But in the Creed the title Father is given to Him because He has one Eternal Son co-equal to Him. The first article of the Creed is closely joined to the second; "And in Jesus Christ His only Son, our Lord." Thus at the very outset of the Creed we are led not to think of God as a Uni-personality.

2. **Almighty.**—The term occurs twice in the Creed. It is used in the first article in the sense that He is all-powerful. It is used again in the sense, Ruler of all. In what sense is God Almighty? It will of course be admitted that He cannot do anything opposed to His Divine attributes, such as Holiness, Justice, or Love. But is He the Almighty Ruler of the Universe? There is much on earth opposed to His nature and will. The truth is that by right He is Almighty but not in fact. Part of the world is in rebellion against Him through men misusing the gift of freewill, violating both reason and conscience. That does not alter the fact that God is the Ruler of the world He has created. But

through the work of the Church He will subdue all that is opposed to Him, while not depriving man of the freewill given to him as a gift. This hope is expressed in I Corinthians 15, 24. Christ will put down all hostile powers. He will conquer even the last enemy Death, so that God may be the Indwelling Power arresting and controlling the whole universe.

“MAKER OF HEAVEN AND EARTH”

NEITHER BUDDHISM nor Hinduism has any explanation to offer about the origin of the universe, except that they assert that some elemental forces, air, fire and water combine themselves in an orderly manner without the intervention of mind. As already stated, order cannot be evolved without the intervention of mind, and mind points to Personality or Super-personality. “God created the heaven and the earth and all that in them is.”

The question is asked why Christians read as true the story of creation as given in the first chapter of the book of Genesis, when it is well-known that it does not accord with the findings of modern science, such as astronomy, geology, biology, anthropology, physics, etc.

The account of the creation in Genesis is the Jewish version of a very old story current among early Semitic people, which they had learnt from the Sumerians who were displaced by them in the plains of Mesopotamia. The Jewish version was written about B.C. 500. The story on which it is founded is as old as or older than B.C. 2,500. This story in its Babylonian version was found by excavators at Nineveh in Assurbanipal's library. It is a library in which the writing is on clay tablets. The tablets on which the story of creation is given so far discovered are seven in number and are now deposited in the British Museum. There are striking similarities between the story recorded on these tablets and the Biblical story—especially in the order in which the different things were created, culminating in the creation of man. The similarities are great. The dissimilarity is equally great. The Babylonian version is full of polytheistic ideas and the creation of the heaven and earth is attributed to a conflict between divine beings. In the Jewish story every trace of polytheism is carefully effaced and creation is attributed to the deliberate will of God. It is most remarkable that a Jewish exile in Babylon living perhaps in a rude hut “by the waters of Babylon” in the midst of the most magnificent polytheistic worship the world has ever seen should have written this account of his Faith. He saw that so far as the outward setting was concerned, the old polytheistic legend, when purified, was a suitable vehicle to describe the true relation of the one God to the world. His aim was not to give a scientific account, but through a current tradition to point man to his Creator.

We will admit, someone will say, it is useful as a protest against Hindu and Buddhist ideas. But has it anything to teach people who accept the conclusions of modern science? Christians should certainly

accept these conclusions. Till the 17th century the Biblical account of the creation was accepted as the last word on the subject. But it is no longer possible for any well-informed person to accept this story as a scientific statement. It is folklore not history.

To show what the attitude of thoughtful people should be to this story, it is necessary to trace briefly the progress of scientific inquiry into the ultimate Reality behind the universe. In the 16th century a group of pioneer scientists began the investigation among whom were Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, Newton, etc. They laid the foundation of the rational study of the universe. These students and scientific investigators while remaining believers in God depended on mechanical nature to explain the origin and mystery of the universe.

But since that day the studies of physicists have discovered the architecture of the atom and investigation is not going on now in the direction of mechanical Nature, but it is proceeding along the line of mathematics. A writer commenting on Einstein's work says: "So far as mathematical observations are concerned, in the last analysis the only reality is Mind." Sir James Jeans, one of the foremost astronomers of the present day, in his book "The Mysterious Universe," states that the net result of the investigations points to the universe working on mathematical lines rather than those of a mechanical nature and he concludes: "The Universe appears to have been designed by a pure mathematician." So we are brought face to face with the conclusion that the Ultimate Reality is Mind, and Mind pre-supposes Personality.

Thus we are led to the great lesson which the first chapter of Genesis teaches: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." Even to the scientific man this chapter is not obsolete. When we look over the shoulders of those who are working at these problems we see them advancing towards the credal statement: "I believe in God the Father, Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth." We can still worship Him with the hymn, "Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory; Glory be to Thee O, Lord."

MAN

WHEN THE question is asked "What is man?" we can hardly answer without recalling the name of Charles Darwin. Whatever modifications have been introduced into the Darwinian theory of Evolution, the general result arrived at is that man is descended physically from an ape-like sub-human ancestor, the cousin of the ape, baboon and orang-utang. That is the conclusion Darwin arrived at by examining man's physical frame. But it is on only one aspect of man's nature. Darwin himself confesses that there were avenues of knowledge which he never explored. This is made plain in his own account of his mind. He states that he had lost his taste for poetry, pictures and music, and he goes on to say: "This curious and lamentable loss of the higher aesthetic tastes is all the odder, as books on history, biographies and travels and essays on all sorts of subjects interest me as much as ever

they did. My mind seems to have become a kind of machine for grinding general laws out of large collections of facts, but why this should have caused the atrophy of that part of the brain alone on which the higher tastes depend, I cannot conceive." Note the words, "The atrophy of that part of the brain . . . on which the higher tastes depend." This makes us sure that Natural Science is by no means the only avenue along which knowledge comes to us. Knowledge comes to us as freely through art, i.e. great literature, music, painting, sense of beauty, religion. Natural Science does not give us what is most important in human life. In a laboratory a flower can be reduced to the material elements of which it is composed. But a scientific man through the processes he employs cannot account for its charm and beauty. He may take up a volume of Shakespeare, weigh it, measure it, reduce it to ashes. But what is most important in the volume escapes him, viz the mind of Shakespeare embodied in the volume. In music there is a succession of sounds, but description cannot explain why music soothes, calms, uplifts and can move us to tears.

So also in the case of man, the anatomist can explain to us how perfectly organised the human body is; the chemist will tell us how much water, carbon, phosphates are in a man's body; but no scientific process can explain the intellect, emotions and spiritual aspirations in man. To explain his nature we have to go not only to Darwin but also to art, history and above all to religion which is a constant factor in human life—and through man's long long history from pre-historic times to the present day religion has been part of his equipment. No race has yet been found with no religion (even in a rudimentary form), so that man considers himself dependent on a power other than himself, with whom he must live on friendly terms. Thus religion testifies that we are not merely material but also spiritual, we belong to two worlds, earthly and heavenly.

What is man? Dust, ashes, and clay, related to lower forms of life, in which there is no spiritual aspiration. But in his nature higher than all forms of life, in that he is never satisfied with his material environment, but is ever yearning for a sphere of life, which is not material. Two worlds are ours. We have two natures, lower and higher—we have to control the lower by the higher nature, to make our bodies not the master but the servant of our spirits. To what great heights we can rise is shown in the life of the Lord Jesus Christ, the very flower and perfection of humanity. Man's duty is to take Him as his example and through the Grace of God to strive to conform his life to that of Christ.

“ AND IN JESUS CHRIST, HIS ONLY SON, OUR LORD ”

WHAT ARE we to say of Jesus Christ as a Person? The answer is stated thus in the second of the Articles found as an appendix attached to our Prayer Books: "The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very (true) and eternal God, and of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the

blessed Virgin of her substance : so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and Manhood were joined together in one Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man."

When we read the Gospels, even the most careless reader cannot doubt that Jesus of Nazareth lived truly as man. He hungered, thirsted, and needed sleep ; He loved, sorrowed, wept ; He suffered pain and died. The only difference between Him and us is that He did not sin and did not have even a consciousness of sin. He separated Himself from the rest of mankind when He said, " Ye being evil, etc." He boldly challenged his enemies, " Which of you convicteth me of sin ?" Judas in remorse said, " I have betrayed the innocent blood." The centurion before the Cross watched Him in His dying agony, when men are most real, and declared : " Truly this was a righteous man."

He who was thus man, and sinless man, gradually led His intimate friends to believe He was also Divine. He declared : " He who hath seen Me hath seen the Father," i.e., God. When one of His disciples greeted Him as " My Lord and my God," He did not rebuke him as uttering blasphemy but accepted the adoring cry. Here then was One flawless in character, declared even by His enemies to be good. He at the same time asserted He was God and accepted Divine honour. We cannot therefore in the same breath say He was a good man and He was not Divine. In asserting His Divinity He was either insane or was a blaspheming impostor or He spoke the truth about Himself. Could it be said of One about Whom His enemies said : " Never man spake like this man," and others testified to the " words of grace " which fell from His lips and Whose sayings found in the Gospels ring true, that He was insane ? He told His disciples " I am the truth," and said to His judge, " I came to bear witness to the truth." Could He be an impostor ?

He, Jesus of Nazareth, truly man is also truly God. The doctrine of the Incarnation is that the Son of God took the fulness of sinless human nature in the womb of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The centre of His personality was thus a Divine Being equal to the Father in all respects. He was clothed with sinless human nature. This fact is expressed briefly in the words " Conceived by the Holy Ghost ; born of the Virgin Mary." That is the age-long doctrinal statement concerning the Incarnation.

Contrary to this there has been brought in a doctrine of Immanence. It professes that the centre of Our Lord's personality is a man and that Divine nature became immanent in Him.

The position of those who say this is dangerous doctrinally, scripturally and historically. Doctrinally, if the centre of our Lord's personality was human, the Atonement was wrought not by God, but by a man, though He had the Divine Nature immanent in Him. The actor in the Atonement is thus held to be a man, not God.

Scripturally the position of those who bring in a theory of Divine Immanence cannot be maintained. Not long ago a book was published commenting on the Gospel of S. John from the immanentist point of view. The writer manages to interpret every saying of our Lord in that way. But he comes to a stone wall in two passages of S. John's Gospel in which Jesus definitely claims pre-existence. "Before Abraham was I am." "And now, O Father glorify Thou Me with Thine own self with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was." That sufficiently disposes of the view that the Person known as Jesus of Nazareth began His existence when He was born of Mary of Nazareth.

Historically the doctrine of Immanence belongs to the school of Antioch, where strange views about our Lord's Divinity were the precursors of the Arian heresy, which held Christ to be a demi-god. Heresy is an inclined plane in which the descent is from a half-hearted acceptance of Christ's Divinity to a purely human Christ.

Did God indeed become man? Did the Invisible become visible? Did the Infinite become finite? Did the Eternal enter into the sphere of time? Did the Omniscient limit His own knowledge? These questions often make men stagger at the thought that the most High entered into the conditions of human life. If the Incarnation of the Son of God was suddenly sprung on the world, it would indeed seem incredible. But when it is brought into relation with the age-long search of man for God and God's continuous self-revelation to man, then it commends itself not only as credible but as antecedently probable.

Consider it as the climax of God's self-revelation, that for which the whole history of God's relation to man had prepared the way. The course of God's self-revelation till the revelation through His Son is set forth in the first chapter of S. John's Gospel. He reveals Himself according to man's capacity to receive that revelation through the glory, the beauty, and the majesty of Nature—through man's conscience (the power which enables him to distinguish right from wrong according to his progress in moral education), through gifted men, who saw deeper into reality than their fellows, through the witness of history which is the accumulated witness of man's conscience, and through that nation the Jews, which was a school of religion and of the knowledge of God to all nations. And then last of all through Jesus Christ, the Incarnate Son of God. We cannot therefore doubt that in Jesus Christ is to be found the last and final message of God to man, "God Who at sundry times and in divers manners spoke in time past unto the fathers by the prophets hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son."

The Incarnation of the Son of God is the central fact of the history of the world. Many nations have or have had their own way of reckoning the flight of time. The Greeks divided the centuries into Olympiads, taking the holding of the Olympic games as land-marks in their history. The Romans dwelt with pride on the founding of the city of Rome and calculated the years from that event, though the year fixed on was only

suppositious. Buddhists reckon years from the birth of Buddha, the Teacher of the Sakya tribes. The Moslems from the flight of Mohammed from Mecca, the Hegeira. But all these events which were pivots for marking the ever-rolling years are now superseded by the Birth of Jesus, the Christ. The world's history is thus divided into two periods—before Christ (B.C.), and after Christ (A.D.). Might we not see in this, that the central event in the history of the world is the Incarnation of the Son of God—not only the central, but the most important, most glorious and most wonderful?

Human history then took a fresh start. Mankind who had been groping and feeling after God, if haply they might find Him, at last saw in Jesus Christ the character of God—that He is above all things else, Love—they also saw in Jesus what a perfect man should be. Writers ancient and modern have tried to paint the picture of a perfect man but none have succeeded. The four Gospels however portray the character of One Who is the ideal man so that men need no longer be in doubt what they should strive to become. With this two-fold revelation about God and man, men started on the great adventure of living after the pattern of Christ. Some fall by the way, others are still striving upwards, while others who have come nearest to Him are in the Church's roll of honour as Saints.

Jesus Christ reveals the character of God. We have the light of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. He Himself declared: "He who hath seen Me hath seen the Father," i.e. God. We are now in no doubt about the character of God. The central fact of the life of Jesus was that all He said—even the sternest saying—and all that He did had their origin in love. That love expressed itself in constant service. "I am among you as he that serveth." "I came not to be ministered unto but to minister." That service reached its highest point when He gave His life "as a ransom" becoming "obedient unto death, even the death of the cross," death in its most ignominious form. Such then is the character of God—love, service, sacrifice, sorrow for a sinful world and utmost effort to save it. The Christian moves in the world, in spite of much which tries his faith and patience, with a joyous freedom of spirit, trusting God in Whom he can have the uttermost confidence and Whom he can worship. "We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee, we glorify Thee, we give thanks to Thee for Thy great glory."

Jesus Christ reveals Man. In Him the only sinless Being Who ever appeared on earth, we have the perfect example of what a good man should be. In Homer we see heroes pass in procession doing valorous deeds, but there are flaws and defects in their characters. What an endless array of characters there is in Shakespeare! He touches the highest point in Cymbeline, but still wanting in some qualities. They have all failed to sketch some essential feature of a truly good and noble life. The simple men of Galilee saw day after day the highest life ever lived on earth. They wrote down their recollections with

artless simplicity. And lo! there stands before us One flawless in character and supremely winsome. We are now in no doubt how we, with the grace of God, should strive to model our lives.

Jesus Christ, God and Man, is the final Teacher of the world. Other teachers prepared the world for His coming, each in his own way. Now, through that race God intended there should be a school of religion for the whole world, God Himself has come and spoken the final message "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life." We do not look for another. He it is that should come. "Hear ye Him."

"WHO WAS CONCEIVED BY THE HOLY GHOST;
BORN OF THE VIRGIN MARY."

THIS DESCRIBES the manner of the entrance of the Second Person of the Holy Trinity into the sphere of human life as Man. Briefly expressed, it is that Jesus of Nazareth had no human father. The Divine Son clothed Himself with all that pertains to man (except sin) from His Mother, the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The evidence for this fact is the witness of Holy Scripture and the continuous belief of the Church. The former is contained in the Gospels of S. Luke and S. Matthew. S. Luke's narrative could only have come from the Blessed Virgin Mary, and S. Matthew's from S. Joseph—or from persons to whom they communicated the wonder of that birth. The Blessed Virgin Mary and S. Joseph had reason for such communication. There was a blasphemy current in non-Christian circles that Jesus was of illegitimate birth. There is perhaps a hint of this in S. John 8, 41: "We were not born of fornication." In the original there is an emphasis on the personal pronoun. And the blasphemy is repeated by an early Anti-Christian writer that Jesus was the illegitimate offspring of a Roman soldier. In view of this it was but natural that the two persons who could bear witness to the marvel of His birth should have communicated it, before their death, to the Christian community in order to disprove a calumny.

It should also be remembered that the writer of the Fourth Gospel had before him the three earlier Gospels, and where they are incorrect in any detail, he corrects them silently. If the Virgin Birth was an unreliable accretion of a later date, would he not have corrected it? To the evidence of the Sacred Scriptures which cover the Apostolic age, i.e., of the first Christian century, should be added the evidence of the belief of the Church in the second century—S. Ignatius of Antioch was martyred in his old age at Rome about the year A.D. 110. He writes: "The Virginité of Mary and her child-bearing and in like manner the death of the Lord are three mysteries of loud proclamation which were wrought in the silence of God." Similar testimony is borne even in the earliest versions of what is now known as the Apostles' Creed. This Creed was well known by the year A.D. 120. Thus the tradition of

the Virgin Birth can be traced back till it connects itself with the witness of the first century as contained in the Gospels.

But it might be objected that there is no mention of it either in S. Mark or in S. Paul's writings. The explanation of this is that S. Mark's Gospel contains only an account of the public ministry of Our Lord, as witnessed by S. Peter. Any biographical detail is naturally omitted in such an account.

S. Paul does not mention the Virgin Birth, because though such a Birth is most congruous with the Divinity of Our Lord, the doctrine of His Divinity is not based by him on the Virgin Birth but on the attestation of His Divinity by His Resurrection. "Who was declared to be the Son of God by the Resurrection of the dead." Such evidence as the above should not be set aside lightly or wantonly. And we propose to show the importance of the fact of the Virgin Birth in the scheme of salvation through Christ.

For the work of reconciling God and man—known as the Atonement—He who wrought it should be both Divine and human and sinless. Man could not possibly work that Atonement. It must be an act of God. S. Paul writes: "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself." Now if Jesus of Nazareth was born after the natural order He would have been a man as any other man, and what is more, in Him there would have been a double personality, the Person of the Eternal Son and the Person of Jesus of Nazareth. The Church has ever held that though in the Incarnate Lord there was every element which pertains to a man—a physical frame, human reason, human will and human affections, the Person who was clothed with humanity was not a man but Man and the Person was the Son of God, Who alone is capable of reconciling God and man. The Virgin Birth is thus a prelude to the atoning work of God.

A second part of that prelude is that whoever works that reconciliation of atonement should Himself be sinless, for a sinful man cannot make atonement for sinful man. When the Son of God became man, the sinlessness of His humanity had to be secured. The entail of sin had to be cut off. He must be a new sinless creation of God, and while He was a new creation, He should also be one with mankind whom He came to save. Both these essential factors were secured when "He was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary." But it might be asked, that as the Blessed Virgin Mary was also a member of the sinful race, would not her Child have inherited a sinful nature from her.

Sanctification from a mother's womb is not an idea foreign to the Holy Scriptures. It is said of the Baptist, "He shall be filled with the Holy Ghost even from his mother's womb." Jeremiah writes: "Now the word of the Lord came unto me saying, 'Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee; and before thou camest forth out of the womb, I sanctified thee.'" S. Paul recalling these words and applying them

to himself writes : " God who separated me even from my mother's womb and called me through His grace."

The Virgin Birth then is a prelude and preliminary to Christ's atoning work—in that it secured that, while He was truly man, the Atonement was wrought not by a man but by the Son of God, and that in His sinless humanity He offered to the Father that sacrifice of obedience which opened the way to reconciliation between God and man and man's re-creation as a son of God.

"SUFFERED UNDER PONTIUS PILATE, WAS CRUCIFIED,
DEAD AND BURIED"

THE SON of God came on earth clothed in all that belongs to sinless human nature to die in order to reconcile God and man, who was estranged from Him by sin. " The Son of Man," He said, " came . . . to give his life as a ransom for many." " The good Shepherd layeth down his life for his sheep." This reconciliation of God and man is known as the Atonement, a term for which we are indebted to Tyndale. The Church has formulated no doctrine of the Atonement in the way it has defined the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and of the Incarnation of the Son of God. This has led some persons to say that it is the fact not any theory of the Atonement which saves man. It is a somewhat rapid statement, for it is quite obviously true. But if the believer could form some theory of the Atonement true to fact appealing to his heart and mind, it would make him more humbly appreciative of what Christ has done in laying down His life for him. So the Church has from age to age tried to obtain some conception of the idea underlying the death of Christ for sinful man, interpreting it according to the ideas of each age. We do not intend to trace here, the history of these theories. No reference will be made to wrong ideas about the Atonement which have proved abhorrent to the Christian mind. All that will be attempted here will be to give in broad outline some thoughts which might prove helpful.

Our starting point should be the fact that it is God the Father Who initiates man's redemption. " God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son." " God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself." The agent of the redemption was God the Son.

This work of redemption or reconciliation has a threefold aspect, viz. towards God, man and Satan. God desires to give man forgiveness and the power of a new life, just as a loving parent desires to take an erring child to his favour and help him to lead a satisfactory life. But God cannot give that forgiveness till man acknowledges the heinousness of sin and the holiness of God. If forgiveness were given before such acknowledgment, man would never know that sin is a defilement, an act of ingratitude to God, and rebellion against Him. Man would also never realize that God abhors sin, that He is of purer eyes than to behold

iniquity. He would never realize the holiness of God. Easy forgiveness would also upset the moral order of the universe, just as in a school discipline would disappear if every breach of it were easily condoned. Through our Lord's earthly life which was full of suffering on account of man's ingratitude, treachery, injustice, and cruelty, culminating in the crown of thorns, the nails, the cross and the spear, we recognize the true character of sin when it is fully developed. Looking at the agony of the crucified Son of God we also understand what an awful power sin is because man's salvation could not be wrought by man nor by an angel but by God Himself.

The suffering He underwent was not punishment on behalf of man but it was vicarious suffering. There is a world of difference between vicarious punishment and vicarious suffering. The former is pure injustice; the latter is the purest form of loving appeal. A loving mother sorrowing intensely for a reprobate son is not undergoing vicarious punishment but she is suffering vicariously, and it may move the offender to turn away from his evil ways. Thus Christ opened the way to bring forgiveness to man by vindicating the holiness of God and exhibiting to man the true nature of sin, and moving man to repentance: "Love so amazing, so Divine, demands my soul, my life, my all." As man's representative summing up in His Person the whole of humanity He offered to God the sacrifice of obedience even unto death, so that man who was estranged from God is, when he repents, brought back to Him and "We are accepted in the Beloved Son," being mystically united to Him.

Christ on the Cross defeated the powers of evil and broke the power of Satan, the bondage of sin and the fear of death. So we read: "Having spoiled principalities and powers he made a show of them openly triumphing over them in it," i.e. the Cross. Thus "the air of Heaven is perfumed with the fragrance of an altar and animated with the glory of a great conquest."

But Heaven, as has been truly said, is not full of pardoned felons but of holy saints. Forgiveness is not enough. We need the power of a new life. This is secured to us by the Resurrection of our Lord. Declared righteous through faith in Him, mystically united to Him, the grace of God is mediated to us through the Sacraments of the Church to restore in us the image of God—our likeness to Him; so that we can say with S. Paul, "The life I now live I live in the power of the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me." The duty of redeemed man is given in the solemn words of the Anglican Baptismal Service: "Baptism doth represent unto us our profession, which is to follow the example of our Saviour Christ and to be made like unto him; that as he died and rose again, so should we, who are baptized die from sin and rise again unto righteousness, continually mortifying all our evil and corrupt affections, and daily proceeding in all virtue and godliness of life."

The Cross of Christ means, let it be understood, very much more than our personal salvation. Christ the Lord by His Holy Cross has not only

redeemed us as individuals but He has redeemed us as members of the human race. If that were not so, the idea of the Cross must inevitably make us very much self-centred and self-absorbed. So we sing on Good Friday : " We venerate Thy Cross, O Lord, and praise and glorify Thy Holy Resurrection ; for behold, through the Wood, Joy has *come to the whole world.*"

The redemption of man is a tremendous and unique act of the all merciful and loving Father, foreordained from the foundation of the world. It was ordained for the redemption of all people from the bondage of sin, both living and dead, on earth and in the Paradise of God.

But the world is so very full of evil. There is strife among men, even among Christians. Some are so painfully wedded to their schemes and personal idiosyncrasies that they endeavour to trample under foot the rights of others. The Cross to them means very little. They have nothing to contribute to the peace of the world, with the result that we hear of wars and rumours of wars. There can be no peace in the world, until all the peoples, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth have realized the futility of their own devices, and learnt to look upon Him on the Cross, Whom they by their selfish actions have pierced. Peace can be ushered into the world only when the Kingdoms of the world have become the Kingdom of our God, and the authority of His Holy Church is firmly established and that authority joyfully accepted.

We see in that bleeding and dying figure the remedy for all our national and individual, political, and social ailments. We need to remember that the unbeliever has no grievance with Jesus the crucified Lord, but only with us, His unworthy followers. The unbeliever does not despise Jesus, but he despises those who are called after His Name but deny Him in their lives. We must learn with His Spirit—Spirit of courage, of love and of a sound mind :

*O dearest Lord, Thy sacred Heart
With spear was pierced for me ;
O pour Thy spirit in my heart
That I may live for Thee.*

THE MASS AND ITS RELATION TO THE ATONEMENT

THOUSANDS OF persons who were not Roman citizens were crucified from time to time in the Roman Empire. It was an ordinary sight and no one took much notice of it. When our Lord was crucified on Calvary both unbelieving Jews and Gentiles would have regarded His crucifixion as that of a dangerous popular leader who was suspected of inflaming the Jewish lower classes against their national leaders and of giving trouble to Roman officials. To the ordinary beholder there was no difference between that crucifixion and other crucifixions. But our Lord in the evening before He was crucified showed by word and sign to His intimate friends that His death, which was going to take place on the morrow, was no ordinary event. Gathering them in the Upper Chamber at Jerusalem, in celebrating the First Mass He used the

language of Sacrifice. He called the meal a Passover. "With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer." He referred to it also as a Covenant Sacrifice. "This cup is the new covenant in My blood which is poured out for you." He was thus interpreting to them the meaning of what they would see in the morning. So what took place in the Upper Chamber on that night and what was to take place when day appeared were not two events but one. The tragedy on Calvary was no ordinary execution but a Sacrifice offered on behalf of man, the sealing of a new covenant between God and man.

Whenever Mass is said at our Altars the Body is broken and the Blood poured out and that act derives its significance from what took place on Calvary. The action of the Priest at the Altar and the congregation assisting him is one with what our Lord did on Calvary. The Sacrifice on Calvary can never be repeated. It was offered once for all. We connect every Mass with what was done on Calvary and plead that Sacrifice of the Atonement wrought by Christ. We do more. The essential part of a sacrifice is not the death of the victim but the life (denoted by blood) set free by death. So we read in Leviticus: "The life of the flesh is in the blood for I have given it to you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls, for it is the blood that maketh atonement by reason of the life."

In the Mass the devout communicant receives to himself that supernatural life of Christ set free through death. That life enters into him because He who died is alive for evermore. In every passage in the New Testament or in our hymns what is meant by the Blood of Christ is His life set free by death and made available to us through His glorification, that that life may impart to us both cleansing and the power of a new life.

Thus every Mass is connected with Calvary and every Mass gives, as is said above, the meaning, significance and reality of what was done on Calvary. The connection of the Mass with the Sacrifice on Calvary as inseparable from it is set forth by S. Paul. The significance of S. Paul's language is obscured in the translation of the A.V.: "As often as ye eat of this bread and drink of this cup ye do shew forth the Lord's death." The R.V. translates correctly, "Ye *proclaim* the Lord's death." The Mass is not a shewing of the Lord's broken Body and of the Blood shed. It is a proclamation of the significance of the death on Calvary. That proclamation is twofold, before God and before man—before God in that we plead the merits of that Sacrifice for our sins; before man, a proclamation of the Love of God, "thus dying for us." "It is a continual remembrance (before God and man) of the Sacrifice of the death of Christ."

"HE DESCENDED INTO HELL"

"HELL" HERE means the condition of departed spirits. It is also called Paradise or Hades. "Today thou shalt be with me in Paradise," said our Lord to the penitent robber.

“Descended”: Matters which surpass human experience are expressed in the Creed in symbolical language. The Descent to Hades, the Ascension and the Session at the Right Hand are real events in our Lord's life; but the terms used are symbolic. We cannot however rationally accept the view that the Virgin Birth and the bodily Resurrection of Christ are also expressed in symbolic language for they can be submitted to human tests.

S. Peter 3, 18, is quoted as the Scriptural proof of this Article of the Creed. “Because Christ also suffered for sins once, the righteous for the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh but quickened in the Spirit in which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison.” (R.V.)

The value of this Article of the Creed is first that it throws light on our Lord's human nature. It was the soul of the Lord Jesus which went into Paradise. In one of the heresies (Apollinarian) it was stated that our Lord had no rational human soul (nous) and that its place was taken by the Divine Logos—Reason: the rational human soul being akin to the Divine Reason. If such be the case, Christ in redeeming human nature failed to redeem and sanctify one of the highest faculties in man, his rational soul. Heresy on the Person of Christ wavers from one side to the other. At one time it denies the fullness of our Lord's humanity and emphasises His Divinity. At another time it attributes everything which belongs to the fullness of human nature and asserts that the Divine nature was only immanent in Him. The Church's answer is “Perfect God and Perfect Man,” and the personality is that of the Son of God. He has a human soul.

The Article is also valuable as it asserts what Christ underwent for man and sanctifies every universal human experience.

“ON THE THIRD DAY HE ROSE AGAIN FROM THE DEAD”

TO PASS from the narratives of the Passion of our Lord to the accounts of His Resurrection is like passing from storm and tempest to a haven of rest and peace. Multitudes, fierce cries, cruel mockeries, hate, injustice, cruelty—and then calm, and serene quietude. Enemies are absent from the Resurrection narratives, only friends are present. The Resurrection though a historic event had a spiritual significance, and that could be conveyed only to those whose hearts were open to welcome the Risen Saviour.

The charm, artlessness and naturalness of the stories of the Resurrection given by the four Evangelists attest that what they relate is truth. S. Mark's account is cut short before he narrates any appearances of the Risen Lord. Was the leaf of the papyrus roll in which it was recorded lost, or was it that S. Mark perished in the awful Neronian persecution and could not finish his work? However that might be, what little he relates in a straightforward manner without any embellishments agrees with what the other Evangelists write.

What charm there is in the story given by S. John of the appearance, the very first, to Mary Magdalene! The whole story turns on two words—"Mary," "Rabboni." The setting—a quiet garden, an empty tomb and a heart-broken woman waiting for a lost Master to Whom she cannot pay even the last offices of honour and love. The Lord appears to heal the sorrow of a devoted friend.

The walk in S. Luke's account to Emmaus with two disciples, the sadness of the wayfarers who had buried their hopes when the tomb closed on the Prophet from Whom they had expected so much, their refusal to believe the "delirious" tales of women, the unknown Traveller explaining to them that the Messiah should suffer and enter into His glory, then the arrival at home, the unknown Traveller apparently desirous of continuing His journey for He had not been invited to their home—the invitation given and accepted—the guest presides at the table, as of right, the blessing and breaking of the bread of the evening meal—and then their eyes were opened. He vanishes—who could ever have invented such a life-like story as that? In every line of the narrative there is truth, dignity and peace.

Simon Peter, who was moving in the shadow of a great sorrow because he had renounced his Master, had an appearance vouchsafed to him. Of that meeting when the Apostle was forgiven no description is given because it was so intimate. If the Evangelists were writing fiction, would they not have tried to picture the scene from their imagination?

AlI through the day the Lord had tried to convince His company whom He had called His friends to believe without seeing Him. The empty tomb, the grave-clothes left undisturbed, the angel's assurances, the message of Mary Magdalene, the stories related by the women, the announcement by the disciples from Emmaus—all this did not produce any effect on their minds and they disbelieved that there could be a rising from the dead. They thus missed the last Beatitude—the blessing which the Church is to enjoy till the end of time—"Blessed are they which have not seen and yet have believed."

At last the Risen Lord appears to the Apostolic company. They were assembled for fear of the Jews behind closed doors. When the enemies had heard that the tomb was empty would they not have thought that the intimate friends of the Master had stolen the body, and attack them? The Lord calms their fears. He assures them of His identity. The marks of the nails and of the gash of the spear which pierced His side are shown. He proves that He is no disembodied spirit. Then He appeals to the Scriptures in proof that all this was foretold. At first the disciples disbelieved for joy. Now they believe and are full of joy. He speaks peace to them, inspires them and sends them to the world to carry forward the work He had begun. Could this bewildering but orderly story of fear, unbelief, rapture of belief have been invented by that group of simple peasants, who right

through the three years ministry showed themselves unimaginative and prosaic persons, slow of understanding.

Then there are two last scenes in which the tenderness of the Risen Lord rises to a climax. Thomas leaps from doubt to the height of the greatest confession made by any of the disciples, "My Lord and My God!" He was vouchsafed the proof he asked for because it was no challenge of an unbeliever, but the cry of a man who was convinced that the Master Who loved Him and Whom he loved so intensely would grant it to him if it were possible. Tenderly the Master invites him to put the proof to a test. But he wants no proof now.

How tender again is the scene by the Lake of Galilee. As they toil, the Master watches, an assurance that in aftertime, when they become fishers of men, they will have His watchful care. And so we pass on to the last scene when the penitent disciple is restored to Apostleship. The examination was confined to one question only: "Simon, son of John, lovest thou me?" Not Theology but Love is the final and supreme test.

Such are the records of the Resurrection. They pass beyond any invention of the imagination. Their simplicity and naturalness are the guarantee of their truthfulness. Read them again and you cannot fail without any further proof to accept the tremendous miracle as true: "The Lord is risen indeed." Death could not hold the Lord of life.

S. Anselm, the most learned man of his age, stated that when a man has believed the truths of Christianity, he should examine the reasons for his belief. Reason alone can never bring a man to faith, for faith is the gift of God. But reason can deepen faith, so that it becomes a rational faith. It would be well to examine some of the reasons for believing that Christ did rise from the dead. These reasons can be presented in a threefold way, first, the evidence of literature, secondly, the evidence of Christian history, and thirdly, the evidence of certain Christian customs.

First, the evidence of literature, i.e. the accounts of our Lord's Resurrection in the New Testament. There is a naturalness and beauty in these accounts which bear the stamp of truth. This has been stated already. Read these accounts first as mere literature and you cannot fail to see the blending of simplicity and truth which not even the greatest literary artist can emulate. What artist was there in the poor company of our Lord's disciples who could have created such stories from imagination? Again, how can we account for the transformation of the character of the Apostles? They were full of fear after the crucifixion. They lived behind closed doors. Earlier they had forsaken their Master when He was arrested by His enemies. Fifty days later they convict the Jerusalem crowd of murder and defy the Jewish rulers. Weak men, full of fear, have become heroes. What but the rising of the Master could have wrought this amazing transformation?

The greatest proof of the Resurrection is the existence of the Christian Church. The Resurrection of Christ is the central fact of Christianity. In the Book of the Acts again and again we are told that the Apostles proclaimed the Resurrection of the Lord. And during twenty centuries the Church has declared daily, "On the third day He rose again from the dead."²*

Christ died on the cross. His enemies thought they were rid of Him for ever. Could an institution which is ever extending and has lasted so many centuries be founded on a delusion or a fraud? If that were so, fiction is stronger than truth. Between Calvary and the rise of the Christian Church a wonderful and stupendous event must have taken place and that could only be the Resurrection of the Lord.

Then there is the witness of Christian customs. The first Christians were all of them Jews. As Jews they held the Sabbath to be a Divine institution and observed it as a solemn obligation. What reason but the event of Easter day could have made Christians neglect the Sabbath, the seventh day of the week—a Divine institution—and adopt Sunday the first day of the week as the Church's festival day in every week?

Or again, if the Cross destroyed Jesus of Nazareth would not Christians abhor the Sign of the Cross? The Cross is honoured because it is now the symbol not of a defeat but of a victory—victory over the powers of evil.

The Mass is celebrated as a Memorial of our Lord's Passion. "As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death." If the Lord's life ended in death on the cross the Mass would be an observance surrounded with sorrow. But we celebrate it with all that art can contribute to make it a feast of joy, because it is a commemoration not only of a death, but also of victory over death. Such then are some of the reasons, apart from the evidence of the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament, which can help believers to realize that their faith is founded on a well-attested historical fact.

But more than reason is needed to make that historical fact a spiritual fact which transforms life—and that is gained through worship of the Risen Lord at the Holy Eucharist and receiving from Him the spiritual Food and the gifts He gives us—threefold gifts—*comfort* about our dead, *pardon* for our sins, *power* to walk in newness of life.

* Note on the bodily Resurrection of Christ :

It is absurd in the face of the constant testimony of the Bible to maintain that our Lord's body laid in the tomb of Joseph of Arimethea saw corruption. "Come see the place where the Lord lay" (S. Matt.) "He is not here; behold the place where they laid Him" (S. Mk.) They entered in and found not the body of the Lord Jesus. "They found not His body" (S. Luke). In S. John's Gospel there is a circumstantial account how the two disciples who entered the tomb found only undisturbed linen cloths. S. Peter asserts "Nor did His flesh see corruption". The bodily resurrection of our Lord, one of the strongest proofs of His rising from the dead, stands on ground which cannot be shaken. While accepting that fact we need believe no more than that in our own case for the fulness of our life and our personal identity there is for us a spiritual body.

“ HE ASCENDED INTO HEAVEN ”

A description of the Ascension is given in the first chapter of the Acts. Those who assembled on Mount Olivet on the day of the Ascension believed that this earth was a flat place and that heaven was above the earth. Condescending to their ideas, our Lord in His Resurrection Body rose into mid air ; then He was hidden from their sight by a cloud. The Ascension does not mean change of place, but change of mode of presence. He Who was localised while He was seen on earth now became an unseen presence in the whole universe. “ All things have been created through him and unto him and he is before all things and in him all things consist.”

Ascension Day might be called the Festival of the perpetual Presence of the glorified Jesus with His Church. He had promised ; “ I will not leave you comfortless, I will come unto you ” ; “ Lo ! I am with you always even unto the end of the world.”

The perpetual Presence of Christ with His Church is not a mere delusion or a pious hope. Trace the history of the Christian Church through the centuries and it will be seen that He is fulfilling His promise. The Church in its earliest days overcame the persecuting fury of the Roman State and mob-violence which tried to strangle it in its cradle. After that it was distressed by heresies and the Church's victory over them is written in the Creeds. Next it had to face invasions of barbarians into Christian countries round the Mediterranean. It taught, tamed, civilized and Christianised them. In the next age though there was on the one side Christian chivalry, the disciplined lives of monks, the intrepidity of missionaries, and the preservation of sacred and secular learning in monasteries, there was also superstition, i.e. belief divorced from morals. The Reformation, the Roman counter-Reformation and the growth of the Universities combined to sweep away superstition from the sanctioned teaching of the Church. It leapt across the Atlantic to the New World. It is a fact, as Gladstone said, that Christianity has always marched in the van of civilization. It spread and is spreading not only in countries which had an old civilization of their own, but also into the most savage lands. It is spreading and extending, and when it touches old religious systems of the East, it revives and purifies them. Nothing but the perpetual Presence of Christ can account for the survival, revivals and extension of the Christian Church.

“ HE SITTETH AT THE RIGHT HAND OF GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY ”

THE SESSION at the Right Hand of God expresses in symbol the Kingship of Christ : “ All power is given to me in heaven and earth.” He is now the King of His Mediatorial Kingdom, the Christian Church. When Sin, Satan and Death have been finally conquered, He will

deliver the Mediatorial Kingdom to the Father and of His (Christ's) Divine Kingdom "there shall be no end."

Kingship and priesthood are joined together in descriptions of the Ruler over the post-captivity Jewish community. Church and State are united. Some passages of the later prophets describe King and Priest as sharing a throne. In some passages as in Psalm 110, Kingship and Priesthood are united in one Person. The king who has gained victory is addressed: "Thou art a Priest for ever after the Order of Melchizedek." The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews following this line of thought writes: "We have such a high priest who sat down in the right hand of the throne of the majesty in the heavens." Christ is in the highest heaven in the character of King and Priest. The work of a priest is sacrifice and intercession. So the author of the Epistle writes: "He is able to save to the uttermost them that draw near unto God through Him, seeing He ever liveth to make intercession for them." "Our author thus combines the conception of Christ's single and final sacrifice on earth with that of a continuous and perpetual atoning work carried forward . . . in the immediate presence of God." (Steven's *Theology of N.T.*, p.508.)

"FROM THENCE HE WILL COME TO JUDGE THE
QUICK AND THE DEAD"

JEWISH PEOPLE in our Lord's day were divided into two parties as to their view of the future of their nation. In Judaea and Jerusalem, where Rabbinic influence was greatest, the well-being of the nation was considered to be dependent on the keeping of the Mosaic Law. The Pharisees therefore made by their vexatious rule a hedge round the law for its better and more careful observance. But Galilean Jews more in touch with the Gentile world, which expected a catastrophic end of the world, accepted the Gentile belief. Apocalypses developing this idea were plentiful, and, if they fell into the hands of the Orthodox Judaeans, they were destroyed.

All our Lord's Apostles were Galileans. At the Ascension of our Lord they were addressed as "men of Galilee." On the day of Pentecost surprise was expressed "are not all these Galileans?" Though our Lord often taught that His Second Coming would be long delayed, the Apostles expected an immediate coming of our Lord, a judgment and the end of the world. Not only are traces of this belief found in the Gospels and the Epistles of S. James, S. Jude and S. Peter, but the Gospel according to S. Matthew is also edited from the point of view of an immediate Second Coming of our Lord to judgment.

S. Paul's views on this subject are remarkable. He was a Hebrew of the Hebrews, brought up at the feet of Gamaliel. He was devoted to the keeping of the Mosaic Law as the one hope of Israel. But when he discovered the uselessness of the tradition of the Elders which was intended to safeguard the Law, and that the function of the Law was only

a rudimentary code of morals preparing the way for Christ, the hopes he had founded on careful observance of the Law were abandoned, and he too seems to have believed with yearning, in the earlier part of his Ministry, that there would be an immediate and catastrophic end of the world preceded by a final judgment of all mankind.

In the Middle Ages lurid pictures based on this language of the New Testament were drawn of Christ's Second Coming for Judgment. The noblest, the most solemn and the most awe-inspiring description is found in the *Dies Irae* of Thomas of Celano. The Burial Service in our Prayer Book is tinged with the ideas of the hopelessness of this world and the dread of coming judgment. We pray that God may be pleased shortly to accomplish the number of His elect and hasten His Kingdom—for this world is too miserable a place to live in; and in the passages before the body is committed to earth, the dreadful character of the judgment is emphasised.

Our own thoughts are more occupied in these days not with the dismal and awful character of death but with the glories which are to follow. We lay our dead to rest, "in sure and certain hope of a resurrection." We do not let our minds rest on the "day of wrath, that dreadful day." We believe that each man will be called to account for his deeds. The thought of a Great Assize and a great White Throne are foreign to our everyday thoughts. We have shed the Jewish Apocalyptic imagery.

Our thoughts turn from the judgment of individuals to a coming of our Lord, age after age, as appears in the Greek version of the Nicene Creed, in judgment, when human society, which had the light of Christ and preferred darkness to light had corrupted itself. Where the carcass is, there will the vultures be gathered together. Such were the judgments which fell on the great Empires of ancient history. They pass before us—giant Empires which were judged and found wanting and have only their remains to tell of their ancient greatness: Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece, Rome. And so the procession goes on through the centuries; Christ comes in judgment continually. There may or may not be a catastrophic end of the world when it is in the zenith of its glory, or it may be that the earth will cool down and the last man may be found shivering in the cold of what was once the tropics. But whichever view we take of the end of the world, two facts stand unshaken. Each man comes under the unerring judgment of Christ, and He comes in judgment whenever any civilization or kingdom has corrupted itself. We can therefore affirm with confidence that Christ is the judge of mankind.

" I BELIEVE IN THE HOLY GHOST "

IN CONNECTION with the doctrine of the Holy Trinity we shall learn that the Holy Spirit is not a mere influence, but that He is Personal, Divine, Eternal and Co-equal in majesty with the Father and the Son.

We will first consider His work before the Christian dispensation. That work which He did then is continued to this day and it has been added to under the Christian dispensation. The writer of the first chapter of the Book of Genesis states that at the creation the Spirit of God "was brooding upon" (*R. V. margin*) "the formless, chaotic, watery waste." Then it was that there appeared on earth life and beauty, trees and flowers and grass, and living beings of the sky, sea and land and, as a climax, man made in the image of God. The imparting of life and beauty to the earth is the special work of the Holy Spirit and it is referred to in the Creed used at the Service of Holy Communion in the words : "Giver of Life."

Then we find it stated in the Book of Exodus that the making of beautiful things by man is also due to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, though all artists may not be aware of it. The person who wrote an account of the Tabernacle or Tent of Meeting, which Israel is said to have used in the wilderness, states, that the artist Bazaleel was inspired by God, Who said : "I have filled him with the Spirit of God, in wisdom and in understanding and in knowledge and in all manner of workmanship."

Passing on to the Book of Judges we find the Holy Spirit inspiring the heroes of Israel with patriotism and courage. "The Spirit of the Lord came upon Gideon." "The Spirit of the Lord came upon Jephthah." Even the freebooter Samson in his best moments, when he wrought doughty deeds for his people, was under the influence of the Spirit of the Lord.

The highest manifestation of the work of the Holy Spirit under the Old Jewish Covenant was the inspiration of prophets. The prophetic order had a lowly origin. In judging any movement its worth should be estimated not in its rudimentary form but at its full development. Prophets, when they attained the height of their power, were the revealers of the Divine will to Israel, its moral teachers and its statesmen guiding the nation. "It is the prophets who are the special organs of the Spirit, and as the features of true prophetic inspiration became more and more distinct, the prophets appear as the instruments of a continuous self-revelation of God." (Gore.)

Here we have to turn aside a little and inquire what is meant by inspiration. The Church has not defined the doctrine of Inspiration. The nearest approach to a formulated definition is in Gore's Essay on the Holy Spirit in *Lux Mundi*. The pagan idea was that under the influence of the Spirit all the natural faculties of a man were overpowered and atrophied. He becomes the mere mechanical instrument of a power controlling him wholly. This pagan view is set forth in the story of Balaam in the Book of Numbers. He was a pagan prophet. The pagan view of inspiration is still held by some. It is known as the verbal inspiration of the Bible, i.e. that every word of the Holy Scriptures is inspired by the Spirit of God, and the Biblical writer is a mere automaton. The Christian idea of inspiration is that according to a man's capacity his moral and spiritual faculties are purified and

illuminated, and he becomes an agent of the Holy Spirit. Thus S. Luke states that he had "carefully followed all things from the beginning" in writing the Gospel. Such investigation would have been unnecessary if he was used as a mere mechanical instrument of the Holy Spirit. Inspiration begun under the Old Covenant is continued under the New Covenant in the inspiration of the writers of the New Testament books—and what is more, from the day of Pentecost, the whole Christian Church is a Spirit-bearing body and every member of it in his own degree is inspired by the Holy Spirit. Thus in the story of the beginnings of the Christian Church set forth in the Acts of the Apostles mention is made continually of the action of the Holy Spirit on individuals in the early Christian community, so that the Book of Acts has been called truly the Gospel of the Holy Spirit.

Passing back to our main theme, the work of the Holy Spirit under the Old Covenant, we should note that man's moral regeneration and spiritual advancement were attributed to Him. In the 51st Psalm the penitent cries: "Take not Thy Holy Spirit from me." "Establish me with Thy free Spirit."

The Holy Spirit also works in human history guiding nations if they would yield to Him. Isaiah writes: "As the cattle that go down in the valley, the Spirit of the Lord caused them to rest: so didst Thou lead Thy people to make Thyself a glorious name." The work of the Holy Spirit under the Old Covenant was intermittent fitting men for some particular duty. In the Christian Church it is continuous and permanent.

So great is the difference between the work of the Holy Spirit before Christ and His work after Christ, that the writer of S. John's Gospel says: "This spake he of the Spirit which they that believed on him were to receive: for the Spirit was not yet."

The Christian Church is ever reminding her children of the glorious heritage they have in the work of the Holy Spirit. Every sermon begins with an invocation of Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Every Creed mentions belief in the Holy Spirit. Baptism and Confirmation are occasions on which the Holy Spirit is imparted. In the Holy Communion the Holy Spirit makes common food the Body and Blood of the Saviour.

But ordinarily, Christian people, however devout, do not think of the Holy Spirit so much as they do of the Father Who created, and the Son Who redeemed them. When a Christian truth is neglected, heresies and aberrations take place. For instance the sect known as the Pentecostal Christians lay unbalanced stress on the work of the Holy Spirit. Equal stress is not laid by them on the Incarnation and the Redemption wrought by the Son of God.

The work of the Holy Spirit is a tremendous fact in the world. He still gives life and beauty to the material world. He is the inspirer of art. He makes men courageous to deal with evil. He inspired the prophets and the writers of the New Testament books. He is the Power

giving reality to the Sacraments and Sacramental rites of the Church. He is the indwelling Power in every Christian, guiding, teaching and strengthening him spiritually. He equips the Ministers of the Church for their work.

He also acts in the unbelieving world. The world apart from the Holy Spirit does not recognise sin to be sin. He convicts the world of sin. Apart from the Holy Spirit the world does not know what a really good life is. He convicts the world of righteousness. There are two standards of life in the world—the standard of Satan : Selfishness ; and the standard of God : Self-sacrifice. It is the work of the Holy Spirit to teach men what is the Divine standard of life, recalling them to the example of Christ's life and to His teaching, and so " the prince of this world is judged." His standard is condemned.

Belief in one God is common to Judaism, Islam and Christianity. But it is only the Christian Faith which enshrines the belief that God is One in three Persons—a Trinity in Unity. How did Christian thinkers come to the conclusion that God is not mere Unity but Tri-personal ? From Hebrew sacred literature as well as from Greek philosophy they learnt that God is Supreme over all. There cannot be more than one Supreme Being, for supreme means that there is none like or equal to Him. The presence of order in the Universe shows that there are not many conflicting wills in it, but over all there is a Supreme will. Thus against the polytheism of Greece and of nations round Canaan, the Jew declared " Hear O Israel ! The Lord our God is one Lord." History shows that while polytheism degrades nations, monotheism has always been an uplifting power to raise man to higher levels of moral and social life. Christians were convinced that there is one God, that there is no one but He.

But at the same time they were convinced that there was no possible explanation of the Personality of Christ, but that He is both Human and Divine—Divine and yet distinct from the Being whom He called Father and Whose equal He claimed to be. Christ Himself had taught the Apostles that the Holy Spirit Himself is Personal and Divine. Christians had experienced, as may be seen in the Acts of the Apostles and the Apostolic Epistles, that they had the constant guidance and assistance of a Power designated as the Holy Spirit. Thus the early Christian thinkers had to reconcile belief in one God with belief in Father, belief in Christ, belief in Holy Spirit, all of them Divine.

Many years passed and many thinkers thought out the problem. Some fell into error, and because they persisted in it the Church rejected them as heretics. It is enough to say that the final declaration, that in the Unity of the Godhead there are three Persons, was formulated by the Greek intellect, the keenest the world has ever known.

S. John, the Apostle whose writings show that he penetrated into Divine truth more than any other man, declares as the result of the experience of a long life that God is Love. He is eternally Love, for He does not change. Then from all eternity His love must have been

bestowed on some One eternal—Love is at its highest when bestowed on an equal—that is on the Eternal Son, the Second Person of the Holy Trinity, equal to the Father in all things. But we have still to push this thought further till we have the conception of three Persons in Unity. Now between a lover and one loved there is a bond of union. In the Godhead this bond of union is also Personal. For the lowest mode of existence is as a quality; higher than that is existence as a thing. The highest form of existence known to us is personal existence. Therefore if the bond of love between the Father and the Son is the highest conceivable, that bond is also personal. But then it might be said that through that illustration we obtain only the idea of a Trinity of Persons but not a Unity of Persons. There again we have to resort to an analogy in illustration.

The elements of personality are Will, Reason and Affection, and in any person they exist in a unity. If reason, will and affection exist in the Godhead in the highest mode, each of them is not only Personal but as in man they are also a Unity, i.e. Father, Son and Holy Spirit indwell in each other. For the comfort of us men whom not seldom distresses, disasters, sufferings, changes and chances of this mortal life overtake in this world, so sadly disordered by sin and suffering, we have as our great Companion One Who is Eternal Love and in that faith we face life with a courage which nought but belief in the Holy Trinity can give us.

“ I BELIEVE IN ONE HOLY CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH ”

So RUNS the clause in the “ Nicene ” Creed in its original form. The significance of this article of the Creed is that, in the first place, the believer does not trust in himself to attain to that perfection which will make him meet to be a partaker of the inheritance of the saints in light, but that through the ministrations of the Church the Holy Trinity will work in him the marvel of salvation, i.e., redemption from moral evil (sin), intellectual evil (error) and fear of death, making death the entrance into a larger life than this earth affords. He believes that this Church is “ Holy ” because it is the special sphere in which the Holy Spirit works, and His work is to make men perfect in holiness :

i. The Church is Holy. The Church is Holy, because the Head, Jesus Christ, is Holy. The chief duty of her members is worship and service to the Divine Lord. It is also the sphere in which the Holy Spirit works, and His work is to make men perfect in holiness.

ii. The Church is “ One. ” It is usual to speak of “ Churches ” in the sense that there are groups of Christians in various localities loyal to one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one hope of Glory. Thus in New Testament times there were the Churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, Corinth, Ephesus, Rome, etc. There are now the Churches of England, America, Canada, India, etc. All these are not separated from each

other, but form a Unity. In these latter days the word "Churches" is used not in a localised sense but of groups of believers who are mutually separated from each other laying stress on some particular Christian truth. Churches were in the early ages of the Church local and national, acknowledging a Unity with each other. It has now become the term to describe societies of believers whose foundation, organization and outlook are disunion.

iii. The Church is "Catholic." In the earliest days this term was used to distinguish the Church which was Universal, from various local bodies which had separated themselves from that society which traced its ancestry to our Lord and His holy Apostles. Schism was local, the Church was Universal. Heresy found a home in various man-made societies mutually exclusive of each other, while the Catholic Church, though found in various localities, is One. There is also another meaning of the word "Catholic," that is : the Catholic Church teaches all truth. The history of the Church shows that heresies have sprung from a failure to preserve the balance of truth. One truth is emphasised to such a degree that another complementary truth is treated as comparatively insignificant or is ignored. The best example of the manner in which the Church teaches the whole truth is found in the arrangement of the Church's year. Death, Judgment, Heaven, we are reminded of in Advent. Christmas celebrates the Incarnation of our Lord. Epiphany sets forth Christ as the Saviour of the world. Lent calls us to repentance. Holy Week teaches the atoning work of Christ. Easter presents to us a Saviour Who can help to the uttermost them that come to Him. The work of the Holy Spirit in the Church is next commemorated. On Trinity Sunday we are bidden to contemplate the nature of the God-head, and on the Sundays after Trinity, the practical duties of the Christian life are taught. No side of Christian belief and life is ignored. The Church Calendar is a witness to the Catholicity of the teaching of the Church.

The Catholicity of the Church consists, in the third place, in that her life is continuous, from the earliest ages to the present. Though sore distressed by heresies and rent asunder by schisms, the Church is a Society which has survived the changes and chances of mortal life. It has had periods of weakness and unfaithfulness, but it has revived again and again carrying on the torch of truth and the example of the good life to successive generations.

iv. The Church is Apostolic. Its Apostolicity can be gauged from two sides—one historical and the other practical. Its Ministry, the means whereby the Unity of the Church is safeguarded, can be traced in unbroken succession from the earliest times, in that its Ministers are ordained and sent forth by those who have authority, viz the Bishops, to send forth labourers to the Lord's Vineyard. But historic continuity is not sufficient for the Ministry to lay claim to Apostolicity. S. Paul claimed to be an Apostle equal to the original Twelve and he based this claim not only on the fact that he was called to the Apostolate by the

Risen Christ, who appeared to him on the Damascus road. But he also appeals to his life of self-denial, heroic virtue, daring adventure for Christ, his sufferings and his abundant labours as marks of his Apostolate. Historical continuity of a ministry is only a part of its Apostolic character. It must be irradiated by the holiness, adventure, selflessness and simplicity of the Apostolic life. Dead periods of the Church were characterised by the exclusive appearance of the former aspect, and the disunion in the Church is perpetuated by undue emphasis on the latter aspect. Where the two aspects are united, we have an Apostolic Ministry which can go forth to conquer the world.

(a) **The Church a Divine Society.**—Is the Church man-made or God-made? Is it human in origin or is it a Divine creation? Some might think that it is man-made because men are always forming unions, brotherhoods, societies, congresses for political, social or religious purposes. They fall into groups according to race, social position, culture or profession. Is not the Church such a man-made group bearing witness to spiritual things in a world sunk in materialism? The Church is not a human society. Our Lord left no book, but He formed a society. Its rulers were the Apostles whom He trained. "Ye shall sit on thrones," He said, "judging the twelve tribes of Israel," i.e. the new Israel, the Church. "You have not chosen Me, but I have chosen you." "Ye shall be witnesses unto Me." He gave them the power of spiritual healing and the power of discipline. "Whosoever sins ye forgive they are forgiven, and whosoever sins ye retain they are retained." He instituted two rites: Baptism for entrance into the Society in order to unite believers to Himself and to one another by a spiritual bond; the Holy Eucharist to strengthen and renew that mysterious union.

The Church is thus a Divine Society founded by Christ Himself. But because its members are sinners, it shows marks of imperfection, such as disunion, worldliness, a low standard of conduct, error, etc. In this respect it is like man, made in the image of God, but marred by sin.

What was Christ's object in founding the Church? First, it was to bind men into a brotherhood. There are many disruptive elements in human society. In the Church there is neither Jew nor Gentile, bond nor free, Barbarian or Scythian, male or female, but all are one in Christ. Distinctions of race, of social standing, of culture, even the distinctions of sex, disappear in the Church of Christ. That is the ideal.

Secondly, the Church is the home of grace, carrying on the work of Christ, inspired by His Spirit. This work is threefold, to deliver men from erroneous views about God and man, to proclaim the significance of the Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ that there is forgiveness for sin, however deeply we may have sinned, and that by grace mediated through the Sacraments of the Church, we may walk in newness of life; to remind us of the spiritual world and train us for it, so that we can face death boldly and without fear. The glorious words of the Lord Jesus Christ to S. Paul contain the charter of the Church's work. "I

send thee to open their eyes, that they may turn from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive remission of sins and an inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith in Me."

What is our duty? We must, each working in his own sphere of life, foster the brotherhood of man, overstepping the limits of race, culture and position, witnessing through our own lives to a higher standard than that set by the world. The Jewish people were called a chosen race, not because they were the favourites of God, but because they were chosen for a special service, that they might become a school of true religion and of the knowledge of God for the whole world. The Christian Church is a continuation of the Jewish Church, and its work is to make known to mankind the love of God, the remission of sins, and the grace of God given to man in order to strengthen him in his fight against the world, the flesh and the devil, to exhibit the Christ-like life and to make known that the highest life we can live on earth is self-less service to others, while keeping ourselves unspotted from the world and carrying the light through evangelistic effort to those who are still in the darkness of sin, error and hopelessness.

The Church needs reforming and purifying. The prayer of every Christian should be: "O Lord, reform and purify Thy Church that it may bear true witness to Thee, and I pray that that reform and purification may begin with me.—Amen."

(b) **The Ministry of the Church.**—Any statement concerning the doctrine of the Christian Ministry should begin with what S. Peter has written about the Christian Church. "Ye are a royal priesthood . . ."; "a holy priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices." Similar statements are found in the Book of the Revelation. "He made us . . . to be priests." "They shall be priests of God and of Christ." The meaning of this language is that the whole Christian Church is a priestly Society. It does not mean that every member of the Church is a priest, but that the Society taken as a whole is priestly. There is a priesthood of the laity but no priesthood of the layman. The priesthood is held in common by all members of the Church corporately, but not individually, i.e. separate from the rest of the members of the Church. S. Peter quotes from the Old Testament as above, that all Israel is a priestly nation. But in Israel priesthood was confined to one family, to act on behalf of the whole priestly body.

So also in the Christian Church. The whole Church is a priestly body. But it functions through its duly appointed representatives. The Church absolves penitent sinners, but the absolution is pronounced by a Priest in the name of the Church. So we read in our Prayer Book: "Our Lord Jesus Christ who hath left power to His Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in Him . . . and by His authority committed to me, I absolve thee, etc." The Church wishes to plead before God the one true Sacrifice for the sins of the world, and this is done by a Priest, the congregation assisting him in the great act.

The Priest represents the congregation as their leader before the Father in heaven.

But here a question presents itself: Who chooses, empowers, the ministers of the Church? Is it done by the members of the Church or by Jesus Christ Himself? The answer is given quite plainly in the New Testament in words which may be called the charter of the Christian Ministry. "I have chosen you." "As my Father hath sent me, even so I send you." The choice is made by Christ, the Head of the Church.

The choice is made by Christ; but who invests men with authority to perform their duties in the several orders of the Ministry? In the Ordination Services again and again are repeated the words: "Take thou authority," pronounced by the ordaining Bishop. This is in accordance with what we find in the Acts of the Apostles. When it was necessary to appoint the "Seven" from whom the Diaconate was developed later, although the believers guided by God selected the persons, authority was given by the Apostles to discharge their duties. S. Paul appointed Elders in the Churches he founded. S. Paul with the Elders laid hands on Timothy; and S. Paul commands him to lay hands on others. This is the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession of the Ministry in the Church of Christ, a succession unbroken in Episcopal Churches from the Apostles' times to the present day.

As the original Apostles passed to their rest those Priests who were functioning also as Bishops were formed into a separate Order with authority to ordain others. Thus was established the threefold Ministry of Bishops, Priests and Deacons. In the Early Church there was also a Ministry of Prophets. S. Paul writes that the Church is founded on "Apostles and Prophets." These Prophets were prophets of the New Testament. Very soon the Order fell into disrepute and disappeared. The Church never tried to revive it.

(c) **Episcopacy.**—What was distinctive in the functions of the Apostles? This question is asked because the Episcopate was developed from the Apostolate. The Apostles speak of themselves as witnesses, teachers, presbyters, heralds, preachers, ministers and slaves of Jesus Christ. They preach and reason, they impart the Holy Spirit, they visit the Churches, they administer discipline, they appoint men to the Ministry. The office of an Apostle included all Orders which were subsequently evolved out of it. But three functions were reserved as the special work of the Apostolate—first, as rulers of the Church, they had the rule and oversight of the Churches in various places. Secondly, they were the proper authority to continue the ministry of the Church. Thirdly, Spiritual Gifts were mediated through their agency, i.e. through the laying on of the Apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was imparted.

We pass next to the work of Apostolic delegates like Timothy and Titus. They were expected to rule, and administer discipline. They were to continue the Ministry appointed by the Apostles. S. Paul had

laid hands on Timothy. Timothy was empowered to ordain elders in every city, i.e. he was to continue the Apostolic Succession in the Ministry. He was also to continue the Apostolic teaching. "The things which thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men who shall be able to teach others also."

1. **The Apostolic Fathers.**—In passing to consider the evidence of the sub-Apostolic age it is not necessary to state at any length the familiar story how Episcopacy, once a function of presbyters, became as the original Apostles passed to their rest a distinct order invested with the powers of the Apostolate. S. Clement of Rome (A.D. 96) does not distinguish Bishops as an Order separate from Presbyters. But he states clearly the principle of a succession in the Ministry from the Apostles, as belonging to the order and system of the Church. He writes: "They, i.e. the Apostles, appointed the aforesaid (Bishops and Deacons) and subsequently gave an additional injunction in order that if they fell asleep other approved men might succeed to the Ministry." If it is said that it is not clear from these words which Order in the Church was empowered to pass on the Apostolic Succession in the Ministry, that is made quite clear from the Epistles of S. Ignatius (A.D. 112). It was the duty of Bishops who were by this time a separate and the highest order in the Church. They ordain, they vouch for the validity of the Sacraments, and they are centres of unity for the Church.

2. **Patristic Writers.**—Reference need be made only to S. Irenaeus, Tertullian and Cyprian for by the third century the need of a succession from the Apostles was everywhere considered essential. According to S. Irenaeus a succession in the Episcopate from the Apostles was a guarantee of the orthodoxy of teaching in a Church. Tertullian bears the same witness.

Episcopacy as guaranteeing Apostolic teaching disappears gradually. And this is how it was. According to every writer up to the time of S. Cyril of Jerusalem it was said that certain books should be accepted as Holy Scripture, because they were agreeable to the Creeds of the Church. Thus the Creed was the norm in deciding the genuineness of a book claiming to be Holy Scripture. But S. Cyril says that the Creed should be accepted, because it can be proved from the Holy Scriptures. This change in the relation of the Creed to the Bible was due to two causes. First, a Canon of Holy Scripture had grown, to which appeal could be made. Secondly, heretics were drawing up creeds in which many errors were enshrined, and the Creeds were no longer reliable as summaries of Christian Doctrine.

This has an important bearing on the value of the Episcopate. When the Canon of Scripture grew and became fixed, that aspect of the Bishop's office, that the true succession in the Ministry is a guarantee of true teaching, falls to the background, and S. Ignatius's earlier statement that the Bishop is a centre of unity comes to the fore. This is seen more especially in the writings of S. Cyprian. His teaching

on the office of a Bishop may be summarised thus : First, of the unity of the Church, the Bishop in each community is at once the symbol and the instrument, the guardian. Secondly, the Apostolate was given first to S. Peter that by this being given first to one man, there might be emphasised for ever the unity which Christ willed to exist among the distinct portions of His Church. Thirdly, the Episcopate which belongs to each Bishop belongs to him as one of a great brotherhood linked by manifold ties into a corporate unity. This means in the language of ordinary men, no Bishop can act legitimately as "a free lance." He should be true to the teaching and practice of the brotherhood to which he belongs. Fourthly, S. Peter had a primacy among the Apostles. His successor the Bishop of Rome should have the primacy among bishops. It should be noticed that primacy is quite different from supremacy, and S. Cyprian himself in controversy with the Bishop of Rome opposed him, thereby showing that he did not acknowledge his supremacy.

3. **Mediaeval Writers.**—They maintain that no Bishop can mediate either in Unity or Truth to the flock of Christ, unless he acknowledges the supremacy of the Successor of S. Peter and is in communion with him. The germ of this idea is found in the writings of Leo the Great, and it was formulated in the writings of Mediaeval Theologians. The doctrine of the Supremacy of the Pope became a doctrine *de Fide* in the time of Pius IX, and it maintains that the grace and authority given to any Bishop is mediated from the unseen Head of the Church through His Vicar on earth.

4. **The Greek and the Anglican Churches.**—The teaching of the Greek Church on this subject is : first, for the Ministry a succession from the Apostles is essential ; secondly, this succession is handed down by the Bishops ; thirdly, they are the rulers of the Church ; fourthly, assembled in Synod they give decisions on Faith and Morals which are infallible. These decisions are of themselves infallible and irreformable apart from their acceptance by the Church.

The teaching of the Anglican Church is : first, the Apostolic Ministry is contained in the Episcopate and is handed down by the Bishops. Secondly, as rulers of the Church, Bishops are entrusted with the duty of guarding it against erroneous teaching. Thirdly, the Pastoral aspect of the office is emphasised at the consecration of a Bishop. He represents in his Diocese the principle of Fatherhood. Fourthly, the Bishop in his official capacity represents the whole Church in and to his Diocese in the Councils of the Church.

From the above investigation the following points are clear. First, a Bishop is a Pastor and Ruler of the Church over which he presides. Secondly, Bishops are the sole channel of continuing the Apostolic Ministry in the Church, which includes Ordination and Confirmation as special duties of Bishops. Thirdly, Bishops assembled in Synod are guarantors of Apostolic truth. Fourthly, the Episcopate is the keystone of unity in the Church, preventing the Church from splitting up into a number of independent groups. Though true unity is a matter

of the spirit, there should be an organization in which that unity is embodied. This is admitted even by bodies separated from the Church when they call themselves "Churches." This organization should be maintained and handed down by Bishops who have the Apostolic Succession, and are in communion with the Church.

A further question has to be answered. If it is God who chooses a person for the office of Bishop, how is it that the selection is made by members of the Church? When God wishes to preach the Gospel to the world, it is through human agents that the Gospel is preached. When He wishes to give the grace of Sacraments to believers, He employs human hands. When He wishes to guide, instruct and comfort people, it is human agents He uses. So also in the election of the Bishop; man is given the dignity of carrying out God's choice. It was shown earlier that when the Seven were to be appointed, believers made the choice. The Apostles laid their hands and appointed them. The choice and consecration of a Bishop follow the same method.

A Bishop is essentially the key-stone of unity in a Church and the Chief Pastor in a Diocese.

When the Apostles passed to their rest and reward, there was a danger that Christian congregations would split up into a number of groups without any visible bond of unity. So the early Church through its leaders, following the example of the Apostles, who conducted Eucharistic worship, taught that no Eucharist was valid unless a Bishop or some one authorised by him celebrated it. Without entering into the history of the Episcopal order it is enough to know that the unity of Christian congregations, however diverse in race and tongue, was secured by the Bishop to whom they owed allegiance and obedience. It is a significant fact that when Christian believers have rejected Bishops, they have split into numerous sects. The Bishop is thus the father of his flock, his relation to it being that of a father to his family in whom a family finds its centre of unity.

The office of a Bishop is also essentially pastoral. He represents to believers the good Shepherd, the Lord Jesus Christ. This pastoral office is threefold, and that is emphasised in the Service of Consecration of a Bishop. First as Pastor he has to teach his flock. In days of old a Bishop and his Clergy met in the Cathedral Church of the Diocese and the priests one by one taught the people, and the Bishop summed up their teaching at the close of the meeting. Secondly, the Bishop's duty is to drive out all false doctrine and heretical teaching. Thirdly, he has to exercise discipline over both Clergy and Laity, and he is exhorted to be merciful in the exercise of discipline.

These are the chief aspects of the Episcopal office. It is the glory of the Anglican Communion that it includes, in one organisation and fellowship, believers agreeing on the fundamental truths of Christianity but differing in opinion on non-essentials. At the present day there are three main schools of thought and practice in the Anglican Communion, the Catholic, the Evangelical and the Modernist.

The Catholic lays stress on the historical continuity of the Christian Ministry and the Sacramental life of the believer, while not neglecting his individual and personal relation to God. He also appeals to the eye and the ear of the worshipper by using all that art can contribute to make worship glorious. The Evangelical, while not neglecting what the Catholic values, lays special emphasis on the relation of the individual to God, and aims at simplicity in the ordering of public worship. The Modernist is clamouring for a restatement of Christian truths in terms of modern thought and language, and he is ready to surrender some age-long beliefs as non-fundamental and a burden to believers. The Anglican Communion finds room for all these groups in her large-hearted love.

As the Bishop has by his consecration vows to teach true doctrine and to drive out error, the duty of both the Clergy and the Laity is not to criticise that school of thought to which any one of them does not belong, but trust that the Bishop, given to us by God, will have large sympathies and guide us along the path of truth and devotion. Reverence, obedience and love should mark the attitude of a flock to its Bishop.

(d) **The Apostolic Succession.**—The consecration of a Bishop brings to the fore the doctrine of Apostolic Succession in the Ministry. Those who set little or no value on this doctrine bring forward two objections to it. First, it is inconceivable, they say, that the grace necessary for the fulfilment of the duties of the Ministry can be imparted, like a current, through a chain of hands; and secondly, it is probable that the chain of hands was broken during the early years of the Christian era. Though these objections are constantly reiterated they are ill-founded.

Those who accept the doctrine of Apostolic Succession in the Ministry do not by any means think that grace is imparted by a chain of hands. They maintain that this chain of hands secures the unity of the Church. Where it has been rejected Christians have split up into a number of sects, having no real communion with each other. It was to prevent such a calamity that, at the close of the Apostolic age, S. Ignatius insisted that there should be Bishops in every Church, and no Eucharist was valid unless a Bishop celebrated it or authorised its celebration.

The preservation of the unity of the Church has an important bearing on the doctrine of Grace. Just as in a family dissensions prevent the maintenance of a spirit of love among its members, so when Christians are divided into a series of sects, the manifold grace of the Holy Spirit is hindered. The real strength of the Church will never be realized till its broken unity is restored. It is asserted, and asserted with truth, that the Holy Spirit has worked and is working through non-Episcopal bodies. It would be wrong to deny this. God is not tied down to the Sacraments. His grace overflows the channel of the Sacraments. But that does not alter the fact that the normal means should be used. The Holy Spirit fell on those assembled in the house

of Cornelius, but S. Peter ordered they should be baptised, saying, "who can forbid the water?" Bishop Butler points out in his Analogy that the refusal of a rite ordered by Christ is an act of disobedience to Him. The Apostolic Ministry was appointed by Christ, and that the Episcopacy which succeeded the Apostolate is of divine sanction was never questioned till the 17th century.

But is the chain of hands, the Apostolic Succession, really broken anywhere? The period of the history of the Church from A.D. 70 to A.D. 112 is known as the Tunnel Period of Church History. It is given this name because the volume of Church literature during that period is meagre, and the outward life of the Church seems to disappear. This was due to the fact that during that century the Church was facing a great danger. The State determined to crush the infant Church by ruthless persecution. Under such conditions literature could not be created, and among the Christians there were few persons who had any literary ability.

What is important in this connection is that when the Church emerged from the Tunnel Period, it possessed a Creed ("the Apostles' Creed") a Canon of Holy Scripture (such as we now have) and a well-established threefold Ministry of Bishop, Priest, and Deacon. But it might be argued that this does not prove that the Succession was not broken.

The Tunnel Period is 42 years. S. Clement who shews the necessity of Apostolic Succession wrote his Epistle in A.D. 96. Thus for 26 years of the Tunnel Period we have his testimony. For the remaining 16 years we have the testimony of S. Ignatius who was an old man when he wrote his Epistle in A.D. 112. The question may also be asked why those who accept Creed and Canon of Holy Scripture framed during the Tunnel Period do not also accept the threefold ministry.

"THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS"

DEATH DOES not sever the connection of believers on earth from those who have entered into the rest of Paradise and from Saints in glory in Heaven. That is one meaning of this article of the Faith. The other meaning is that Christians who are now living on earth have fellowship with other Christians who are now living on earth. This is described as a fellowship of the living with the living and of the living with the dead.

The Church is composed of sinful men and they have brought into the Church sins which have broken this fellowship, pride, ambition, intolerance, impatience, political, national and racial differences. The Church is the greatest fellowship the world has ever known, but the Church is divided now. For this sundered fellowship, it is not necessary to say on whom the chief blame should be fastened. In God's mercy the divisions of the Church have tended to create various types of Christianity. It is not necessary here to describe them. But the time has

come when the sundered parts of the Church should consider what is essential to its well-being, i.e. the doctrine of the Church Universal. We have the prayer of our Lord "that they may be one" in order that the Church may be a witness (in a manner which the unbelieving world may see and cannot ignore) to the Divine Mission of our Lord. It is only a united Church which can successfully confront the unbelieving world. "That they may be one, even as we are one; . . . that the world may know that thou didst send me."

Teaching about the souls of the departed has suffered much from over-emphasis and from neglect. Language and pictorial art were used in the Middle ages to describe the sufferings of souls in Purgatory. Their sufferings were said to be equal to the awful sufferings of lost souls in the place of punishment. The tenderest human affections, love and pity for the dead, were used to recommend the system of Indulgences. These Indulgences were not only a remission of penalties imposed on the living, but also some remission of the sufferings of souls in Purgatory. Under this system men led reprobate lives and hoped to escape the torments of Purgatory. It is this corrupt "Romish doctrine"—not its later and saner statement put forward by the Roman Church at the Council of Trent—that is condemned in one of the Anglican Articles of Religion.

The corruption was so great that at the Reformation prayers and supplications for the dead were excluded from the public services of the Anglican Church except one prayer. In the Post-Communion prayer of Oblation we ask, "that we and thy whole Church may receive remission of sins"—the whole Church includes the Church on earth and the Church in Paradise. The Anglican Church does not prohibit prayers for the dead. The draft of Article 22 included a condemnation of prayers for the dead. This MS is extant. But the condemnation was struck out before the Articles were published.

It is through prayer and the Mass we give practical effect to this Article of the Creed. The words often found on tomb stones, R.I.P. *Requiescat in pace*, are an indication that men and women desire to follow in thought and prayer those dear to them in Paradise.

It was mentioned above that in this clause of the Creed the word Saints means all believers—whether living or dead. But there is a distinction among those who have passed away from this earth. This distinction is conveyed by the two Greek words *hagios* and *hocios* which are both represented in English in reference to the dead by the word Saints. One (*hagios*) means properly, holy, pure and high and separate from all things else; and this is the word which is applied to the most high nature of Almighty God Himself; whereas the other word (*hocios*) seems to bring with it, the thought of tender and especial affection. It is the word applied to the Incarnate Son of God where it is said: "Thou wilt not suffer Thy Holy One to see corruption"—and from Him the title is derived and flows as it were down to believers on earth. The Collect (for All Saints Day) indeed seems to guide us to

this sense of the word, for, after speaking of the whole body of Christ's chosen, and privileged ones as the Elect, it changes its word and speaks of those whom we are to follow, and with whom we would choose our portion as the Saints. Here are plainly enough to be seen, the two senses of the word "saint" in our Bibles. Sometimes it means merely one of the Elect, one of those chosen to be a member of Christ's Body, sometimes one of those who so follow after perfection as to obtain a crown of their own beyond that of ordinary believers. (Keble *Sermons for Saints' Days* No. 47 abridged.)

We should observe both All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day.

" THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS "

THIS ARTICLE of the Creed follows immediately after the articles on the Church because the Church is the sphere in which God gives penitent sinners forgiveness. In healing the paralytic, when the Jews said only God could forgive sin, our Lord said: "The Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sin." He did not say the Son of God hath power. This power of forgiving sin is delegated to the Church as a body corporate. On the first Easter Day, it is to the Church corporate Christ granted the power of remitting or retaining sin. But every corporate body acts through its accredited representatives. When the priest pronounces Absolution he acts not in his personal capacity but as the representative of the Church appointed by Christ. This is distinctly stated in the form of Absolution given in our Prayer Book in the Service for the Visitation of the Sick: "Our Lord Jesus Christ who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in Him, forgive thee thine offences, and by His authority committed to me I absolve thee from all thy sins in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost."

But what is forgiveness? Sin creates a barrier between God and man. The love of God is ever inviting sinful man to come back to Him. Man when he responds to that love undergoes a change of heart described as Repentance. The second step is the acknowledgment of wrongdoing. "Father I have sinned." The consequences of sin committed remain. The scars of forgiven sin still disfigure man's nature. But he is restored to God's favour and receives grace and power to lead a life acceptable to God. Sin estranges us from God and corrupts our nature. Through repentance and faith that estrangement comes to an end, and through God's grace our corrupt nature is purified and strengthened to serve God in newness of life.

But there is in some persons a feeling that as they have sinned they would prefer to be punished rather than forgiven. This idea is due to a wrong conception of what forgiveness is. Forgiveness is a receiving back of the sinner to God's favour and the giving of power to lead a new life. Would the Prodigal Son have said that he did not want to be taken back to his Father's home and helped by him to mend his broken life?

“THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY”

THERE ARE three passages in which S. Paul describes the Resurrection body: “Who (the Lord Jesus Christ) shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation that it may be conformed to the body of His glory.”—(R.V.)

It is the Lord Jesus Christ who will be the author of our Resurrection body. It will have the characteristics of the Lord's Risen Body. Those characteristics may be noted in the accounts of the appearances of our Lord after His Resurrection. They are described by S. Paul in I Cor. 15. “It is raised in honour; it is raised in incorruption; it is raised in glory; it is raised in power; it is raised a spiritual body.” The Resurrection body will be free from pain, disease, decay and the petty sordid details of bodily life. It will have glory and brightness. It will not have the limitations as to time and distance which now hinder us. There will be no necessity “to keep under the body and bring it into subjection.” It will be a perfect instrument of man's spirit. Modern science investigating the real character of matter shows that matter undergoes such transformations that it may well become the perfect instrument and servant of man's spirit in a manner described in theological language as impassibility, clarity, agility and subtlety.

The connection between the body committed to the earth after death with the risen body is described by S. Paul by the analogy of the plant which grows from the seed that is sown. The particles of our present body will not contribute to the risen body, for through food particles of the bodies of other men pass into our bodies. It has been said that God kneads the last man from the first. But though the spiritual body is a new creation, it will have identity with the natural body. Identity of particles is not necessary for identity of personality. It is a physiological fact that the particles in our bodies change as the years pass. But personal identity remains through all changes. It is to prevent a false notion of the transformation of the very flesh into the risen body that the phrase Resurrection of the flesh still found (in our Baptismal Services) is replaced in the Creed by the words “the Resurrection of the body.”

In II Cor. Ch. 5, S. Paul further describes the risen body. “For we know that if the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens. For verily in this we groan longing to be clothed upon with our habitation which is from heaven; if so be that being clothed we shall not be found naked. For indeed we that are in this tabernacle do groan being burdened; not for that we would be unclothed, but that we would be clothed upon, that what is mortal may be swallowed up of life.” (R.V.)

S. Paul uses two metaphors in describing the human body. It is a tent; it is a garment. Whether it is described as a tent or a garment, the Resurrection body is God's creation; it is a gift from heaven; it

is eternal. S. Paul does not explain whether the new body is given to us at our death, or on the day of judgment.

Light is perhaps thrown on this in our Lord's discourse on the Bread of Life (S. John, Ch. 6). In these discourses, as a refrain there occur the words: "I will raise him up at the last day" (v. 40). "I will raise him up in the last day" (v. 44). "I will raise him up at the last day" (v. 54). There is another refrain in these discourses: "The bread of God . . . giveth life unto the world" (v. 33). "I am the bread of life" (v. 35 & 38). "I am the living bread . . . if any man eat of this bread he shall live for ever" (v. 51). "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, ye have not life in yourselves" (v. 53). "He that eateth me, he also shall live because of me" (v. 57).

We who partake of the Body and Blood of our Lord in the Holy Communion have His holy and pure human nature growing in us, so that we may say, "I live yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." The human nature of Christ is deathless. When that nature is grafted into us, we live "in Christ," that is united to Him and we are partakers of His immortality. In union with Him eternal life begins for us while on earth.

Our Lord says: "I will raise him up at the last day." The spirit of man, alive through Christ's nature grown in him, will be clothed with the glorious Resurrection body at the last day.

" AND THE LIFE EVERLASTING "

THE EMPHASIS here should not be so much upon the duration of the life as upon its quality. The notion of time belongs only to our earthly experience. The life after death overleaps ideas of time. What then does everlasting life mean? God is Eternal and Everlasting. To enter into everlasting life is a sharing of the life of God. Our Lord teaches that knowledge of Him and of God is life eternal. "And this is life eternal, that they should know thee, the only true God and Him whom thou didst send." Spiritual knowledge is not external, but sympathetic and *necessarily carries with it a growing conformity to God*. Hence the eternal life which Christ is and gives is described as lying in the continuous effort to gain a fuller knowledge of God and Christ (John 17-3)—see Westcott *1 Ep. John*, p. 205. Even mental knowledge implies some kind of affinity with the object of our knowledge. When we understand the literary product of a man's mind it means that our mind becomes akin to the writer's mind. When an astronomer understands the wonder of the starry heavens he might well exclaim: "O my God, I am thinking Thy thoughts after Thee." By growing knowledge of the Divine we become partakers of the Divine nature. This kind of knowledge begins here in this life. It is a present possession consummated in the future. Death is only an episode in the progressive

knowledge of God and growing conformity to His nature. We are now the Sons of God, partakers of God's nature. We do not yet know what we shall be. Thus there opens out to us the vista of a deeper and intenser partaking of the nature of God. This then is Life Eternal, begun here and continued in the nearer presence of God.

This knowledge of the Divine should be continuously supported by faith in Christ. In that faith there are three elements, first, there is to begin with an emotional attraction. Next, it is based on reason. It issues in complete surrender to Jesus Christ. Thus in faith the whole of a man's personality, affection, reason and will are brought into the captivity of Christ. This explains why our Lord laid such emphasis on faith in connection with eternal life. "Whosoever believeth may in Him have eternal life."

Thus we have two elements which issue in Eternal Life, knowledge and faith. There remains the last stage, that is the believer is united to Christ by feeding on Him ; His holy and pure nature growing in Him makes him one with Christ.

Now summing up what Eternal Life means, it is a growing knowledge of God, shining more and more unto perfect day, making him who has this knowledge akin to God. This knowledge is supported continuously by man's whole personality surrendered to Christ. This is faith in Him. Then by the reception of His sinless human nature in the Holy Communion he is made one with Christ. Death cannot break that union. Eternal Life has begun for us on earth. It will continue in another sphere of life. This is Life Everlasting.

THE INCARNATION*

I. **The Incarnation and the Atonement.**—The doctrine of the Incarnation or the union of two natures, the Divine and the Human, in the Person of our Lord Jesus Christ should occupy the central position in the teaching of the Church. But the Incarnation is sometimes regarded by Christian people only as a necessary and subordinate step towards our Saviour's offering "a full perfect and sufficient sacrifice oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world." All the weight of thought being put on the need for remission of man's guilt, which the Atonement secured, the idea of the restoration of man's sinful nature, promised through the Incarnation, is thrown somewhat into the background of Christian teaching. Conversion is insisted on that man might turn to the Saviour to win remission of guilt, but of the renewal of man's nature little is taught. The practical result of this is that, while there is an appreciation of the significance of the death of our Saviour, the Sacraments by means of which man's corrupt nature is restored through spiritual union with the Incarnate Son of God are somewhat neglected.

It has been said very truly that at the root of heresy is a failure to hold the balance between essential Christian truths. Even when heresy does not appear, divisions among Christian teachers are due intellectually to a failure to observe a due proportion in the presentation of truth. No Christian teacher can lay too great stress on the significance of the death of our Saviour. It is a revelation of God's love, exciting our love towards Him. It is the vindication of God's righteousness before a rebellious and sinful world, so that He could forgive man without upsetting the moral order of the world. It is an act which creates in man penitence, so that he arrives at the spiritual condition necessary for obtaining forgiveness. That is why the world's greatest missionary wrote: "I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ and Him crucified." On the other hand the Incarnation of the Son of God opens out to our view endless vistas of God's purpose for mankind and the whole universe. Man has to be redeemed. The death of Christ is a step made necessary by "man's first disobedience." God's purpose for man was union with Himself. Sin was an episode in man's relation to God. The Atonement therefore arose out of man's sin. God's eternal purpose was man's union with Him. It was as a preparation for this that God made man in His image. That likeness was to issue some day in union between God and Man. Sin could not prevent it. The Incarnation in spite of man's wild rebellion secured it. But, taking human nature as we now find it, we must start

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with the Cross, the doctrine of the Atonement, before we proceed to the thought of the ultimate purposes of the Incarnation. We must start with the Cross both in our teaching and in our lives.

II. **The Purposes of the Incarnation.**—(a) We may place first among these purposes what we have referred to above, viz that the Incarnation was the climax and the crown of creation, the predestined goal of natural development. Existence ascends from the inorganic to the organic, and from the organic to the sentient. It passes from sentient life to rational life. At the summit of rational life is man endowed with self-conscious reason. Is there to be no further development? Does man's upward evolution cease when he has arrived at the rational plane? Is there no higher plane of existence for him—a spiritual plane? The Incarnation is the answer. United to the Divine life through the Incarnate Son of God, men are indwelt by the Spirit of God. Of that new race the Incarnate Christ is the First-begotten. He is the founder of a new race of Spirit-bearing men.

(b) We cannot doubt that God desires to reveal Himself to man. That there is such a desire is not an invention of Christianity. It is the basis of every religion. Both saint and savage admit it. What is the meaning of sacrifices, systems of taboo, oracles, mysterious rites, the avatars of Hinduism, stories of theophanies in Greek religion but indications of a widespread belief that God will reveal Himself to man and that man has the capacity for receiving that revelation? If that is the witness of primitive religion, a study of the literature of the Hebrews drives us to the same conclusion. The story of the Old Testament moves on as a great drama. There is an expectation running through it all and binding it together (though the literature is produced through many centuries) as by a thread of gold—an expectation of One Who will fulfil all personal, national and religious yearnings, of One in Whom boundless power will be united with boundless goodness, and infinite majesty will be linked with infinite suffering. Has that expectation—the expectation of the best and the holiest among the Hebrews—been fulfilled? If the story of the New Testament is not true, the Old Testament is an unfinished drama, the final act of which has still to be presented. If that is the witness of Hebrew literature, an expectation of a final revelation from God, what has the Greek to say, working from the premises of philosophy? “One of the most pathetic passages in Plato (*Phaedo* 85) speaks of our having to sail the seas of darkness and doubt on ‘the raft’ of our understanding; ‘not without risk’ he adds, ‘as I admit, if a man cannot find some word of God, which will more surely and safely carry him’” (Carnegie Simpson, *Fact of Christ* p. 96). Thus the self-revelation of God through the Incarnation is no isolated event. It is the answer to the age-long yearning of man for light from God. The historical steps in the self-revelation of God are sketched briefly in the prologue to S. John's Gospel. The Agent of that revelation is the Word of God, Eternal, existing in communion with God and Divine. The revelation has been given “by divers portions and in divers manners” (Heb. i. 1). First it was through the visible creation

“for the invisible things of him since the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made, even his everlasting power and divinity” (Rom. i. 20.) Then the revelation comes through man’s conscience, “the life was the light of men”, through prophecy, which culminated in the preaching of S. John the Baptist, through history, which is the accumulated witness of man’s conscience and through a special revelation given to the Hebrews, who were to be “the Sacred School for all the world of the knowledge of God and of the spiritual life.” And when the fullness of time was come, as the climax of God’s self-revelation, “the Word became flesh.” To that fact witness was borne by the first disciples who lived with Him, by the Baptist, who announced Him to the world, and by the constant and unbroken witness of believers in every age. “No man hath seen God at any time, the only-begotten Son of God (see R. V. Margin, S. John i. 18) which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.” The Incarnation was thus the culmination of God’s self-revelation to man. Our Saviour not only reveals God, but also reveals man, what man is capable of and what he should be. Before He came in the flesh, men did not know how a perfectly good man would conduct himself. There was no norm or standard of human goodness. However brilliant Greek literature is there is not in it a single perfect, and flawless character, whether human or divine. In Hebrew literature there is found a gradual revelation of what a man should be. By teaching men individual responsibility, their obligation to obey the law of right and forgo might as a principle of action, by teaching them to trust him, as One ever on the side of right and then by evoking thereby their love to Himself, God trained human character till at last as the “crown of the travail of the patience of God through the ages” our Saviour appeared as the perfect flower of the race, the ideal Son of Man. He took love as the point of departure in his life, making it the central principle of the perfect human life. S. Paul when he wrote his psalm in praise of love (1 Cor. xiii.) merely described the character of our Saviour. Thus did God Incarnate reveal man to himself.

(c) But we need not only illumination, light, but also life. “*Video meliora proboque deteriora sequor*” is true in every man’s experience. “For that which I do, I know not; for not what I would that do I practise; but what I hate that I do.” (Rom. vii. 15.) There is a baseness in our blood. How high the aspiration! How low the achievement! How great the capacity! How meagre the use of it! And we grope with blind hands for some help, some strength not our own for our high tasks. In the Incarnation “the humanity of the Christ indwelt by His Deity has been prepared that it might be imparted to us. We may be grafted into Him and His life be derived into our souls.” (Stanton, *The Incarnation*, p. 8.)

It is at this point there emerges the relation of the Sacraments to the Incarnation, for through Baptism and the Holy Communion the Divine-human life of Christ is imparted to us to quicken and strengthen and confirm our faith in Him, and through other Sacramental rites various

graces are imparted for various human vocations and special needs. But because of man's sin the Cross had to be suffered before the Risen Christ could give us life.

(d) There are certain passages in the New Testament, especially in S. Paul's writings, which exhibit a vaster purpose in the Incarnation than those suggested by man's needs. By His Incarnation the Son of God, as the Head of a mediatorial kingdom, becomes, as already stated, the Head of a new race of men in whom through union with Him the Holy Spirit of God dwells. But the Son of God, incarnate, crucified, risen and ascended, is also brought by those acts into relation with the whole universe and all orders of created beings. There is no other significance in such statements as these: "All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and in earth." (S. Matt. xxviii. 18.) "In the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth." (Philipp. ii.10.) "For it was the good pleasure of the Father that in him should all the fullness dwell and through him to reconcile all things unto himself, having made peace, through the blood of his Cross; through him, I say, whether things upon the earth, or things in the heavens. (Col. i. 20.) See also Eph. i.10, 22, 23. It is commenting on such passages as these that Dr. Dale wrote: "They affirm the existence and define the character of relations between the Divine Personality of the Lord Jesus Christ and the universe which we have never been able to grasp." (*The Atonement* p. 8.) The Incarnation has a cosmic significance. The Babe of Bethlehem, the Master Who taught on the hill-sides and Lake of Galilee, the Man of Sorrows, Who had no place on the earth He created where He might lay His head, the Sufferer Who died in agony on the Cross, risen and ascended is the Universal Spirit filling all God's creation.

The Incarnation when isolated from its context appears improbable, strange, paradoxical and too utterly stupendous to be true. "We are asked to believe that in One Who was for a time a helpless child and then lived as a small Jew tradesman, there dwelt all the fullness of the Godhead bodily Can we credit that the abiding Spirit which sustains the world, which directs the course of human and even celestial life should express Himself in a fashion so riotously insignificant. Think what it means. The Infant at Bethlehem, God the centre of all our worship, the source of all our being, the meaning of all our thought." (Figgis, *The Gospel and Human Needs* p. 46.) Thus men approach the fact of the Incarnation with a negative bias. It is unconsciously prejudged. Our answer is that we can afford to disregard all the *a priori* objections against the Incarnation, based on the manger at Bethlehem, the narrow home at Nazareth, the workshop of the carpenter and the homeless life of the Son of Man, Who lived among the poor and the outcast, for it is in these we trace the tenderness, gentleness, humility and love of God. He is no far-off abstraction of thought but He is near us even in the poverty, squalor, dust and sordidness of the commonest human life. And be it noted that "it is not God in His power and Majesty, the pride of Deity, which was revealed in Jesus; but in deed

and in truth God in His humiliation, scorned, spat upon, dying, that has been the force which changed the world more than all the armies of all the Emperors". (Figgis, as above.) If the Christian conception of Jesus of Nazareth is wrong then it is on that wrong conception Christianity has triumphed. If the conception is not true then we have reached an effect greater than its cause. A vast system of truth has been founded on a fundamental error. Fiction has become a surer and more splendid foundation than fact. So much for the external circumstances of the Incarnation. But as for the fact of the Incarnation when considered in relation to its context, God's eternal purpose for man, His age-long revelation to man, man's need of his Creator's assistance, the relation of Christ to the Universe, then what is improbable becomes most probable. It is the crown and climax of that that has gone before. Our *a priori* presumptions against the Incarnation melt away in the presence of *a priori* presumptions in favour of it. Our imagination may shrink from it. But our reason and love can understand why the High and Holy One Who inhabiteth Eternity, before Whom the Angel hosts veil their faces and bow in adoration, to Whom the song of all Creation ascends unceasingly, was willing to wrap Himself in our humanity, so that He might seek and save that which was lost. Man's need and God's infinite love meet in the Incarnation and the improbable becomes the most assured of all expectations.

III. The Mode of the Incarnation.—We cannot state this better than in the carefully balanced language of the second of the XXXIX Articles of our Church: "The Son, Which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, and of one substance with the Father, took Man's nature in the womb of the Blessed Virgin, of her substance; so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and Manhood, were joined together in one Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very Man."

It must not be thought that such a statement as this has been arrived at without debate. Ever in the history of the Church, as in all true life, progress is through conflict. There should therefore be no distress caused by the fact that it was in conflict with human error and waywardness of thought that the Church defined her faith. To some the study of the controversies which convulsed the Church in the first five centuries of her life, when she defined the doctrine of the Incarnation might appear arid and unproductive. Others might think that during those centuries the simplicity of the Gospel preached to a simple people in Galilee has been overlaid and buried under the pompous language of decadent Greek philosophy. But two facts are clear. The Fathers of the Church who defined the doctrine of the Incarnation were in keenness of intellect equal to and in spiritual attainment superior to the best of Greek philosophers. Secondly, conflicts on the doctrine of the Person of Christ were so long continued and so searching that all possible theories were exhausted. When we are asked by some modern writer to consider some theory about the Person of Christ he is only trying to

revive some statement discarded in the first Christian centuries. It is useful to note these theories because not only does truth become clearer when contrasted with error, but it is an equipment to recognise an erroneous theory, as an old enemy with a new face.

(a) **Doceticism** In the earliest period after the Ascension of our Saviour, men had been so struck by the manifest tokens of His Divinity, exhibited through His sinless life, His works of power, His Resurrection and His influence over the lives of those who lived with Him that some began to think that His Divinity was real while His humanity was only an illusive phantom-like manifestation. S. John denounces such teaching: "Every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God: and every spirit which confesseth not Jesus is not of God" (1 John iv.2).

(b) **Humanitarianism** In the next century the pendulum of thought swings to the other extreme of regarding Christ as entirely human, pre-eminent in holiness yet nothing more than human. Such a tendency of thought is not entirely dead at the present day. But it ignores the fact that, while the holiest are most conscious of sin and the human sense of guilt is in all men, the "awful guardian of our personal identity," linking the past with the present, Christ never confessed to failure or sin, though He convicted others of sin. He spoke as if He were free from the dread inheritance of every man. His humanity was unique. How is this uniqueness to be explained? Was He in very truth a human person blind to His sinfulness, exculpating Himself while convicting others, or was He sinless God taking to Himself the condition of man, with all its limitations, sin only excepted? Which is more probable? The record of the most beautiful life ever lived on earth makes only one answer possible.

(c) **Adoptionism** Next some teachers appeared who tried to explain this marvel by asserting that Christ was a man, but indwelt by God in an extraordinary degree till at last He reached sinless perfection and was adopted as the Son of God. But this theory fails to do justice to the fact that in the record of Christ's life (and we cannot go behind that record) there is no hint of any advance in holiness or goodness. All through those sacred pages there appears a Person Who always lived the highest possible life on the lowliest human plane. Besides, a Christ advancing in holiness is from below not from above. He is merely a deified man. His exaltation is only that of one individual man. How could he redeem mankind?

(d) **Arianism** Such theories as the above were only the precursors of that storm of controversy which the Church had to face during a century and a half. At the close of the persecutions of the Church by the Roman State there flowed into the Church a stream of converts from heathenism. A large influx of converts from another system of Christianity, especially if they belong to an intellectual race, brings in to the Church a force which tries to mix up, syncretise, Christian truth with heathen religious thought. These new converts had been worshippers of gods many and lords many. In their anxiety to hold fast

to the truth of the oneness of God they began to regard Christ as a demi-god, a being created before all worlds, in a class by himself, neither God nor angel nor man but a divine being created by God. They were willing to admit his likeness, homoiousios, to God but not identity of His nature, homoousios, with that of God. Such was the subtlety of the Greek intellect that the whole controversy about the Divinity of Christ was reduced to the question of an *iota*, but on it depended whether Christ should be worshipped or not. Was Christianity to continue monotheistic or was it to become polytheistic by admitting a created divine being as the object of the Church's worship? So far as the Church was concerned the controversy closed with the admission that the Son of God was very God, of one substance with the Father.

(e) **Apollinarianism** Questions arose next about the true manhood of Christ. How did Humanity co-exist with Divinity in the Person of Christ? The starting-point of the first of these controversies was as to the manner in which the sinlessness of Christ was secured. The seat of sin is man's will. This fact was missed by the thinkers we are referring to now, for it was one of the defects of Greek philosophy that it had not turned its attention to the elucidation of human personality. "Even when we reach the climax of ancient civilization, in Greece and Rome, there is no adequate sense, either in theory or practice, of human personality as such." (Ilbingworth *Personality* p. 6.) These thinkers starting on their quest with such bad equipment stated that the seat of sin in man was his reason. They asserted therefore that Christ was sinless because in Him human reason was replaced by the Divine Reason. Christ was thus neither fully God nor fully man. Apart from other considerations this theory makes one of the purposes of the Incarnation impossible. His Person could be a revelation, fully, neither of God nor of man. "Perfect God and Perfect man of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting" is the answer of the Church to this theory.

(f) **Nestorianism** In order to understand the point in the next controversy it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that in Christ there was only one centre of Personality and that centre was Divine. That is to say it was the Person of the Son of God, Who took man's nature. But there were some who said that the Incarnation meant the conjunction of two persons, a divine person and a human person, the Person of the Son of God and the Person of Jesus of Nazareth. The Church has ever taught that though all the elements of human personality, reason, will and affection were in Christ Incarnate, He was not a human person, but He was the Second Person of the Trinity, Who took man's nature in its fullness to Himself. This fact should be insisted on because there is a tendency in some people to think that Our Lord became not Man, but a Man, that in Him God and a Man existed conjointly. The practical harm in such a thought as this is that it is impossible on such a conception of the personality of Our Lord to give any intelligible account of the fact that Our Lord's Death on the Cross has a value for

all men and that in Him the whole race was represented, He being Man and not merely a Man, or of the fact that the redemption of man from sin was the act of God and not of a man. It is not necessary to say much on this point because those who hold that in Our Lord two Persons, divine and human, existed conjointly are really anxious to believe that He is not only God but also man. They are believers anxious to hold the right faith. They will therefore fully admit the force of an appeal to Holy Scripture. S. John is sufficient in this connection. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us." It is the same Person, the Word, Who existed eternally in communion with God and was Himself Divine, Who became Man. No human Person at all is mentioned in this connection.

(g) **Eutychnianism** One last error arose in re-action from the former, that though in the Incarnate Son of God there was only one Person, there was such a commingling of the human and the divine in Him that He had only one nature. He was neither God nor man. If that be so, Christ reveals neither God nor man, which was one of the purposes of the Incarnation. We cannot see in His earthly life a reflection of God, neither were His experiences and sorrows and trials human.

Such theories as these two last are not formulated now to explain the mystery of Christ's Person and Nature. They are theories which admit that in our Saviour there was a union of the Divine and the Human, while modern unbelief is busy in denying Our Lord's Divinity. But they represent tendencies of careless thought current among Christian people in every century. It is useful to review them that we may "believe rightly the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ."

IV. The doctrine of the Incarnation.—The doctrine of the Incarnation has a message for every age according to its needs. It is the glory of Christian doctrines that no age can exhaust their meanings or applications. "The highest conceivable attestation of a Divine revelation lies in its power to meet each new want of man as it arises and to gain fresh force from the growth of human knowledge. The message of the Incarnation satisfies this criterion in unexpected ways and our distresses enable us to feel its wider applications." (Westcott, *The Incarnation and Common Life*, Preface.) Heroic service along the path of self-sacrifice is the spirit which the recent war has roused in the world. Those who live far from the centres of the world's throbbing life may be following still their selfish way of life as before. But they represent only an evil tradition which is becoming obsolete. Service through self-sacrifice would be no passing fashion of life if it be based on an enduring foundation. Such a foundation is the Incarnation of the Son of God. The Incarnation was a self-emptying for service. He laid aside the attributes of the Godhead, its impassibility, its omniscience and its freedom from the assaults of temptation that He might stoop down in service at the feet of a rebellious race. This is the aspect of the Incarnation which S. Paul refers to, when he says "He

emptied himself"; "He became poor"; or more correctly, "He beggared himself." This self-emptying of the Incarnate Son of God is boundless. But it would be well to note two points on which inquiry is most common.

(a) First, were Our Lord's temptations real? "God cannot be tempted with evil," says S. James. Our Lord could not sin. That being so, was not His experience of temptations quite unlike ours? Did they not glance off Him without causing him any distress of soul? "How, it may be asked, could His nature offer any point of attack for temptations, seeing that it was free even from every distortion, from all taint, of original sin. The answer is that it is not necessary that our inclinations should have been corrupted in order to be liable to temptation; but that temptation arises from the very constitution of our human nature, and might be felt in a state of innocence as by Adam in Paradise" (Stanton, *The Incarnation*, p. 21.) To a sinless Being temptation could cause more acute distress and pain than to one less holy. A temptation assails two men. They both see the attractiveness of the prospect opened to them along the path of yielding to temptation. One of them resists and escapes sin. The other yields. Which of them could be said to be distressed more by the temptation? Certainly not the man who surrendered to it without a struggle. Christ thus experienced all the misery and the bitterness which struggle with temptation causes us. In this connection we should also remember that temptation assailed Him not only in the wilderness but all through His earthly life. His experience was like ours. At the Last Supper He tells His disciples "Ye are they which continued with me in my temptations." The temptations during the forty days in the wilderness were only typical of the kinds of temptations which assailed Him again and again. Poverty without want leaves us more free for service than wealth. But poverty with want was what Our Lord had to bear. "The Son of Man hath not where to lay his head." The first temptation in the wilderness to use his Divine power to secure ease for Himself could not but have come to Him often. The second temptation to give a demonstrative proof of His claims and teaching, such as none could deny, presented itself when His enemies challenged Him to give a sign from heaven and again when gathered round the Cross they cried: "If he be the King of Israel let him now come down from the Cross and we will believe him." And the temptation to ally Himself with the world-power came again, when the people would have made Him a King and when S. Peter tried to dissuade Him from making suffering the means for winning the world to Himself. S. John shows, however, more subtly how temptations of the same kind came to Our Lord. The first temptation is represented in S. John's Gospel by the appeal of the Blessed Mother: "They have no wine." The miracle when worked was not so much a rectification of personal need nor was it an act of self-assertion but of love to others. (Hastings B. D. Vol. ii., p. 712.) The second comes after the cleansing of the temple: "What

sign showest thou ?" ; and the third in the invitation of Nicodemus to join forces with the Jewish ecclesiastical powers. Thus we can trace how three types of temptations came to Our Lord, constantly, subtly, and even through those who loved Him most.

(b) The Gospel narrative presents Our Lord as both limited in knowledge and omniscient. The surprise expressed by Him at the exhibition of belief or unbelief by those who came to Him implies a previous condition of ignorance. So do the questions asked by Him for obtaining information. "How many loaves have ye?" (S. Mk. viii.5.) "How long is it ago since this came unto him." (S. Mk. ix.21.) On the other hand there are recorded in S. John's Gospel many instances of His super-human knowledge and S. Peter summed up the experience of three years when he said: "Lord thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I love thee." (S. John xxi.17.) Unless Our Lord shared the limitation of knowledge common to man His human experience could not be real. At the Incarnation He emptied Himself of the Divine attribute of omniscience. He lived on earth on the plane of limited knowledge as other men. But He was also omniscient. Modern psychology can help us to understand this apparent anomaly. One of the most interesting discoveries of psychology in modern times is the discovery of a subconscious region in man's mind. Beneath our ordinary consciousness there lies a region in our minds in which our ordinary consciousness is not operative. There are times when the conscious self is dormant or is subject to some deep emotion, and under these conditions irruptions from the extra-marginal region into the conscious region may occur. Could we not reverently say that Our Lord lived ordinarily on the plane of human consciousness, as other men; but that His sub-consciousness was Divine and therefore omniscient; and that just as He allowed power to issue from Him to supply the needs of the sick and the suffering so He allowed irruptions from the sub-conscious region to take place in order to meet the needs of His work for others. There is thus opened to us a view of the constant self-abnegation of Our Lord. How true it was, even far more than we ordinarily realise, that "He pleased not Himself." The self-emptying of the Son of God in the Incarnation is presented pictorially in the great scene when the Lord of the angelic hosts, the Creator of the world, before Whom the angels veil their faces in adoration, laid aside his outer garment, girded himself with a towel and washed the feet of His disciples and among them the feet of the traitor. In the Incarnation the Son of God laid aside the attributes of His Divinity, girded Himself with our Humanity and bent in service before a rebellious world that He might cleanse it with His life given for us. "I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you." (S. John xiii.15.)

Reference Books :

- Incarnation of the Son of God by Charles Gore (John Murray).
- The Incarnation by F. J. Hall (Longmans, Green & Co.).
- The Gospel and Human Needs by Neville Figgis (Longmans Green & Co.)
- The Incarnate Lord by L. S. Thornton (Longmans Green & Co.).
- The Incarnation by V. H. Stainton.
- The Incarnation and Common Life by B. Foss Westcott (MacMillan).

THE ATONEMENT*

I

OUR LORD Jesus Christ "died by the natural course of events as the effect of a holy and courageous life operating upon the intense jealousy of a class. He died by civil punishment; and in heaven that death is pleaded as the sacrifice that taketh away the sin of the world." (*Mozley University Sermons* p. 166). Our Lord Himself taught that His death had a significance which the death of no other man ever had. It was at first incidentally that He gave this teaching. A dispute had arisen among the Apostles, who of them should be accounted the greatest. Our Lord offered them a solution, which neither they nor the world had ever guessed, though it has since passed into the current coin of the world's thought at least in theory: "Whosoever would become great among you, shall be your minister and whosoever would be first among you shall be slave of all." And then Our Lord proceeded to say: "For verily the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister and to give His life a ransom for many." This teaching about His Death He impressed on his Apostles in the most solemn manner on the night He was betrayed just before He went forth to die. In that hour of "pathetic solemnity" as if to save His teaching "from all the chances and perils which are inseparable from the transmission of thought to remote countries and remote generations He connected it with the institution of a new and peculiar sacred rite." (*Dale Atonement* p. 68.) "This," He said, "is my Body which is being given for you." "This is my Blood of the covenant which is being shed for many for the remission of sins."

It is in S. John's Gospel that the sayings about Our Lord's death are most numerous. The earliest of these occurs in the conversation with Nicodemus. "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth may in him have eternal life." The great discourse in the sixth chapter on the Bread of Life assumes throughout that He dies to give life to the world. In the allegory of the Good Shepherd, He says: "The good shepherd layeth down his life for the sheep. I lay my life down for the sheep." We also recall the great saying: "Greater love hath no man than this that a man lay down his life for his friends." We cannot stay to consider even inadequately the implications of such language as this. But they reveal that it was a death endured for the sake of others, that it was connected with the remission of sins and that in order that the Divine life proceeding from Him may be ours the Son of Man must die.

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For the believer this is enough, for it is not on our understanding of the method of the work Our Lord accomplished for us that our appropriation of the blessings of His precious blood-shedding depends, but on the fact that He did die for us. Some may therefore ask whether it were not better, in the presence of such a stupendous mystery as this, which twenty centuries of Christian thought have not been able to fathom, that Theology should hush her voice and only the song of the redeemed be on our lips. But we must remember that however imperfectly we may understand the mystery of the Cross we are not showing most reverence to our crucified Lord when we renounce the attempt to understand what He did for us. How can we, as rational beings, "place in the centre of our message something of which we can give no rational account?" (Peake *Truth of Christianity* p. 260.) It is the refusal to attempt to do this which has led to the neglect of the doctrine of the Cross in our own day. But if we approach its consideration in humble and reverent devotion it cannot but happen that our loyalty and love to our Saviour will be stirred more.

Our inquiry must start with the consideration why mankind needs an Atonement. Whatever virtues and graces there may be in men we are brought face to face continually with the sad experience that we are sinful. It is the presence of sin in man which turns "philanthropists into cynics and saddens the wisest" and makes a man not merely odious but contemptible to himself. If there is no sin, man needs neither redemption from sin nor reconciliation to God. Deny sin and the whole gracious message of the Gospel of God's redeeming love vanishes. It is the fact of sin which makes the Atonement necessary. The doctrine of the death of Our Lord should therefore be laid on the foundation of a true acknowledgment of sin as rebellion against God by which man has alienated himself from God. It is only then that we can accept and adore Our Lord as "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world."

II

The outstanding feature of most men's experience of God is undoubtedly His patience. Scientific men when they formulated a theory of evolution gave testimony to God's patience in His work in the material world. The whole history of mankind is a record of God's patience. This is the character of God celebrated again and again in the Old Testament as exhibited in His dealings with wayward Israel. "The Lord, the Lord, a God full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger and plenteous in mercy and truth." And when men saw "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ," they marked His patience and the Church prays that we may be given grace "to follow the example of His patience." God's patience is also exhibited in His education of mankind, for His method "is precept upon precept, precept upon precept, line upon line, line upon line, here a little, there a little." We must therefore expect that when He gave His only begotten Son to die for us, that act would be preceded by a

long and patient preparation of mankind for it. As a preliminary to studying the doctrine of the Atonement we should trace the history of that preparation, for the presentation of this doctrine owes much to ideas which belong to that preparation. It can be studied in its fullest form in the history of the chosen people, because they were selected for the service of becoming the "sacred school for all the world of the knowledge of God and of the spiritual life." To them therefore a special preparation was given and it was given by means of the ritual of sacrifice and prophecy through the agency of priests and prophets.

(a) Sacrifice was common to all early religions. But just as in Israel slavery, polygamy and divorce were allowed under restrictions which moderated their harshness so also was sacrifice allowed, what was cruel and debasing being eliminated from it as far as possible. Human sacrifices were interdicted and the sacrifice of animals was regulated by a ritual which modified its grossness. The noblest minds of the nation represented by the prophets also shewed "how strongly they felt the imperfection of the sacrificial system, how it failed to satisfy the really religious cravings of spiritual minds." (*Lux Mundi* p. 206). But sacrifices were allowed as "suited to the apprehension of the age to which they were given and capable of gradual refinement and purification" (Sanday and Headlam *Ep. Rom.* p. 92), and they were made the vehicle of important teaching. The root idea of sacrifice was that it brought the offerer into spiritual union with God. In Israel in the earlier days, there were two classes of sacrifice—the burnt offering and the peace offering, by which it was thought the offerer surrendered himself to God entirely and came into communion with Him. But after national disasters began to fall on the Jews, there began to grow in them a deep sense of sinfulness which made them feel unworthy of approach to God. A new sacrifice known as the sin offering then comes into view. But it was efficacious only for a sin committed inadvertently. No sacrifice could purge away wilful, deliberate sin. Thus this incomplete sacrificial system fostered the desire for communion with God, deepened the sense of sin, and made men long for a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice which would take away sin.

(b) Parallel with this preparation which was mediated by the priesthood there was the preparation through prophecy. It is not necessary for our present purpose to trace the long history of Hebrew prophecy. When we reach almost the end of that history Judah is in captivity in Babylon, and the Jews have learnt the value of redemptive suffering. Out of the chaos of their national life and hopes there emerges the Figure of a Great Sufferer, a Servant of the Lord, whose sufferings have a redemptive value for the nation and for the whole world. He is delineated in the Bible in the Chapter "known to Christendom as the Fifty-Third of Isaiah." "He was despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows . . . he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him and with his stripes we are healed . . . the Lord

hath laid upon him the iniquity of us all." The Jews saw in the flesh Him who fulfilled this prophecy. But because of the Roman domination their minds were full of the picture of a conquering Messiah, and they failed to recognise Him. But there must have been some among the noblest minds of the nation who remembered this picture of a Suffering Messiah, for S. Peter in his sermon to the people at the Gate Beautiful of the Temple, claims for Our Lord the title "Servant of the Lord," the title by which the Messiah is spoken of in the "Fifty-Third of Isaiah." He would not have done this without some explanation unless some at least of His hearers understood him.

Thus long before Our Lord came, the features of His work had been defined. He was to die, a sacrifice for sin, bearing the iniquity of others, accomplishing what the old sacrifices could not—perfect reconciliation and perfect communion between God and man. It was summing up all this teaching that Our Lord set forth the truth that He would give His life "a ransom for many" unto the remission of sins so that, as the Beloved disciple wrote, "whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have eternal life."

III

We have now to trace the manner in which the Christian Church has tried to define the doctrine of Christ's death. The Apostles did not do it. What they said about Our Lord's death is scattered in their reported sermons and letters. Historically they are the first attempts of Christian devotion and thought to set forth its meaning. We will use what they have said when we try to construct for ourselves a theory of the Atonement in the light of modern thought.

To trace the history of Christian thought on this doctrine it would be most convenient to divide it into periods. It falls into three periods viz *Patristic*, the age of the Christian Fathers, *Mediaeval*, the age of the Scholastic Theology and the *Post-Reformation* age. In each of these ages some dominant idea of the period influenced the definition of the doctrine. But erroneous views came in by pressing to a logical conclusion figures and similes (which we have to use when we try to give expression to facts which lie outside our present experience), since no metaphor or simile is in exact correspondence with every point in the fact which it attempts to describe.

In the Patristic age, the Death of Our Lord was described as a Ransom paid by Him to rescue man from Satan's power; in the Mediaeval age as a Satisfaction rendered by Him on man's behalf to God's honour violated by sin; in the Post-Reformation age as punishment endured by Him as man's substitute.

(a) **The Ransom Theory** As we have seen above Our Lord Himself uses the word "ransom" in reference to His death. "The Son of man came . . . to give his life a ransom for many." S. Paul writes: "There is one God, one mediator also between God and Man, Himself Man, Christ Jesus, Who gave Himself a ransom for all." This language

was interpreted in the Patristic age by a thought which was then ever present in the minds of most people. It was an age of war and brigandage. Captivity was a constant terror. The redemption of captives by the payment of ransoms was common and it was urged as a Christian duty. The Greek and Latin Fathers, living in such an age, pressing the idea of ransom to a logical conclusion, asked, if sin was a bondage and Christ the Redeemer and His life a ransom, to whom was the ransom paid, and answered that Christ paid it to Satan by whom mankind was held captive. This theory was later elaborated further and it was said that Christ offered His soul to Satan as the price of man's redemption. Satan agreed to the transaction, and Christ died. But it was torture to Satan to attempt to hold the Lord of Life in hell. The soul of Christ escaped from Satan's hand, who was thus tricked, but man was redeemed. The question will be asked what such a crude theory as this could contribute to the elucidation of the doctrine of the Death of Christ. We shall find what the contribution is by discovering in what sense the word, "ransom" was used by New Testament writers in reference to Our Lord's death. They derived it from the Greek translation of Exodus XV. 13 where the writer says that Israel was "ransomed" or "redeemed" from Egypt where they had been in bondage. But no Jew thought of pressing the simile and asking to whom was the ransom paid because he knew that God paid no ransom to the Egyptians for Israel. Ransoming in this connection meant only a great and powerful deliverance. The New Testament writers use the word in the same sense (and here lies the contribution of this theory to the elucidation of the doctrine) with the added notion that the deliverance was wrought at great cost to the deliverer. "Ye were redeemed not with corruptible things, with silver or gold . . . but with the precious blood as of a lamb without blemish and without spot, even the blood of Christ." (1 Pet. i. 18, 19.)

(b) **The Satisfaction Theory** Even in the Patristic age the theory of a ransom paid to Satan was not allowed to pass unchallenged and a more adequate interpretation of the Lord's death was demanded. But as none was forthcoming the Ransom theory held the field until the twelfth century when it was overthrown by S. Anselm who formulated the theory that the Death of Christ was a satisfaction rendered to God for the dishonour done to Him by man's sin, a dishonour for which the sinner himself could not offer any satisfaction, in as much as he could not wipe out the past though in the present he might render obedience. The debt must be discharged by a sinless Being who had discharged His own duty to God fully. Now, Our Lord, it was said, discharged this duty to God fully by His life of obedience. He had no need to die because death was the penalty of sin. But He died, the merits of His death could therefore be applied to man. The exaction of satisfaction by God was defended on the ground "that the moral glory of God would be tarnished if he pardoned sin without receiving an adequate compensation for human disobedience." (E. Caird *Fundamental Ideas* Vol. 2, p. 177.) This statement betrays the origin of this theory.

The Mediaeval age was the age of chivalry. Men spoke a great deal of honour and satisfaction. Any injury or insult was regarded as a stain upon a man's honour and it could only be wiped out by satisfaction. Sin, being a dishonour to God's Majesty, a satisfaction was due from man and Christ paid it on man's behalf.

No scriptural authority was sought for this theory. The Fathers had appealed to the Holy Scriptures in support of their teaching. But in the Middle Ages, the arbiter in theology was man's reason. It was a noble idea to commend the faith to man's reason but Scholastic Theology overstepped the limits of reason when it put reason in the place of revelation, of which the Bible is the record. This is not the only defect of the Satisfaction theory. Its conception of God's character is faulty. Sin it is true is an insult to God's Majesty as the moral Governor of the world, but He is also man's Heavenly Father and it is inconceivable that a Father would demand a satisfaction from a son for his tarnished honour. Besides, this theory assumes that Christ by His death created superfluous merit for Himself and that this merit could be applied to man. The theory of superfluous merit led to grave abuses in the Church. It is however unnecessary to criticize this theory further. Yet it has some value and that should be estimated. It says that Christ's suffering and death were not penal. They were a satisfaction not a punishment. It insists that the efficacy of Our Lord's work for us lay not only in His Death but in His whole life of obedience and His Death was only the climax of His life of obedience. These are facts which must be remembered in formulating any true theory of this doctrine.

Both the above theories were criticized by Abelard, but more especially the second. The value of Christ's death, he said, was not its Godward but its manward aspect. Its value was not objective but subjective. The Cross, he said, was a display of God's Love and it awakens a responsive love in our hearts. The Cross is the throne from which Christ rules over the hearts of men. For

“Love so amazing so divine
Demands my soul, my life, my all.”

This theory is called the **Moral Influence Theory**. It is a protest against the artificiality of the theories which it intended to displace. But it is inadequate as it fails to account for the Godward aspect of the death of Christ set forth in Holy Scripture. Yet it has these elements of truth. The Atonement is not the outcome of God's wrath against sinners but of His love. “God so loved the world that He gave his only begotten Son.” And that manifestation of love should in some way awaken penitence in man who has outraged that love by his sin.

Though the theory has elements of truth in it, yet because it is inadequate, Christian devotion was bound to make a new adventure to discover a theory which would account for all the facts and set forth the significance of the mystery of the Cross more fully.

(c) **The Substitution Theory** The Satisfaction theory was the product of the Mediaeval Age, the age of chivalry, when the dominant ideas were "honour" and "satisfaction." The Substitution theory belongs to the Post-Reformation period. It reflects, as its predecessors did, a dominant idea of the period in which it was formulated. One of the most hotly maintained ideas of that period was the Divine Right of Kings, that a king was God's earthly representative, chosen by Him and deriving his authority from Him. The king was, besides, the embodiment of law. The king was the law, for he made and unmade it; he could do no wrong. To defy him was to defy the law and justice required that such defiance should be punished. Such ideas were used to explain the significance of the Death of Christ. God is the King of the universe. He governs it by a law of righteousness. Sin is an infringement of that law and it must be punished. Christ as man's substitute endured that punishment and delivered sinful man from the punishment which was his due. Thus the Death of Our Lord was explained as a satisfaction rendered to the justice of God.

There is hardly any theory of the Atonement which has drawn so much indignation and scorn on itself. It is inconceivable, it is said, and monstrous and absurd, that a just God would punish an innocent victim in order to set the guilty free. That would be the greatest injustice of all. Thus a theory which was intended to uphold the idea of the justice of God had as its basis the grossest injustice. God is represented as vindictive and careless who was punished, so long as there was some victim of His vengeance. Men began, when such a theory was presented to them, to abhor the doctrine of the Atonement and the neglect into which it has fallen in these days shows that the abhorrence has not spent its force yet.

In each theory we have been considering there is something erroneous and also something valuable as a contribution to the setting forth of this doctrine. So it is with this theory also. Its main error is that it distorts the character of God. It represents the Father as full of wrath and the Son as all pitiful, the One enraged and the Other appeasing. Thus it creates a division in the will of the Blessed Trinity. But Holy Scripture sets forth the Atonement as due not to the wrath of the Father but to His love, and that it is as much the work of the Father as of the Son. "God so loved the world that He gave his only begotten Son." This theory also lays so much stress on God's justice as to forget His mercy and love. It is plainly wrong to lay all the emphasis on the character of God as the ruler of the universe to the neglect of the central and fundamental idea of God's character which our Lord brought into prominence deliberately in all His teaching, viz the Fatherhood of God, on which He dwelt with such tenderness. Besides, this theory asserts that Our Lord endured the wrath of God and that therefore it was punishment He underwent on the Cross. But the truth is that not for a moment did Our Lord lose His Father's love and even in the darkest hour on the Cross He was still the Beloved Son. Our Lord's sufferings were not penal.

But this theory of the Atonement has been accepted so long because of a great truth which it enshrines, viz. the truth of vicarious suffering the suffering of the innocent for the guilty, for the redemption of the latter. We must distinguish between vicarious punishment and vicarious suffering. Our Lord did not endure the former but the latter. Vicarious punishment is unjust even if the victim undergoes it voluntarily. Injustice remains whether the punishment is laid on a victim who shudders at it or embraces it with a glad heart for he who inflicts it cannot be regarded as acting justly. But there is no inherent injustice in vicarious suffering. Again and again in the recent war men offered themselves for perilous tasks to save others and no one complained of injustice when such offers were accepted. Vicarious suffering is the noblest exhibition of what man is capable of, if it is undergone in a worthy cause. Our Lord suffered for the redemption of the world and His Sacrifice of Himself is the greatest and noblest sacrifice the world has ever seen.

The second element of truth in the Substitution theory is that it states that by what Our Lord underwent, there was an alteration of God's attitude towards us. We do often change our attitude towards an offender and exercise mercy in consideration of the merit of someone connected with him. When the suffering of some noble suppliant casts on an offender a halo of love, mercy is stimulated in us. When Our Lord did not merely represent the human race, but identified Himself with the guilty race of which He became a member and cast the glory of His love over us, the attitude of God towards sinners was altered thereby. In this we only attribute to our Heavenly Father what His children feel constantly towards offenders against themselves. It is the glory and the value of vicarious suffering which the Substitution theory, in spite of some of its repulsive features, sets forth.

IV

We now enter on the more difficult part of our subject, that of forming a theory of the Atonement which while not refusing the true elements in the older theories will also welcome the light which modern ideas might throw on this doctrine. We should guard ourselves against thinking that our own theory is final, for though each age clung to its own theory sometimes passionately, when that age passed, the inadequacy of the theory was shown. We should regard ourselves as seekers after truth, who are carrying the search only a stage further. Again and again we shall find that we drop the plummet, the line is too short and we do not touch bottom.

We should ever keep before ourselves the fact that the Atonement has two aspects, its Godward and its manward aspects. It is objective and subjective. One aspect is complementary to the other.

(a) In its Godward aspect Our Lord's work is spoken of as a sacrifice for sin. Holy Scripture is full of such expressions as these:—Propitiation through faith in his blood, redemption through his blood, the

blood of his Cross ; sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ ; precious blood as of a lamb without blemish and without spot, even the blood of Christ. Such expressions, which can be multiplied, carry us to the atmosphere of sacrificial ideas and ritual. Our Lord's death is also compared to several of the leading forms of Levitical Sacrifice, the passover, the sacrifices on the Day of Atonement, those in ratification of the covenant. Such a strong convergence of the Apostolic writings on the sacrificial character of Our Lord's work should not be explained away as only a passing phase of thought due to an obsession of the minds of the New Testament writers by the sacrificial system of the Old Testament. In fact the idea of sacrifice as applied to Our Lord's Death seems to take its start from His own words : " This is my blood of the covenant." We must also remember that unless His work was sacrificial the idea of His Priesthood, the foundation of the main argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews, is meaningless. If there are any who shrink from this presentation of Our Lord's work they should remember how largely the idea of sacrifice enters into human life. Mr. Ruskin wrote thirty-five years ago with rare prophetic insight : " The great mystery of the idea of sacrifice itself, which has been manifested as one united and solemn instinct by all thoughtful and affectionate races since the world became peopled, is founded on the secret truth of benevolent energy, which all men who have tried to gain it have learned, that you cannot save men from death but by facing it for them, nor from sin but by resisting it for them Some day or other—probably now very soon—too probably by heavy afflictions of the State—we shall be taught . . . that all the true good and glory of this world—not to speak of any that is to come,—must be bought still, as it has always been, with our toil and with our tears." (Quoted by Sanday and Headlam *Ep. to Rom.* p. 943.)

But what was the Sacrifice which Our Lord offered ? Was it His whole incarnate life, culminating in His death or was the Sacrifice only the last scene of it on the Cross ? We have S. Paul's authority for saying that the Sacrifice was not merely Our Lord's death but His whole life of obedience, which reached its climax in the death of the Cross. " Who emptied himself taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself becoming obedient even unto death, yea, the death of the Cross." What did it accomplish ? Our Lord identifying Himself with mankind rendered that obedience which man had failed to give and we who were afar off were made nigh to God in Christ. God's attitude to the sinful race of men was altered by the obedience rendered to Him by man's representative ; and we have seen above that our regard for an offender can be altered by the goodness of someone who is identified with Him.

We have now to consider three questions arising from the above statements : (i) Why does the obedience of Our Lord bring Him suffering ? (ii) Is the identification of Our Lord with mankind real ? (iii) Why does Holy Scripture lay particular stress on His death ?

(i) The sufferings of Our Lord as man's representative are essential to bring man into a right relation to God. God is love and because He is love He must forgive. But He cannot pass over sin, as if it had never been committed, without danger to the moral welfare of man. Because of our imperfect sense of what the moral order of the world requires we think that forgiveness is easy and will not lead to deplorable results. Consider what would happen in a school if every breach of discipline were passed over. To reconcile forgiveness and punishment is a "problem fit for a God." The reconciliation is found in the sufferings of Christ. He endured to the uttermost the consequences of sin. He was the victim of the injustice, the cruelty, and the hardness of human hearts which sin had engendered. He experienced even the sense of separation from God. In Our Lord's sufferings we see what sin leads to and how it upsets the moral order of the world. Men beholding the sufferings of Christ say *Amen* to the just judgment of God on sin. They can never think lightly of it and the way is opened to Divine forgiveness without injury to man or the moral government of the world. Thus God "hath made Him (Christ) to be sin for us Who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God." If it was vicarious punishment Our Lord endured to satisfy God's justice earth would have been darkened by the horror of a just God inflicting punishment on the only sinless member of a sinful race. But if it is vicarious suffering Christ underwent, then He offered Himself willingly to a post of danger that the forgiveness of a loving Father might reach a lost son without danger to the moral welfare of the world. "The air of Heaven is perfumed with the fragrance of an altar," and earth richer by the story of God Who walked on earth with bleeding feet to seek and save that which is lost.

(ii) But is it not a mere "fiction of mercy" to say we are accepted because of Christ's obedience? We have therefore to consider the question whether the identification of Our Lord with the sinful race of men was real? Could a sinless Being identify Himself with sinful men so completely as to feel the shame and horror of sin? Is there not something fictitious in saying that Our Lord bare our sins? But does not something like this often happen among men? If a son is detected in some act of baseness and disgrace follows, while he, if he is hardened in sin, will not feel any shame, it is his pure and loving mother who will be stung by anguish. Love makes the identification between mother and son complete. So intimate is the identification of Our Lord with the whole human race, as that of a brother partaking of the same nature with us, yet without sin, and loving us to the uttermost, that He can feel such anguish for our sinful deeds as we can never ourselves experience. It is thus intensely real that our sinless Lord became the world's sin-bearer. Examine this fact in the light of modern ideas. There is hardly any truth which the modern world has learnt so deeply as the solidarity of mankind, the inter-relation of its members. Humanity is a vital organism and therefore the act of any one member of the race does not stand isolated. It acts and reacts on the whole body. It is

the non-recognition of this fact which led men lightly to break up the unity of the Church. And it is its emergence in the modern world which is at the back of the passionate longing for the reunion of Christendom. The modern world understands, as the Post-Reformation age did not, the solidarity of the human race, therefore how the act of one can be accepted for the many.

(iii) The third question we proposed above is why special stress is laid on the Death of Our Lord. As the answer to the previous question showed how Christ can identify Himself with us, so the answer to this will show how we can be identified with Him. Some have thought He died because there could be no sacrifice without death. But the old Covenant had sacrifices without a death taking place. The essence of sacrifice is not death but life. Death in a sacrifice is only a stage towards life, because life is set free by death. "The blood (as shed) always includes the thought of life preserved and active beyond death." (Westcott *Epp. of S. John* p. 35.) It is through the life of Christ set free through death that the believer is incorporated into Him. By that incorporation with Him the blessings of the Atonement are appropriated by us. "Both he that sanctifieth, and they that are sanctified are all of one." "I have been crucified with Christ; yet I live; and yet no longer I but Christ liveth in me; and that life which I now live in the flesh I live in faith, the faith which is in the Son of God who loved me and gave himself for me." The meaning of such language is that a man's private particular self may be said to have become extinct and his very being to be absorbed and lost in Christ so that in a most real sense we become participants in the spirit and virtue of His death and life, sharers in His divine Sorrow and Sacrifice, in His sense of the misery of estrangement from God and His sense of the joy and blessedness of reconciliation with the Father.

(b) But there is further the manward aspect of our Lord's Sacrifice. Man though accepted by God in Christ has still to be brought near to Him. The Atonement is the expression not of God's wrath but of His love for us. It is not a wrathful God but a Father, Whose heart is broken by His children's sin and to Whom His love cannot flow, Who works the Atonement. And even when we are forgiven, we feel that an expiation is due from us. That desire for offering an expiation felt by pardoned sinner is his acknowledgment that his sin violated the moral order of the world. We are condemned at the bar of our own conscience. The consciousness of guilt is a deeper sorrow than any outward infliction of punishment which a man would be glad to suffer. But no expiation can be offered by us. All our penitence is inadequate. What can we do when we know we are forgiven freely but acknowledge that not even an eternity of devotion can discharge our obligation to Our Lord for what He has done for us? Thus "God commendeth his own love towards us in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us."

The life of reconciliation with God, of restoration to His favour, of forgiveness and of incorporation into Christ, which the Atonement secures for us, how might we live it? The means is worship and

service. The Church's acts of worship centre round the Holy Eucharist. The Church on earth in offering up the Eucharist is doing what Christ, the heavenly High Priest, is doing in Heaven. He pleads His Sacrifice before the Father in Heaven that mankind may be accepted in Him. And again in the Eucharist is given to each worthy recipient that life which ever renews and maintains his union with the Saviour. And by this union all that the Crucified, Risen and Ascended Saviour does becomes our personal possession.

Then there is the life of service. "If God would give us the last and greatest gift . . . it is this that He must give us the privilege He gave His Son, to be used and sacrificed for the best and greatest end." (Hinton, *Mystery of Pain*. p. 17.) It is this duty, this privilege, this gift, which God has given to His Church. The Church is Christ's Body. If she is true to Him she continues in her life of suffering and service that Atonement which her Head has wrought. But the corporate work of the Church can be carried on only through the contribution of each believer. Our Saviour's Body was broken for us. His Blood was shed for us. He gathered up His Sacrifice in one solemn rite with the command "This do in remembrance of Me." The performance of the rite does not fulfil all that He meant. He demands more. Men must take their whole life, break it and give it for others. We have to grow to the height of that love which issues in complete self-surrender and self-sacrifice to bring to each lost son the reconciliation which has been wrought for him. "Now I rejoice in my sufferings for your sake, and fill up on my part that which is lacking of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh, for his body's sake, which is the Church." (Col. i. 24.)

Reference Books :

- The Atonement by R. W. Dale.
- The Passion and Exaltation of Christ by F. J. Hall.
- The Idea of the Absent in Christian Theology by Hastings Rashdall.
- In the Days of the Flesh by Adam Smith.
- Personality and Atonement by Dr. Mozley.

I

THE WRITERS of the Report of the Committee appointed by the 1920 Lambeth Conference to consider and report upon problems of Marriage and Sexual Morality have made the following recommendations :—

“ The systematic study of Moral Theology ought to be regarded as an indispensable part of training for the Clergy, in order that they may have for their guidance, in the application of Christian principles to particular problems, the formulated experience of those who have given most consideration to the difficulties involved.”

The intention of the writer, following the guidance of the books noted below, is only to give something in the way of introduction to the study of Moral Theology. Moral Theology or Christian Morals should be distinguished from Moral Philosophy. The latter is the effort of the unaided human reasoning powers to determine what may be considered right or wrong conduct. It has nothing to do with stating why a man ought to do what it states to be desirable. Just as a medical work might set down what rules a man should follow in order to preserve his health and does not oblige him to observe those rules, so Moral Philosophy only recommends a certain way of life. But it does not urge any reason why such a way of life is obligatory. This is so, because Moral Philosophy does not base its recommendations on religion, i.e. on the relation of man to his Creator. It has thus nothing to say on a large part of human life, that part of it which deals with duty, obligation, divine commands, conscience, or authority. It has tried at times to give some sort of obligatory basis for human conduct by pointing to a desirable end to be achieved. This end has been described in various ways—that a man should follow what is pleasurable to him and useful to his fellows or that he ought to follow the dictates of his reason or that because a certain way of life will lead man to happiness he should follow it. But though such reasons may explain the object of certain lines of conduct they have no binding force to compel a man to follow any of them. On the other hand, Moral Theology being that part of the general scheme of Theology which is occupied with the scientific or the orderly exposition of the moral or ethical teaching of Christ, unlike Moral Philosophy, it has a definite basis, viz the main articles of the Christian Faith. Thus the basis of Moral Theology is given by our Lord, viz the revelation of God in Him. This basis supplies the answers to the question, *Why* must I do good? by showing our relation to God, and the question, *How* am I to be good? by pointing to our Lord as the source of our spiritual strength. Thus Revelation has a history, not only in

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its theological but also in its moral aspect. The moral ideal was revealed gradually through Pagan, Hebrew and Christian morality. The last of these contains the culmination of the moral teaching which God gives to man.

Thus there has been progress in the moral education of man by God. Now that the culmination of this education has come in Christianity, progress in moral teaching consists not in looking for further revelations, but in better understanding of the moral teaching of Christ, and in applying it to modern needs and problems—needs and problems of the individual, connected not only, as in the earliest times, with the family or clan, but also with the nation and the world. It is along this deeper understanding and wider application that Christian morals should now advance.

II

Moral Theology begins with the individual and not with groups of individuals. In this it differs from all other systems of morality. Philosophers have tried to regenerate men in the mass by constructing, in theory, ideal republics, utopias, socialism, educational systems and political associations. All these can be helpful in the regeneration of human society, but the starting-point should be the regeneration of the individual. The Kingdom of God is established on earth by each man being made a true son of God. But it must not be forgotten that it is by association that our personality gains width, depth and power. We must live for others as others live for us. It is by dependence on others we develop or realize ourselves. Christian Morality does not thus teach individualism, but while dealing with the individual it always points to the complementary truth, that no man liveth unto himself.

In dealing with the individual, Christian Morality teaches that the conquest of sin is the first condition of progress. So it gives the primary place to the consideration of sin. This method stands in sharp contrast to secular systems of ethics which usually begin by proposing principles of conduct, while postponing man's failure to follow those principles to a subordinate place.

Is this method of Christian Morality right? There can be only one answer to that question. Each organism thrives in its own environment, whether bird, fish or other animal. Man being spiritual should have a spiritual environment and this is found in his union with God. It is in union with God that we can develop. Sin destroys that union. Then again, sin has its seat in man's will. Seated in the will it darkens man's reason and corrupts his affections. Or to put the same fact in another way: will is personality in action, and sin there affects our entire personality and perverts it wholly.

III

Sin being recognised, penitence follows as a necessary duty. In the case of some, where the wrong-doing has been great, there should be

conversion. But the sense of sin being keenest in the holiest, penitence is the obligation of all. Men often dislike Christianity not because they disbelieve it, but because it involves penitence which disturbs their comfort. Penitence is an act in which man's entire personality is engaged. Reason condemns sin, will resolves on hostility to it, and the affections are engaged in sorrow for it. It may be asked whether emotional sorrow is really a necessary part of penitence. If sin is an act against impersonal law then emotional sorrow is impossible, but when sin is recognised as an act against the love of a person, i.e. an act against God, then the deeper the conviction that God is love, the deeper will be the emotional sorrow.

From sorrow for sin springs the spirit of humility, and humility has an important place in the Christian scheme of life. Humility is not connected primarily with our relation to men but to God. It recognises that though we owe all to God we have used all He has given us against Him. We have employed against Him as weapons the very blessings He bestows on us. We have assumed independence of Him and have thereby impaired every function of our personality. When it is realized that it is against love we have acted, a deeper humility grows in us. And humility is thus connected with *truthfulness*—the truthfulness which takes a correct estimate of ourselves. This is why self-examination and prayer are so important. When our attitude to God is that of humility, the same temper of humility will affect our behaviour towards our fellow men. Emotional sorrow for sin produces another effect also in us. It re-acts on the will and *intensifies effort* at amendment of life. This is so because emotion in penitence is based on love of God. Love is the strongest force in the world. Therefore there can be no greater stimulus to action than the knowledge that we have been unkind and ungrateful to One Who loves us. Thus love leads to sorrow and sorrow to intensity of life. The intensity of S. Paul's life for instance had its source in the sorrow that he had been the persecutor of Him Who loved him and gave Himself for him. Penitence then is the foundation of the Christian character.

IV

Some ethical schools have tried to form character by precept. Christianity stands alone in presenting a personal example as our standard of conduct, viz the example of the character of Our Lord, to be followed in the power of the Holy Spirit. The beauty of Our Lord's character is inexhaustible. But the following points may be noted. He is the living illustration of what a man thoroughly indwelt by God would be and do. He is thus the Perfect Example. There are no peculiarities or limitations in Him of any age, of race or even of sex. Not only in these ways, but also in another way He is the example for all men whatever their avocations may be. He does not deal with every department of life but he sets forth the indispensable condition of every form of human activity, viz union with God. When that condition is attained, the true development will follow whatever be the

profession or work which men take up. Thus Christian men taking their Lord as their example have followed every kind of avocation, in which there is no breach of God's moral law. They have done this because they know that their duty is to use their talent to win realms of every province of human activity for Christ.

The objection to taking Him as our example is really based on a disbelief in His Divinity. If He was merely man then indeed no one is bound to take Him as his pattern. In fact imitation of a character often leads men into strange ways, making them pallid caricatures of the heroes they worship. But being divine Our Lord focusses in Himself all that is good (for God is the source of all goodness), and it shone through His humanity. All men can therefore find in His life points of contact. He is the Universal Example.

V

The duty of the Christian being the imitation of Our Lord, perfection is the standard Christian Morality aims at. Perfection cannot be accomplished in our earthly life-time. We should expect our development to begin on earth and to be continued in the world to come. Life here and life hereafter are all of one piece. Christianity therefore does not encourage the neglect of the present world for the sake of the world to come in aiming at perfection. Some enthusiasts have imagined that perfection can be attained in this life. On the other hand some have denied entirely the possibility of perfection for man and are content with recommending only some relative standard of goodness. Two instances of this may be given. In the common estimate of the world, excellence in one department of life is considered to condone for failure in another. A statesman or a soldier is honoured by the world for his great deeds though he may be morally unsatisfactory. But the result is that though they may be useful to their countrymen they lower the moral standard and, the higher their position, the greater is the harm they do. The other illustration may be taken from Islam. Mohammed wished his followers to go through certain religious forms and to fight for their religion. He made his requirement so little because he had no great faith in men's moral or spiritual capacity. Our Lord on the other hand having a true insight into man's real nature as a son of God, said: "Be ye perfect even as your Father in heaven is perfect." Mohammed's standard was relative to his conception of man's capacity. He asked only for relative goodness. Our Lord's requirement was also relative to His belief in man's capacity. But He recommended absolute goodness. The results may be seen written in the history of the world. Moslem countries stagnate politically, socially, morally and spiritually. The power to rule is lost to Islam. The Christian sees ever yet greater heights of goodness to be achieved. The root of Pharisaic pride was a low standard of duty performed with scrupulous care. The Christian aiming at perfection can never be guilty of Pharisaic self-satisfaction and pride. And thus the Christian ideal of absolute goodness involves for us penitence and

perpetual progress—penitence, because we must ever feel we have not reached the true standard ; and progress, because we must ever strive to reach it.

This aim at perfection has led to the adoption of some imperfect ways of attempting to attain it. The first is by introducing a legalist or juristic element into the life of the Church, which lays stress on external obedience, in which reason and affection play no part. The true principle of obedience is that a man should obey not only in a formal way but with conscientiousness, bringing his reason and affection to bear on his obedience, making the act of obedience the act of his whole personality. The duty of the Christian is thus not only to obey but to cultivate conscientiousness in obedience. But when people began to go to monastic confessors to make their confessions and to obtain spiritual direction rather than to their Parish Priests, the former imposed penances without any real knowledge of the penitents. Whether the penitent was a soldier, sailor, merchant or servant the same penances were given to all. It was found in course of time that this was unsatisfactory. Then grew up gradually detailed lists of sins and penances proper to them. Penitents began to think that mere formal obedience to what was imposed under this juristic system was sufficient and that they need never trouble themselves whether their obedience involved the approval of their reason or affections. Obedience became merely formal and not the act of a man's whole personality. The juristic system, that certain defined offences have defined penances attached to them and that all that a man has to do is to render formal obedience and perform the penance, is always trying to invade the Church. It is fatal to the growth of the true Christian character, for in it the reason and the affections should act conjointly with the will. The second false way of trying to attain Christian perfection was that of putting a higher value on the so-called counsels of perfection (monastic obedience, poverty and celibacy), or on asceticism, than on the ordinary Christian life. These modes of life, monasticism or asceticism, were forms of heroic life suited to a rough age of the world. They were forms of self-denial in an age full of temptation. But these modes of life when exaggerated became attempts to gain perfection by destroying what was legitimate rather than by disciplining of character. We will speak later of true Christian Asceticism.

VI

In the discipline of character, Christian morality has been criticized as a system which recommends self-sacrifice as an end instead of self-development. Certain writers have exalted the Greek ideal of self-development and disparaged the Christian ideal of self-sacrifice. The truth is that self-sacrifice in Christian morality is only a means to an end. Self-development without self-sacrifice ignores the fact of sin. It is because of the sinfulness of human nature that self-sacrifice is the means of self-development. The self we seek to develop is a sinful self and till its sin is attacked and subdued, it is incapable of true develop-

ment. So-called self-development without self-sacrifice becomes really self-indulgence and degrades character. The terrible picture S. Paul draws of Greek culture in the Epistle to the Romans, his branding of that culture, is a witness to the result reached when self-development ignores sin and thinks self-sacrifice unnecessary.

It is true that when sin has to be overcome by self-sacrifice, the symmetrical development of life becomes impossible. The right eye or the right hand has to be sacrificed. Our life is maimed by such acts. But they close certain avenues to sin and being free from sin we reach union with God. We enter into life maimed or halt, but in the life beyond the grave we hope to reach our complete development. There are two ways in which self-sacrifice may be made, the one, voluntary, the other, involuntary, viz the voluntary adoption of the ascetic principle in our lives and the patient submission to suffering which comes into our lives unsought.

Asceticism, one of the ways in which self-sacrifice is voluntarily expressed, is never an end in itself, but only a means to an end. Christian asceticism springs from no contempt of God's creation, for Christianity does not regard matter as intrinsically evil and therefore to be destroyed, as Indian ascetics think should be done. The true asceticism is a counsel of prudence. We have a tendency to sin. We must therefore avoid temptation. We must take up our cross. We must drink of the cup. We must maim the fullness of earthly life. Prudence being one of the motives of asceticism, the ascetic principle should be found in every Christian life. Asceticism practised as an end, as the Egyptian anchorites did, leads to pride, while true Christian Asceticism, which arises from prudential reasons, makes a man humble, for his ascetic life is to him only a reminder of his sinful tendencies. Christian asceticism springs not only from prudence but also from love. Our sins have wounded One Who loves us. We seek to express our sorrow by punishing ourselves. Thus the asceticism which springs from prudence and love should in every age be one of the aspects of life in the Christian Church. What is true of voluntary suffering, asceticism, is also true of the pain and suffering which come in our way unsought. They are a means to an end, the end being the purgation, disciplining and formation of a character united with God. They curb self-will, which is the root of sin. They are an occasion for submission to God's will. They lead to dependence on Him. They produce tenderness, sympathy, strength, courage and spirituality. The Christian should not submit to suffering as submission to fate, but as one of the most powerful factors in disciplining and developing character. The Christian should however work to remove suffering from himself or others (e.g. by calling in medical aid during illness) so long as the effort to remove it does not involve the breach of any moral law.

In what has been said above we have dealt, except in one section, mainly with the negative side of Christian Morality in relation to the Christian character. We have shown that the starting-point of Christ-

ian morality is to take note first of the individual and not of society as a whole, for its regeneration. In this regeneration Christian Morality teaches that the first step is the recognition of sin. This leads to penitence as the foundation of the Christian character. Penitence leads to a true estimate of ourselves and so to humility and truthfulness and intensity of desire to make reparation to the love we have wounded. Then we saw that the ideal set before us is the divine and therefore the perfect and universal example of Our Lord, to be followed along the path of self-sacrifice. We must now turn to the positive side of Christian Morality.

VII

When Christian moralists began to systematise their ethical teaching, they adopted the four cardinal virtues from Greek philosophy, Justice, Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude and supplemented them by the three Christian graces, Faith, Hope, Love, which are known as the theological virtues. This made seven heads under which the different elements of character and conduct might be arranged. The charge has sometimes been made that while the cardinal virtues of Paganism belong to the masculine type of character, the theological virtues belong to the feminine type and that Christianity has exalted the latter type at the expense of the former. The truth, however, is that in Pagan times, through the repression of woman and her consequent disability to contribute her true share to the development of mankind, human character was incomplete. Christianity ennobled woman and she made her contribution to the completion of man's character. Christianity thus, without exalting the feminine over the masculine, gives the complete type of character.

Faith, Hope and Love have a natural basis. Faith has as its natural basis the authority of others. We accept what they say, not because we have verified it, but because we trust those who communicate it to us. Faith is exercised by us in ordinary life, whether as lovers, business or professional men. And religious faith is the extension of that same principle of trust into the unseen. Faith though based upon belief is much more, because belief may be only an intellectual and not a moral conviction: "The devils also believe and tremble." Faith is such trust in the unseen that it enables us to make ventures on the strength of our conviction about the spirituality of the world. In the Epistle to the Hebrews the definition of Faith is: "Now faith is the assurance of things hoped for, the proving of things not seen," i.e. Faith "can make the future as if it were present and the unseen as if it were visible."

Thus Faith is the opposite of Materialism and it is a disposition which should penetrate our personality especially in the present age. Speculative Materialism is dead now, but practical Materialism is most active. Men are not now generally living for spiritual things. The spiritual vision is blind. Material things, comfort, luxury, ease, these claim their attention first. Men are not immoral but unspiritual. And it cannot but happen that men who have no spiritual environment

in their lives deteriorate in character and become unfit for great tasks which require spirituality of character. In the midst of this practical Materialism men of faith have to help in maintaining the spiritual atmosphere necessary for the Christian life. What would be the character, one of whose elements is faith? It is a character which lives in constant dependence and reliance on God for everything whether material or spiritual. That is the very essence of religion. Thus Faith is the foundation, on the positive side, of the Christian life.

We next pass on to the theological virtue of Hope. Hope has also a natural basis. It is most commonly seen in the young who are ever expecting great things. But what is natural can be raised and ennobled. And Hope in its Christian setting becomes a theological virtue. When tribulation comes, if we have faith to believe it is God's will, it endows us with patience. Thus character is formed under the probation of suffering. And when we are sure that suffering is for probation, instead of killing hope it creates in us hope. For when once we have had the experience that suffering is for development of character, by induction we argue when suffering comes again that it has the same purpose. Thus Christian Hope is not based merely on buoyant feeling but on a spiritual and inductive argument. Hope is the remedy for the pessimism of those whose plans fail for the betterment of mankind. It is the secret which enables us to rise after every fall and to die fighting rather than yield. It gives us courage to face our last end. It gives us stout-heartedness in the calamities which befall the Church. It inspires philanthropic effort and sustains it under discouragement.

Love is the third of the theological virtues and God is its immediate object. Though the love of God and love of neighbour are connected, the former is the foundation of the latter. In order of thought the love of God comes first and then comes the love of neighbour. "Let us love one another for love is of God." But in practice the love of neighbour generally comes first as most men can learn divine affection only through human affection. "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"

What, it may be asked, are we to understand by the term love? There are not two kinds of love, earthly and spiritual. All true love is identical in kind whether love of parent, child, husband, wife, friend or God. It is because human love has been corrupted by sin that men have imagined there are two kinds of love. There is only one kind of love. We may learn something of its nature by looking first at its simplest human manifestation. It is an emotional attraction to another person, from whom we desire a like response. This response does not come always, but the desire to be loved is of the very essence of love. Love is complete only when it is mutual. This is an important fact to remember in reference to Love, as a theological virtue. Some have advocated a disinterested love of God, a love of God which asks for no response. This is not a Christian sentiment. Christianity proclaims, God is a person. Love is the highest way personality expresses itself. We should therefore expect God to love us who love

Him. Because love asks for a return it must not be thought that it is selfish. The necessary manifestation of love is sacrifice of self. "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." Where love is mutual self-sacrifice is also mutual. Thus there is no selfishness when love asks for a return of love.

Human love sweeps all the functions of our personality into its service. So our love of God must carry with it the obedience of our whole being. It must be the one motive which colours our whole personality. To attain this goal is the constant aim of the Christian life. For we must remember that the love of God is the necessary condition of all other true love. Our love for our fellows is bound to become selfish and degenerate unless it is combined with love of God. For we may love another so much that for his sake we might act against goodness, moral law and duty. Then again, our love for our fellow-men becomes narrow unless it is combined with the love of God. We are naturally attracted by some people and not by others. These latter, e.g. the evil, the degraded, our enemies, we cannot love apart from the love of God. They can be included in our love only as objects of God's love. If we cannot love others, we must practise the duties of love to them and the love will grow. Duty and desire will coincide if we begin to do our duty for God's sake.

VIII

We pass on to a consideration of the cardinal virtues: Prudence, Justice, Temperance and Fortitude. These cardinal virtues were first named by Plato as a complete summary of human conduct. From him they passed into Moral Theology. The Greeks observed them as a duty owing from man to himself, out of respect for himself. But Christianity lifts them to a higher plane by bringing our observance of them into relationship with God by making them modes of expressing our love for God and modes of holiness leading to union with God. A Christian does not obey the moral law as if it were impersonal, but as the expression of the will of a holy Being, and the Christian life is a filial relationship to God, grounded in love. The Christian is prudent, just, temperate and courageous not merely because his reason prescribes such conduct as admirable or because it will bring him happiness or promote the happiness of others but because he loves God and his life is lived in union with Him. Thus the pagan virtues which men followed for the sake of self-pleasing and self-advancement are by the Christian made the means of expressing his love to God and of living in union with Him.

The four cardinal virtues will be considered here in relation to God, to neighbour, to self and to hindrances to the Christian life.

1. Prudence is the outcome of a right relation to God. It is love discerning between the things which bring a man nearer to God and others which hinder it. Prudence thus teaches us to so love and work as to bring our character into a right relation to God.

2. Justice brings the Christian character into relation with man. We have said that we should love our neighbour because we love God. The Christian has therefore to perform acts of ministering love to men and also to animals. The opportunity is given to him to do this by the varied relationships of life. Justice is the virtue which deals with rendering to all their due. In doing this he desires to imitate God and this desire expresses itself in two ways—forgiveness and compassion.

3. Temperance. While we do good to others we desire that we also may become good. This love to self is temperance, which is essentially a passion for holiness, the desire to combine internal purity with external fulfilment of duty. Temperance will express itself in self-severity.

4. Fortitude displays itself in relation to the various hindrances which virtue encounters, such as misfortunes, persecutions, loss, temptations, etc. It is both passive and active. As a passive virtue it is the world-resisting element in character. For instance, when the world principle was active in the early days of Christianity in the Graeco-Roman Empire, Christian fortitude was exhibited passively by Christians in undergoing persecutions patiently for the Master's sake. In no age of the world is there any lack of occasion for the exhibition of the world-resisting power. Fortitude has also an active sphere. It will display itself on occasion as resentment or righteous anger or holy indignation or zeal against dishonour to God, tyranny, cruelty, ingratitude, deceit, selfishness, etc., because there can be no true love of God without a just abhorrence of evil. What the Christian resents is not personal hurt but wrong-doing as injurious to his neighbour or the community. This resentment will sometimes express itself even in inflicting pain on the offender. Fortitude also may exhibit itself actively as moral courage in bearing witness to truth or righteousness.

Such then is the Christian character. On the positive side, faith, hope and love will interpenetrate it. It will exhibit prudence, justice, temperance and fortitude. On the negative side, it begins with penitence and with penitence there will grow humility, truthfulness and keenness to please God. It will use self-sacrifice by welcoming voluntary suffering or by using suffering, which comes unsought, as a means of development. The whole character is orientated towards God and it is in God that the Christian finds the basis of his duty to man. He trusts humbly in the presence of the Holy Spirit as an inspiring and enabling power, mediated to him through prayer, meditation and sacraments, promised to everyone who tries to follow the example of Christ our Saviour.

In the foregoing sketch nothing has been said of the duties of the Christian in regard to the State, marriage, family, property, industry, etc. These all come within the scope of Christian morals. But we have Our Lord's authority in the Sermon on the Mount for presenting to men an ideal, before He descends to the requirements of practical life. And in the regeneration of human society the Church can only

continue to rely on the recreation of the individual character. Christian Morality as it affects the development of personal character is therefore the introduction to the subject. The bearing of Christian Morality on the individual character has been selected for consideration because the right solution of every problem of social morality depends on the power of character, the supremacy of goodness.

Reference Books :

Christian Character by Dr. J. R. Illingworth, Macmillan.
Present Day Problems in Christian Morals by F. G. Belton, Mowbrays.
Lux Mundi (Christian Ethics), Murray.

I

TO UNDERSTAND a people the most valuable aid, next to that of a knowledge of their language, is a knowledge of their religion. There were in Ceylon at the last Census 4,175,610 Buddhists and they form 64 per cent of the whole population. Every Christian should be an evangelist. That is how the early Church grew. And no one can be an evangelist among the Sinhalese, unless he gains an insight into their point of view of the deeper things of life by understanding something of their religion. Professor Rhys Davids in a Foreword to Gogerly's collected works puts this well:—"Gogerly was ahead of his time. In his scholarly work he never forgot that he was a missionary; but on the other hand he considered it no disadvantage, but rather the contrary, for a missionary to be sufficiently alert intellectually to take an interest in the beliefs it was his ardent hope to break down, sufficiently industrious to acquire an accurate knowledge of what those beliefs really were. It is only quite recently that this view has become so generally accepted as to become predominant—if indeed, it has become so even yet." It is a fact which the Anglican Church in Ceylon should mourn over that there is not now in this country a single clergyman or layman, who is continuously devoting himself to a study of Buddhism in its original texts. It has not been always so. Dr. Copleston was a leader among Pali scholars and students of Buddhism in its original texts. Mr. K. J. Saunders followed him *sed longo intervallo*. If it is want of leisure, which prevents any Christian workers from taking up the serious study of Buddhism and keeping others informed of their studies, the Church should see that that leisure is provided for those who can do this most necessary work.

The object of the present article is to show that the ordinary reader of books can, without a knowledge of Pali, gain a fairly accurate though not a critical and independent knowledge of the main teaching of Buddhism. The student should rid himself of the idea that popular Buddhism (though the form of it prevalent in this land "has strong claims to be considered the most genuine") does justice to its teaching. Popular Buddhism, as known in Ceylon, lays stress it is true on three of the chief tenets of Buddhism, viz *Karma*, Transmigration and Merit. "The doctrines of *Karma* and Transmigration have become deeply embedded in the Buddhist consciousness of which they form the very warp and woof. No one who has not lived in India can realize how great and subtle is the hold which these doctrines have laid upon the imagination and reason of even the simple villager." (Saunders, *The Heart of Buddhism*, p. 14.)

* Published in *The Pilot*.

Karma has been defined thus by various writers on Buddhism. Dr. Copleston :—" There is a fatal tendency to reproduce life (its name is *karma*), a fatal attraction (*upadana*) by which the elements of life cling to one another. And so no sooner is a man dead, by the dissolution of his life-elements, than he comes into being again by their re-combination. For during life he had set it in motion and the world is full of it (the consequence of actions) which causes re-combination." Prof. Rhys Davids :—" This is the doctrine that as soon as a sentient being (man, animal or angel) dies, a new being is produced in a more or less painful and material state of existence according to the '*Karma*' the desert or merit of the being who died." Mr. Saunders : "*Karma* is ' the summed-up energies of men's character, the resultant force of what they have done and what they are '." The doctrine of *Karma* as held by intelligent Buddhists in Ceylon is not very different from that described in these definitions. *Karma* should not be taken as the Buddhist equivalent of Fate, though in the speech of the uneducated there is a tendency to regard them as identical. " Fate is unmoral (neither moral nor immoral) and is an interruption to the law that effects are due to causes ; the doctrine of *Karma* finds a moral cause for the effects it seeks to explain." (Rhys Davids, p. 102.)

It is when we come to the doctrine of Transmigration that we find that the popular belief has departed very widely from the teaching of Buddha. According to him belief in a soul entity is one of the three primary delusions which the faithful Buddhist should get rid of. There is no soul passing, as the Brahmans held, " like a caterpillar from leaf to leaf," but only an energy, which, when the corporeal constituents fall apart, is set free to start a new life. Thus Buddha refined upon the Brahminical doctrine of Transmigration, that a soul, an " ego," transmigrated from one body to another. One of the earliest students who pointed out that this was the teaching of Buddha was Gogerly. " The general idea of transmigration," he writes, " is that the same spiritual being successively animates various bodies, but Buddhism teaches that transmigration is not a removal of the same identical spiritual intelligence from one state to another, but an infinite series of new formations of body and soul, each link in the series having abstract merit or demerit of the actions of the preceding link as its effective cause The termination of the series, Nirvana, is not the destruction of a naturally existing being, but a mere removal of the producing cause of future existence." This, it is now admitted by all, is a true description of the Buddhist doctrine of Transmigration. But when Gogerly published this true account of the Buddhist doctrine in 1838, there was no little surprise. Gogerly writes :—" It may be objected to the view I have given that many of the priests are strangers to its having been taught by Buddha. This I am aware of, yet the more learned of them in the Matara District, with whom I have conversed, understand it fully, and acknowledge it to be a correct statement of the doctrine as taught in their sacred books." Gogerly pointed out that if there was no individual entity transmigrating from

one body to another, then there was no individual responsibility and no individual retribution. Such being the consequence of Buddha's refinement of the Brahminical doctrine it may be asked why did he make it? In Buddha's teaching above all things else what dominates it is the idea of the impermanence of all things. Impermanence is the essential quality in all things. Again and again Buddhists rejoice in the saying: "*Aniccha Vata Sankhara*"—Composite things are not eternal.

*" All things are unabiding,
Birth, death—their law is this ;
They come to birth ; they perish ;
End all and that is bliss."*

(Copleston's *Buddhism*.)

In a Buddhist village one may often hear, when a death or calamity is reported, the listener saying, "*Anicchan*." What he means is that what is now reported is only a fresh instance of the law of impermanence of all things. Wedded to such a view as fundamental, Buddha could not teach that there is a permanent self which subsists in spite of all change. But man's mind cannot evade the idea of a permanent self which survives through all change or the idea of retribution. Thus it has happened that popular Buddhism has reverted to the Brahminical doctrine of transmigration, of a self passing from body to body. Yet such is the human mind that it can hold two contradictory views by isolating them from each other. The Buddhist will say "*Anicchan*" and express his belief in the impermanence of all things, and yet at the same time he will speak of the retribution which will overtake the evil doer, though he had just said that the evil doer is also subject to the law of impermanence. Although it will take us a little way out of our present consideration, popular views about Buddhist doctrines, it would be useful to ask what in true Buddhism supplies the place of the idea of retribution as a deterrent to the evil doer. "It is not the idea of retribution, by the transmigration of a greedy man into a hog, etc., nor even that of variety, in one being passing through many forms (though both these ideas are admitted), but it is the idea of *weary interminableness*, which is the ruling aspect of transmigration in Buddhist thought. The books labour to excite this idea by a multitude of illustrations."

Then again as to Merit, Buddha taught that one of the three primary delusions, which must be abandoned at the very first stage of the Buddhist path of freedom, was belief in the efficacy of rites and ceremonies. Such belief is classed "as one of the four *Upadanas*, which are the immediate cause of birth, decay, death, sorrow, lamentation, pain, grief and despair." The fact is that what Buddha taught was that with character and character alone is the Buddhist to concern himself. But popular Buddhism does not lay so much stress on the cultivation of character as on the storing up of merit, for re-birth in a happier sphere. This merit is to be gained primarily by feeding the monks and the poor, then by pilgrimages to sacred places and the

performance of religious rites. The duty of character-building is thrown much into the background. For it is substituted self-interest. We do not intend to describe all the points in which popular religion has perverted the original teaching of Buddhism. Enough has been said to show that to know what the Buddha's path of emancipation was we must go back to the "sacred books."

II

It would be useful to obtain now some connected view of what might be called Buddha's "Way of Happiness." The difference between Eastern and Western thought, that of India and Persia as against Greece, is that the former dwelt on the dark side of life. Hellenism is always identified with enjoyment of life and its thought turns naturally to the sunshine of life. Eastern thought being obsessed by the presence of evil in the world was always pessimistic. The existence of evil was the starting point of Buddha's teaching. He stated it in what is called the four Noble Truths :—

The Existence of Pain.—All is suffering.

The Cause of Pain.—This suffering springs from desire ; "the will to live."

The Cessation of Pain.—Get rid of desire and you will cease to be re-born and suffer.

The Way of Escape.—The eightfold path.

This discipline of the eightfold path may be called "the moral and spiritual gymnastic" which Buddha proposed as the path to Nirvana. Or to put the matter briefly, benevolence and meditation are the road to emancipation. This "Eightfold Path" is also sometimes called the "Middle Path," in its being free, on the one hand, from "devotion to the enervating pleasures of sense, which are degrading, vulgar, sensual, vain and profitless"; and on the other from any trust in the efficacy of the mortification practised by Hindu ascetics, which is "painful, vain and useless." What then will be the result of this course of discipline? It will destroy that clinging to life which is the cause of re-birth. The "will to live" will be cut at the root; it will be destroyed. Man will then be taken off the wheel of re-birth "since, as he is nothing except desire and its ingredients, there will then remain nothing to be re-born. The "fetters" will then be snapped and *Karma*, the chain of action and re-action, the law of the co-existence of appetites, the convener of the congeries of constituent desires, will be dissolved." Man thus attains Nirvana.

But what is Nirvana? We cannot enter here into the discussion of a much-debated question. Mr. Saunders' definition is sufficient. Buddha "seems to have meant primarily an ethical experience—that deep, calm, 'cool' happiness which comes from righteous living, coupled with a more mystical experience of a trance-like nature, which is possible to certain exceptionally endowed minds." (*Saunders Story*

of Buddhism, p. 37), while Parinibbana is "complete extinction" (Rhys Davids, p. 113). But after the time of Buddhagosa "we occasionally (but very seldom and only when the context makes the modification clear) find Nirvana used where we should expect Anupadissanibbana or Parinibbana just as bow is actually used for rainbow." (Rhys Davids, p. 116.) A few remarks may be useful on what has been sketched above.

(1) It will be noticed that Buddha is not at all interested in the question of origins. He give no explanation of the origin of the constituent elements of being (*Skhandas*) which form the individual nor of *Karma*. He discouraged all such inquiries. "When Malunka asked the Buddha whether the existence of the world is eternal or not eternal he made him no reply : but the reason of this was that it was considered by the teacher as an inquiry that tended to no profit." A Sinhalese Buddhist if he were asked to think of the origin of things would sapiently shake his head and remark that only a candidate for an asylum for the insane would trouble himself about such things. Two reasons may be given for this agnostic attitude of Buddha. It may be that he took the fact of existence as the ultimate thing which deserved practical consideration and simply looked at everything on the plane of conduct and character only. Or this attitude may be due to the Oriental as distinguished from the Greek manner of looking at things. Dr. Butcher writing on this difference of outlook (*Some Aspects of Greek Genius*, p. 62) says that Eastern nations speaking generally had tried to move in a region of twilight, content with that half-knowledge which stimulates the religious sense. They had shrunk in holy awe from the study of causes, from inquiries into origins ; from explaining the perplexed ways of the Universe. He quotes as an illustration of the Greek mind from a fragment of Euripides :—"Happy is who has learned to search into causes, who discerns the deathless and ageless order of nature, whence it arose, the how and the why." Buddha, an Oriental philosopher, speaking to Oriental peoples, did not think that it was any defect to refuse inquiry into origins. That habit of mind persists to this day. Schoolmasters find it in their pupils who seldom ask questions and therefore never get a real grasp of a subject. They call it mental inertia or indolence. It is one of the defects of Oriental students.

(2) It will be seen that the keystone of the whole of Buddha's system is the doctrine of *Karma*, that self-acting impersonal force, which works with such unerring justice in bringing together the dissolved *Skhandas* to form a new being whose state is determined according to the merit or demerit of the being who preceded him. One is reminded in this connection of Browning's line : "What fools call Nature I call God." Actions come according to Buddha under the judgment of higher law and this law carries *execution* with it and operates causally. Judgment and execution go together but the foree is impersonal and self-acting with no will and therefore no determination behind it. Strange ! Buddha's denial of the existence

of an individual soul we have shown above was due to the doctrine of impermanence, which overshadows all Buddhist thought. In the face of that doctrine it was impossible to postulate a Universal Spirit as the substratum of all phenomenal existence. But what could be said of *Karma*, the keystone as we have said of the whole Buddhist system? "Strange is it and instructive that all this should have seemed not unattractive these 2,300 years and more to many despairing and earnest hearts—that they should have trusted themselves to the so-seeming stately bridge which Buddhism has tried to build over the river of the mysteries and sorrows of life. They have been charmed and awed perhaps by the delicate or noble beauty of some of the several stones of which the arch is built, they have seen that the whole rests on a more or less solid foundation of fact; that on one side of the keystone is the necessity of justice, on the other the law of causality. But they have failed to see that the very keystone itself, the link between one life and another is a mere word—this wonderful hypothesis, this airy nothing, this imaginary cause beyond the reach of reason—the individualized and individualizing force of *Karma*." (Rhys Davids, p. 105.)

(3) What then, it may be asked, is the appeal of Buddhism to so many millions, if it be really based on a kind of intellectual atrophy which refuses to inquire and is built on a mere hypothesis? Buddhism in its earliest days attracted disciples from circles which had all that life could give. They were princes or priests, rich landowners or merchants. They had tried all the good things of the world, and found them wanting. Buddha recommended to them a life of active benevolence to secure a similar or higher position at the next birth. Benevolent activity replaced the feeling of ennui which is so common among Oriental peoples, who are satiated with the good things of life. Mozley in a well-known passage in his *University Sermons* (p. 271) says that the extraordinary uncertainty of human events makes the English trader and merchant religious. Religion to such men is the insurance against the risks of human life. Buddha's recommendation of benevolence appealed and appeals even at the present day to many rich men on the plane of self-interest. Thus loving activity replaced satiety with the good things of life in the best men; to others the life of benevolence appealed, as insurance against risks at the next birth. To the poor, in their misery and helplessness, the prospect of a higher life to be gained by a life of goodness opened a door of hope. That is how the people understood Buddha's way of happiness. In his own mind, not acts but character from which those acts spring, was the one thing needful. It is a common experience that lofty teaching, when it becomes the current coin of everyday life among the multitude, becomes a caricature of its real self. Buddha's appeal in whatever way it was accepted had as its back-ground the expectation of an end to all existence. This expectation also has an attraction for many Eastern minds as the one thing desirable above all things else. It would take us too far

out of our course to inquire why this should be so. But it is a fact. Buddhism made it the goal of his Way of Happiness.

III

For the guidance of the student we propose to give some account of what may be found in the books we have set at the end of this article. Most of them contain as their chief themes, accounts of the life of Gotama, his chief doctrinal teaching, the history of Buddhism as a religion, and a comparison of Buddhism with Christianity. Gogerly, who was a Wesleyan Missionary, worked in Ceylon from 1818 till 1862. He was a pioneer in the study of Buddhism by Christian Missionaries. At a time when the study of Pali, the original language of the Buddhist scriptures, was surrounded by serious difficulties, when there was no grammar and dictionary, above all when there were no printed texts, he mastered the language so thoroughly that he could not only read the mss for himself but also interpret their contents in English for the benefit of others. He laboured under all the difficulties which a pioneer in any department of study has to face. His achievement was however truly remarkable. "He was the greatest Pali scholar of his age." The two bulky volumes which we have set at the end of this article, contain in addition to a number of essays on the chief doctrines of Buddhism translations of various Buddhist "sacred books" and it will be found that "he attacked the difficult texts and the deeper sort of problems."

An interval of more than thirty years separates the studies of Gogerly from the work of Dr. R. S. Copleston. It would be an impertinence to attempt here an estimate of the value of his studies. To the accuracy of the scholar, who had read a large part of the original "sacred books" and the discrimination of the historian, he adds the literary charm of a master of English prose. When the book was reviewed in England, the reviewers remembered that the writer was also the author of many of the delicate and delightful sketches in the "Oxford Spectator." As the title of the book sets forth, it is "a history and description of that particular stock or branch of Buddhism which has been established and continued in Ceylon." The author confines himself strictly to this branch of Buddhism as it has strong claims to be considered the most genuine. It is that in which what is of the essence of Buddhism can best be studied as it has least diverged from the primitive stock and has a far longer and more continuous history than any other, for Ceylon Buddhism was derived from the original stem at an earlier date than the northern and before those peculiarities which characterise the northern school of Buddhism had been developed. As an introduction Dr. Copleston gives an account of the relation of Ceylon Buddhism to the original stock and a general historical sketch of Buddhism. Next, under Buddhism in Magadha, the land of its birth, he gives a sketch of the life of Gotama derived from the *Pitakas*, the most authoritative of the "sacred books," an estimate of Buddha's doctrine and a description of the monastic community and its rules. The history of Buddhism

in Ceylon, founded on the best historical authorities available, comes next, and the book concludes with a sketch of Buddhism of the present day in Ceylon, its teaching, monastic life and customs and conduct of the Buddhist laity. One of the most valuable parts of the book is a critical history of the Canonical Literature, a subject on which little had been written before and very little since Dr. Copleston wrote his account. As a specimen of the subtle quality of his work his explanation of what is known as the "Chain of Causation" may be mentioned. We have stated earlier, what is termed the Four Noble Truths. What is contained in them "is carried into detail in another formula—the Chain of Causation; the series of causes which lead up from ignorance to sorrow." It is thus stated: "From ignorance come conformations; from conformations comes consciousness; from consciousness comes name and corporeal form, from name and corporeal form come the six fields (of sense); from the six fields comes contact (between the senses and their objects); from contact comes sensation; from sensation comes thirst (or desire); from desire comes clinging (to existence); from clinging (to existence) comes being; from being comes birth; from birth come old age and death, pain and lamentation, suffering, anxiety and despair. This is the origin of the whole realm of suffering. But if ignorance be removed (by complete extinction of desire) this brings about the removal of conformations and so on. This is the removal of the whole realm of suffering." Of this Chain Professor Oldenburg has said: "It is utterly impossible to trace from beginning to end a connected meaning in this formula." Dr. Copleston asks modestly, "and who will attack a metaphysical puzzle which he (Dr. Oldenburg) declares insoluble?" Dr. Copleston further says that according to Dr. Oldenburg even the ancient Buddhists "found here a stumbling block." They offer no attempt to elucidate the earlier stages of it. "In the Pali Texts," he says, "I have never met with any attempt to explain or illustrate either the particular sequence or the whole Modern European writers have constructed many theories but I have never seen them appeal to any Pali text in their support, the plain reason being that the Pali texts do not touch the point. We must suppose that the old writers considered the meaning and bearing as well as the truth of those formularies to be knowable only by the insight which comes at the end of the believer's course. Anyone who knew these things would be in Nirvana." Dr. Copleston without following Professor Oldenburg "even so far as he sees his way," is modestly "content to touch on a few points" but he solves the enigma. The solution was accepted by the late Sri Sumangala, "High Priest" of Adam's Peak and Principal of the Pali College, the acknowledged Head of Low-country Buddhists, as the only rational explanation of it ever given.

The other books we have set at the end of this article are of a more popular kind. The present writer was once told by one of the most earnest and intelligent Buddhist leaders in Colombo that he considered Mr. Saunders' books the most dangerous to Buddhist young men,

because he wrote with such tenderness, sympathy and admiration for Buddhism that they were disarmed and gave a hearing to Mr. Saunders' Christian Evangelism as a *praeparatio evangelica*, both in what it says and in what it omits. "I believe," says Mr. Saunders, "that nothing but good can come of a sympathetic study and truthful statement of that remarkable teaching which came into the world some six centuries before Christ, and won its way so rapidly in many lands." In *Buddhist Ideals*, Mr. Saunders suggests "lines of apologetic preaching to men of the East." It is a book which should be in the hands of every teacher who has to teach older boys among non-Christians in our Christian Schools. It suggests many lines of thought and Mr. Saunders' manner of presenting his message is such that the most sensitive Buddhist cannot resent the comparison he makes between the teaching of Christ and that of Gotama. The *Heart of Buddhism*, by the same author is one of the "Heritage of India" series which "has been planned by a group of Christian men, in order that every educated Indian, whether rich or poor, may be able to find his way into the treasures of India's past." A passage in Mr. Saunders' Introduction states what is contained in this volume :—"In the conviction that the heart of a religion is best seen in its hymns, where there is more of spontaneity and usually less of dogma, I have translated some typical and popular Buddhist poems and have ventured to call the collection "The Heart of Buddhism," for I believe that by careful study of these verses, the student will catch more of the spirit of Buddhism, and, what is more important, enter far more deeply into the feelings of Buddhists than by much wading through the prose books. Is it not true that we get nearer to the spirit of Christ and to the heart of Christian experience in such hymns as Newman's "Lead kindly light," and Matheson's "O Love thou wilt not let me go," and in poems like Francis Thompson's "Hound of Heaven," than in most volumes of theology or even of sermons? And in the songs and ejaculations of the Buddhist elders we find the expression of a true and deep experience, from which we may learn much of the strange blending of joy and stoicism and of benevolence and self-culture which characterized Buddhism in its Golden Age. In his collection Mr. Saunders includes a metrical translation of the *Jayamangala Gatha* from which any reader could gather whether Christian Government officials could, while true to their Faith, allow it to be sung as a benediction over them. Mr. Saunders' next book *The Story of Buddhism* is more ambitious and the best he has yet written. In addition to a Life of Buddha and his main teaching he gives sketches of Buddhism in Ceylon, Burma, Tibet, China and Japan, showing how Buddhism incorporates into itself existing religious beliefs and customs of the country to which it goes, being content to be yoked often to degrading worship and superstitions, wholly contradictory to its agnostic attitude towards the supernatural and inimical to its pure and lofty ethics. In Ceylon, Buddhism is blended with Hinduism and Demonism, in Burma with Animism, in Tibet it is a medley of magic and philosophy, and in China religion and philosophy are a fusion of Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism. As

for Japan, says Professor K. Kume, "I turn to the Shinto priest in case of public festivals, while the Buddhist priest is my ministrant for funeral services. I regulate my conduct according to Confucian Maxims and Christian Morals." Some would call this fusion the gentle and tolerant spirit of Buddhism. But tolerance, when pushed too far, ends in corruption of a great heritage and a compromise with degrading beliefs and practices. We trust that Mr. Saunders' pen is not idle in the field of Buddhist studies. Each of his books is an advance both in matter and style on his own previous work. And his matchless sympathy and gentleness in dealing with beliefs dear to others makes him the ideal Christian apologist. He writes with the firmest personal experience as a Christian, but in meeting other religious views no word of bitterness, or taunt escapes him. Dr. Solomon Fernando in his *Lectures on Buddhism* speaks in the spirit of love. "He entered into and maintained religious discussions with a courtesy and fairness beyond reproach," says the Rev. W. J. Noble, who writes the Preface to these lectures. As this article is not a review of these books we refrain from giving any extended notice of them. We are rather like guides who point out objects of interest to intelligent tourists. But we would draw special attention to the truly loving way in which a Faith dear to many through personal experience, joy and sorrow, family ties, national sentiment and history is handled in these books. The preaching of Buddha when torn from its original context may excite some aversion. But when it is recognised as "a mighty rebellion, not against religion, but against a false religiosity, which says that salvation may be bought by offerings to the gods," and that its teaching is that "salvation is character," who could doubt that in "many a noble aspiration or passage of beauty and truth," a Christian may thankfully adore "the teaching of that Divine Word, Who has ever been everywhere the Light of the World and of that Holy Spirit Who has never ceased to move with life-giving influence over the chords of human thought?" (Copleston, *Buddhism*, p. viii.)

We have reserved to the last, notice of *Buddhism*, by Professor Rhys Davids published by the S.P.C.K. It is the most widely circulated of all the books we have noted below, not because of any intrinsic merit of its own, but because it had long been the only book available to the general reader. It is badly arranged and it arbitrarily and absurdly introduces Christian terms to describe Buddhist customs. We have such absurdities as Buddhist Sabbath, Buddhist Beatitudes, Buddhist Ten Commandments. It is much to be hoped that the S.P.C.K. will publish a book more worthy of its theme and of the Society, a book which will contain a life of Gotama, his teaching (both what he borrowed from other systems and what was original to him), the various forms of Buddhism, Northern and Southern, Chinese, Tibetan, Japanese, Burmese, and Sinhalese, the history of Buddhism in various countries, and a comparison with Christianity, with illustrative readings from the Buddhist books.

IV

From the foregoing section, the reader will see what large tracts of our subject are left untouched in this article. Out of the wealth of subjects connected with Buddhism the present writer has selected Buddha's doctrine, for that is the very centre of Buddhism. Buddhism centres round not a Person but a Doctrine. It is true that in what is called the Triple Gem the believer says :—

I take refuge in the Buddha,
I take refuge in the Dhamma (Law),
I take refuge in the Sangha ("Priesthood").

But taking refuge in Buddha means, not that believers place their trust in Gotama's acts or his character or his surviving influence but in the doctrines of all the Buddhas of which in this age Gotama was the teacher. It is rather a profession of orthodoxy and of adherence to his principles than of devotion to his person. This the Buddha made clear in his last discourse. He is reported to have said before his death :—" When I have passed away and am no longer with you, do not think that the Buddha has left you and is not still in your midst. You have my words, my explanations of the deep things of truth, the laws I have laid down for the society ; let them be your guide ; the Buddha has not left you." Besides, if " the Nirvana of Buddhism is simply extinction," (Professor Rhys Davids in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* Art. *Buddhism*, p. 433) and Buddha has attained that " blissful " condition, the Buddhist though he reveres his memory can have no personal relation to him. Thus Buddhism centres round a system not a person. It is in order to draw attention to this primary fact in a significant manner that in this preliminary study we have confined ourselves to a description of Buddha's system rather than an account of his personal life or of the history of Buddhism.

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THE HISTORICAL POSITION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND*

I

I HAVE been invited to speak to you on the historical position of the Church of England. It is not very necessary in this connection to refer to her long, glorious and wonderful history. I say it is a long history, because the beginnings of Christianity in Britain can be traced to the first century. It is a glorious history, because of her contribution to the interpretation of the teaching of Christ. It is a wonderful history, because during all the period in which dynasties have risen and fallen through all changes and chances she has preserved in a wonderful way all that belongs to her Catholic and Apostolic heritage. I wish all of you would try to read something of this history in Wakeman's *History of the Church of England*

We shall best understand her historical position if we think of her in relationship to other Christian bodies which differ from her. The Church of England stands midway between Roman Catholicism and Protestant Nonconformity. Against both she appeals to Holy Scripture and history. It has recently been written that she is double-moated. She is a fortress. Superstition and error cannot enter into her because of the double moat of Scripture and history, to which she appeals.

In speaking of Christian bodies which differ from us, we have to speak somewhat in criticism. But we must speak with meekness and fear, and we should never forget the injunction to speak the truth in love. Not only among Roman Catholics but also among Protestant Nonconformists we have many friends. We admire them for their personal goodness, though we differ from them in our religious outlook. We should learn to speak with restraint, moderation and kindness. We know how eager and keen Protestant Nonconformists are about missionary work. They have also contributed a great deal to the interpretation of Christianity. So much so, that our Bishops assembled at Lambeth were convinced that the Holy Spirit works through their ministries. Our Lord is our example in this matter. When He was on earth He was face to face with some people who had broken away from the National Church of the Jewish people, i.e. the Samaritans. Although He was a member of the National Church of the Jews, and He never took part in the worship of the Samaritans, He spoke with the utmost kindness of individual Samaritans. So must we acknowledge the goodness and beautiful character of many Protestants who differ from us.

Speaking of the Church of Rome some people indulge themselves in a vein of bitterness which is really un-Christian. While defending our

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own position we should as Keble says : " Speak gently of our sister's fall." We should never forget that the Church of Rome is still the largest Church in point of numbers and the greatest Missionary Church in the world. No Church is loved more by its adherents. She is still the greatest repository of Catholic practice. Some of the greatest saints of Christendom like S. Francis of Assisi whom we think of as a universal saint were bred and died in communion with her. She has also contributed greatly to the devotional literature of Christianity, through for instance books like Thomas a Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*. So my preliminary point is that when speaking of other Christian bodies, though we differ from them, we must speak with kindness, moderation and restraint.

II.

I will now pass on to the subject before us—the historical position of the Church of England. There are some foolish people who tell us with confidence that the Church of England began in the reign of Henry the Eighth in consequence of a matrimonial trouble. Is that true? We need not give any heed to what ignorant people say of us. We should not however blame them for speaking ignorantly. They see a new prayer book in the Church of England. The ceremonial of the Church sanctioned by ancient usage is abandoned in many places of worship. Some Catholic practices which have been of great help to Catholics are given up. The national character of the Church of England is emphasized. It cuts itself off from the rest of Christendom. It becomes a State Church, controlled by a King. And so they say the Church of England is a new Church founded by Henry VIII. They do not at once see that we have never separated from the Apostolic foundation of the Church. But what do authoritative Roman Catholic writers say of us? If you read modern books of controversy about our differences from Rome you will find it stated that the great flaw in our Church is that our ministry is not valid, our bishops are no bishops, our priests no priests, our altars no altars, our Mass is no Mass. Now, how do they make that out? They say that up to 1559 our orders were as valid as the orders of the Greek Church. But after that date, we lost true orders and therefore the validity of the ministry. This statement is based on two other statements. The first is that in our ordination service, after 1559 and till 1662 there was no proper form of ordination. Secondly that, from the time of Cranmer, there was no intention on the part of the Church of England to ordain priests of the old type. Let me explain what is meant by form and intention in ordination. In baptism we have to use while baptising with water certain words : " In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost " ; in the Communion Service, in all the ancient liturgies of the Church it is considered necessary that the words of institution should form part of the prayer of consecration. So you see a proper form of words is very essential in the administration of the Sacraments. After 1559, it is said, we had a form of ordination which did not define to what order of the Church a priest was ordained. So from the year

1559 the form of our ordination was inadequate, and everyone ordained according to that form was not a true priest ; he had no true grace of orders. Again it is said, though this formula was corrected in 1662, yet as from 1559 to 1662 the Church of England had not the proper form of ordination, therefore, during that century we lost the validity of our Orders, and the ordinations which took place even after that were not valid because our bishops, our priests and our deacons had been ordained with the imperfect formula and, therefore, all our orders are vitiated. Now, our answer to that cavil is this—Bishop Gibson's Book on the Thirty-Nine Articles explains it well—that the ordinations from 1559 onwards were truly scriptural, and if our Orders were not valid on that ground, neither were the Orders of the Church of Rome valid, because they had a formula very much like ours in the earlier ages. You see, therefore that if our formula is inadequate, we and they 'are in the same box.'

Now, what is meant by "lack of intention?" We are told that the intention of the Church is to ordain priests who have a sacrifice to offer, and that in the Church of England we are not ordaining priests to whom the power of sacrifice is given. Therefore, although we may have priests, they say, our priests are not of the same quality or species as the priests of the Church of Rome, who are ordained to the work of sacrificing, while ours are not intended to offer any sacrifice. That is a somewhat plausible argument. I do not know whether you have been present at a Roman Ordination. Right through the service the emphasis is laid that the Ordination to the priesthood is for the purpose of offering a sacrifice. On the other hand in our service stress is laid on the preaching of the word. But I maintain that in the Church of England also Ordination is for the purpose of creating a priesthood which has a sacrifice to offer. First, remember that in the Church of England we still use in our Ordination service the word "priest." It is unnecessary to call any person a priest if he has no sacrifice to offer. If there is a priest he must have a sacrifice to offer ; if there is a sacrifice there must be a priest to offer it. The word "priest" has not been struck out of our Prayer Book. So by the use of the word "priest" the Church of England has tacitly signified that these men are intended to offer a sacrifice. Again, our priests, when they are ordained are told that they have to administer the Sacraments of the Church, and the Catechism explains that there are two Sacraments necessary for salvation—Baptism and the Lord's Supper. When priests are given authority to administer the Sacraments it includes the celebration of the Holy Communion which is the sacrifice which a priest has to offer. In our formula it is admitted that a priest has to administer the sacraments, one of them being the Holy Communion. Our formula is therefore adequate. Then again when Roman Catholic priests enter our Communion, their Orders are taken as valid. They are not re-ordained. Their priesthood is taken as of the same species as that of the Church of England. But when ministers from Protestant Nonconformity come to us, they have to be re-ordained because however much they may have a ministry yet we do not believe that

they are ministers of the same kind as ministers of the Church of England, and we say to them that they should be re-ordained. That is a sure and certain sign that, after all, the priests of the Roman Catholic Church and of the Church of England are of the same quality and species, and that there is no difference between them. This argument that our formula of ordination and intention to ordain priests are not correct is an argument which has been used over and over again and answered again and again. And yet it is the only thing they cling to to deny the Catholic Apostolic character of the Church of England.

We must remember in this connection that there are some people who think that at the present day the Church of England is going Romewards. There are some people even in this island who are fighting for what they call the Protestant cause. They think that nine-tenths of us are making straight for the Church of Rome. I must say they are honest in their conviction and they think they are fighting for a true cause. This cry of "no popery" is a very curious cry. Many years ago when people saw a cross on the altar and two candlesticks and the priest wore a coloured stole, they protested that such and such a priest was Romanising. But their children look on these things complacently and are pleased with them, yet they on their part take up the same cry as their grandfathers and grandmothers did, if they see anything done to which they have not been accustomed. What I say to them is that our differences with Rome are not dependent on questions of ceremonial or the outward forms of religion. They go much further and cut deeper. Remember that the use of ceremonial in the Church of England, which has come to us through the centuries, is necessary for one reason among many others, viz that there are hundreds and thousands of people who will not read religious books, while they will read other books. There are some people whose only mental sustenance is the daily newspaper. The only manner in which such people can be taught is through the eye. Then they begin to think and ask, and they might even perhaps read the little green tracts which you see displayed here. Then they get at the truth. The Church of England has a ceremonial of her own, and, if it is adopted and used in our Churches, everyone who sees it will know that the Church of England was not founded at the Reformation. It is true that through the influence of Protestantism, which was made in Germany or manufactured in Switzerland, for a time the Church of England lost its ceremonial. Although there has been that depression as a result of influences imported from Germany and Switzerland which vitiated the Church of England and caused our ceremonial to disappear for a time, we are using it now, and people who do not think have before their eyes a plain indication that the Church of England of the present day is the same Church which existed before the Reformation. I say that this is not going to take us Romewards. We are simply putting back what was lost from our heritage through foreign influences.

Then we might ask, what, after all, are our differences with Rome. Our differences with Rome can be mentioned under four heads—the doctrine of Transubstantiation, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, the Supremacy of the Pope, and the Infallibility of the Pope to be believed in as necessary for salvation. I am going to speak on these points to show how far we differ from Rome.

First, there is the doctrine of Transubstantiation. To understand what that is, it is necessary that we should first learn what our doctrine is. In speaking on this subject I have found it most convenient to explain the true doctrine of the Church of England by means of an illustration. It is this. Suppose you have a currency note. It is only a piece of paper but because it is signed, sealed and guaranteed by the Government of our country, we cannot treat it as a mere scrap of paper. Before it was signed, sealed and guaranteed it was a mere scrap of paper, but after that was done it attained a new value. The new value is so much more important than the old value, that we cannot speak of a currency note as a mere piece of paper; we must give it the new value it has attained. After it has undergone the process of having its value increased, if you burn it, or if a child loses it, you say that you have burnt money or that the child has lost money—not a piece of ordinary paper. What I mean to say is that it is quite possible, therefore, to take a common, ordinary thing, valueless in itself, and give it a new value by certain things done to it. In the same way in the Holy Communion we bring into the Church common elements of food and drink which are in use among people—bread and wine. When they have been brought into the Church and have been consecrated by the Holy Spirit, in answer to the prayers of the priest and of the people, the elements which have been consecrated attain a new value, and therefore, we should never speak of them in terms of their old value. That is what the Prayer Book teaches us—“The Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful . . .”—taken into the hand and received as food. The new value is there, and no more should we call them bread and wine. Again, when the priest comes to you to administer Communion he does not say that he is bringing something which represents the Body and Blood but he says that he is bringing the Body and Blood. That is the doctrine of the Church of England. Do you think that the doctrine of the Church of Rome is different? I will mention the opinion of the late Bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Gibson, who has written an admirable commentary on the Thirty-Nine Articles. He says that the view of the Presence of our Lord in the Holy Eucharist held by intelligent Roman Catholics does not differ from the view held by intelligent people in the Church of England. Then what is our objection to the doctrine of Transubstantiation? It is that the doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist, as defined by the Church of Rome in terms of mediaeval philosophy, should be accepted for salva-

tion. That is our objection. It is not with regard to the Real Presence, but that the acceptance of a certain formula defining it is imposed on people as necessary to salvation.

Let us now take the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. It is stated in the Apostles' Creed that our Lord was born of a virgin. It is stated in the Nicene Creed also. If there is any truth which has been embodied in the Gospels as much as any other truth it is that our Lord was born of a virgin. It is as true as that He was crucified, and it is as true as that He was raised from the dead. If there are people who say that they do not believe that, they cut out something from the Creeds and the Scriptures. Why was our Lord born of a virgin? God never works a miracle unless there is a purpose. It is truly said of a miracle that it has some moral or spiritual value. We are told that our Lord was born of a virgin in order that He might be sinless. Every child born into this world has sin, being born of a sinful father and mother. When our Lord was born of the Blessed Virgin, it is said His sinlessness was secured. If the father was sinful, the child would inherit the sinfulness of the father. It is true that S. Joseph was sinful. But he was not the father of our Lord and therefore our Lord inherited no sin from him. But was not the Blessed Virgin also sinful? How then can she give birth to a sinless child? That question has been met through the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. What is that doctrine? It is that when the natural life of the Blessed Virgin began the Holy Spirit began to act on her so that the supernatural life was in her case simultaneous with her natural life, and, therefore, the natural life and the life of grace beginning together, she was sinless from her mother's womb. The sinlessness was secured by the operation of the Holy Spirit acting on her even from her mother's womb. Dr. Gore has been writing on this subject recently and he says that he cannot accept a doctrine for which there is no authority in Holy Scripture. To those who cannot accept this doctrine I certainly say that they had better leave it alone, but let me point out to you that at the time the Prayer Book was drawn up there was a great controversy on the subject as to whether the Blessed Virgin was pure from sin or not. It is written in the Prayer Book that our Lord's mother was a "pure virgin." If there are people in the Church of England who believe in the Immaculate Conception, they can plead the authority of the Prayer Book. But our objection to the view-point of the Roman Church is that what can be and might be held as an opinion only is imposed on people as something which we must believe for our salvation. That is the difference. If you do not believe in the Divinity of our Lord, you are not a true Christian. If you deny sacramental grace, you destroy the whole of Christianity, because it is a system of grace. These are things essential to our salvation, but there are certain things which we might hold as opinions, and opinions should not be imposed on people as matters necessary for their salvation. If anyone of you holds the

doctrine of the Immaculate Conception we will say you are entitled to your own opinion, but if you say we must accept it ourselves we will say it is not necessary to hold it for our salvation.

Now let us pass on to the next question : Papal Supremacy. It is one of those doctrines which are considered essential to the Roman Catholic interpretation of Catholicism. There are some people who have a wrong view of this doctrine. I have been told by people that this doctrine means that no bishop is a bishop unless the Pope gives him permission to exercise his office. That is an entire misrepresentation. What the Pope maintains is that a bishop cannot have any jurisdiction unless he gives it to him—that every bishop in Christendom must have authority from the Pope to exercise his office. It is the Pope, they say, who gives jurisdiction to every Bishop consecrated in the Eastern or the Western Church. What history is there in favour of this claim of jurisdiction put forward by the Pope ? Here again, let me remind you of what Bishop Gore has written. It is not a matter over which the Church of England need bother herself. It is a question we can hand over to the Greek Church. Why ? Bishop Gore says that the Greek Church stands as a great breakwater against this claim of Papal Supremacy. When were the Church of Antioch, the Church of Ephesus, the Church of Alexandria, the Church of Corinth under the jurisdiction of the Pope of Rome ? We can prove by an appeal to history that the doctrine of Papal Supremacy has been resisted by the Greek Church for centuries, but, on the other hand, remember that the Church of England for centuries did admit the Supremacy of the Pope. Again and again, when you read English Church history you will find it, but at the Reformation there was an appeal to history and Holy Scripture, and the Reformers said that the Papal claim was both unhistorical and unscriptural and they abandoned it and came into line with the churches of the East in that matter. Let us remember, on the other hand, that there is something called primacy in the Church, but primacy is not supremacy and supremacy is not primacy. There is a difference between them. I will give you an illustration. If in a school the first boy has a primacy of intelligence, character, leadership, etc., he will be taken by the class as its best boy and its spokesman, but if this boy tries to exercise supremacy he will lose both his primacy and his supremacy. That is what has happened to the Pope. He had the primacy and he tried to make it a supremacy. He lost the recognition of both, his primacy and his supremacy. I do not think that a primacy is necessary in the Church. You see that S. Peter had a primacy among the Apostles. If you take the Gospel of S. Matthew, against S. Peter's name there is put the word, "First." You cannot get rid of it. S. Peter was the first and he spoke on various occasions as the mouth-piece of the Apostles. It was S. Peter who led the people on the day of Pentecost. He took as an Apostle the first step in baptising non-Jews, like Cornelius. There was in him a primacy, but it is perfectly clear from the Acts of the Apostles that he claimed no supremacy. When the Council of Jerusalem came together to decide the question of the

Genives, the decision was given, not through S. Peter, but through S. James. The Holy Scriptures do not give any idea of a supremacy of S. Peter. But they show that he had a primacy among the Apostles. If it was so necessary to the original Apostolic college, surely it is good for the Church today that there should be a primacy among Bishops. The apex of the Episcopate ought to be in Rome, for we can show from history that the Bishop of Rome had a position of primacy. That question is one in which the Church of England should be interested. The Greek Church should be the first to speak as to what Bishop in Christendom the primacy ought to be given to. History gives it to the Bishop of Rome.

Now take the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. If there is anyone here who has the slightest notion of making tracks Romewards he ought to take in the "Tablet" and read it. It is a great Roman Catholic paper. I read it regularly and it has a tonic effect upon me. I was reading yesterday in it that the doctrine of Papal Infallibility can be expressed in one word. It is defined by saying that the whole essence of the doctrine is that when the Pope has said a thing on faith and morals it is irreformable—you cannot change it, it is inscribed as on a rock. That word "irreformable" expresses the meaning of the formula which was used many years ago "*Roma locuta ; causa finita*"—"Rome has spoken ; the case is finished." Infallibility means that when the Pope has given his decision it is valid for all the centuries to come till the end of time, and you cannot change it in any possible way. That is a very inconvenient doctrine, and how is it inconvenient ? Let us consider that. We all believe that the Bible is an infallible book and as the Bible was produced by the Church, the organization or body which produced the infallible book must itself be infallible—thus the Church is infallible. When one of the Bishops of the Church speaks in the name of the whole Church, his voice must also be infallible. When the Pope speaks in the name of the whole Church his word must be infallible. But there is a fatal flaw in this line of argument. We have not yet defined what is meant by the infallibility of the Bible. In the Old Testament we have a progressive revelation. In the education of children the first commandments are always given to them in a negative form. When they grow older they are given certain positive commandments, and when they grow still older they are taught by general principles. The teachings in the Old Testament are given in the same way. The Ten Commandments are all negative, except the fifth, but we find later on positive commandments given—"Do justice and love mercy." When we come to the teaching of the prophets they have general principles of conduct. At last, in our Lord's case He gave not only general principles, but He gave also an example which we are to follow. The Old Testament allowed certain things which in a later stage of development were not allowed. For instance, Moses allowed divorce—for the hardness of their hearts, he allowed it. Our Lord, however, took away that concession, when morality advanced. Then we come to the New Testament. There is the teaching of our Lord which

has to be applied to the problems that come before us from century to century. That is what has to be done by the Christian Church—to take the teaching of our Lord and put it as a solution to all the modern problems that we have. The slave problem was solved through the teaching of Christ. There is at the present moment the colour problem, which also can only be solved through the teaching of Christ. The teaching of Christ is infinite in its application. The teaching has to be applied, but when it is applied it is applied by people whose consciences are not fully enlightened. Therefore, if the teaching of Christ is applied to a certain problem in this century, in the next century people with more light will probably apply it to their problems in a higher way than we can. If the Pope says that when he has given a decision it is irreformable, he says that the teaching of our Lord cannot be applied further even if more light is shed on a problem in a future century. So the Church of Rome has barred and blocked its door against science and history. It has tied its hands together and put fetters on itself. It cannot break them and face the new truths which history and science teach us from century to century. Now, I have been told by a Roman Catholic, "If you are always waiting for new light you are never sure of the truth. You are always in a state of uncertainty." What is my answer to that? Christianity consists of two things. The essential thing is surrender to the Lord Jesus Christ, allegiance to Christ, perfect surrender to Him, to be governed by Him and used by Him in the way He likes—that is what every Christian should be in relation to our Lord. Whether he is a Protestant Nonconformist, an Anglican, or a Roman Catholic—that is the essential thing. After that essential thing there is something further. There is the system of truth which the Church presents to him as the teaching of our Lord. We are told that the first believers did abide in the Apostles' doctrine. The Church of England herself gives her children a system of truth. What should be their attitude to that system of truth? It is necessary to accept it for the nourishment of our souls and to guard us from erroneous influence about our Lord's person and His work for us. That system of truth is essential. Wise people will say it has been given to us by people who were well-qualified to draw it up and they will accept it for that reason. That is the case of people who are not qualified to be theologians, who have neither time nor inclination to study theology. But there are some people who give themselves up to a study of theology. These people can discuss among themselves and see where that system should be supplemented or changed and perhaps even abandoned. We who have neither the time, nor the inclination, nor the ability to do such things have merely to accept what the Church gives us. My standing-ground, therefore, is my allegiance to our Lord Jesus Christ. As for the system of truth given to me by the Church, I accept it on the authority of the Church. But those qualified to do it may change, revise or add to it as fresh needs arise. That is what you do in reference to your lawyer and doctor. Experts in medicine and law give opinions which you accept and act on. But fresh knowledge in these matters is

always accumulating. When it comes to theology what is your wisdom? To interpret things for yourself, or to accept the teachings of your Church which have come to you with authority? Be sure of your standing-ground, but leave the door open for new applications of truth because experience is going on, and perhaps a greater store of truth and knowledge is still available to us.

Now let us ask: how is it that the Church of Rome has made these things matters necessary for salvation? The Church of Rome has been pursued by Protestants. They first of all have been saying that in the Holy Communion there is no Real Presence of our Lord. They treated our Lady as a dead Roman Catholic. They said that the Bible only is the religion of the Protestants, and they divided the Church into a number of sects. They spoilt Christianity. So in order to counteract all this the Church of Rome said that the four things I have referred to should be accepted, not only for the good of the Church, but for attaining the salvation which you desire. Therefore, if we blame the Church of Rome, blame should also be attached to Protestants who have driven the Church of Rome to take up this attitude. But error can never be cured by error. One disease never cures another.

IV

We differ from Protestant Nonconformists in other ways. First, Our Lord intended to found a Church. He said, "I will build my Church." The redemption through Christ is mediated to the individual through the Church which He founded. Secondly, the Apostolic Succession guarantees the unity of the Church, and we know that the Church to which we belong is the One Apostolic Church which Our Lord founded. Thirdly, it is very necessary that the Bible should be interpreted by the tradition of the Church as contained in the Creeds. There are Protestants who say that the Bible is the only religion of the Protestants, but most of them do put forward confessions of faith and say that is what they believe. It is true that we have the Thirty-Nine Articles, but they are given to the Clergy to guide them in their teaching. It is simply the limits within which a clergyman of the Church of England can teach. Protestant Nonconformists do not think that the Church, the Creeds and the Apostolic Ministry are essentials.

What does the Church of England stand for? It believes that Christ founded the Church and that we in the Church of England are part of the Church that Christ founded, and that His redemptive work is mediated to us through the Church. This is done by the preaching of the Word and the administration of the Sacraments. The Word in the Bible must be interpreted according to the Creeds and for the administration of the Sacraments the Apostolic Ministry is essential. Nothing that is not contained in or that cannot be proved from the Bible should be required to be believed in as necessary to salvation. The Church of England therefore lies four-square with the Bible, the Creeds, the Sacraments and the Ministry. That is the historical position of the Church to which we belong.

A LETTER ON THE SACRIFICIAL ASPECT OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST*

SIR,—In your last issue the Rev. A. E. Dibben writes : “ It is true that the vestment objected to was originally an ordinary garment of the Roman citizen, but it is also a fact that later, a long time after the Apostles, it was converted into a Sacerdotal garment, indicating that the minister who wears it is a sacrificing priest and that in the Holy Communion ‘ there is a great sacrifice or offering of our Lord by the ministering priest, in which the mediation of our Lord ascends from the altar to plead for the sins of men.’ This and other like doctrines have also been declared by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to be illegal Now multitudes of loyal Churchmen hold them to be ‘ little short of blasphemous, belittling and watering down as they do, the full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world ’ by our blessed Lord’s ‘ one oblation of Himself once offered ’ ‘ upon the Cross for our redemption ’, an offering which cannot and does not need to be repeated.”

The above statement opens up three questions :

1. Is the Holy Eucharist a sacrifice ?
2. What is its relation to the Sacrifice on Calvary ?
3. Do the Eucharistic Vestments set forth the sacrificial aspect of the Holy Eucharist ?

1. “ That the Holy Eucharist is a sacrifice does not depend on the interpretation of the words “ do ” and “ remembrance ” (*anamnesis*) as was once supposed by some scholars. Anamnesis means in Greek usually “ involuntary recollection,” and “ do ” is not an exclusively sacrificial term. But, first, the whole setting of the first Eucharist was the setting of the Passover Sacrifice, and it has been known through all the ages as the Christian Passover. Secondly, “ This is my Blood of the new Covenant,” describes it as a Covenant Sacrifice. There can be no question that from the earliest days the Christian Church thought of the Eucharist as a sacrifice.” So writes Dr. Gore and in support of his statement he quotes from writers who carry into the second century the witness of the first century contained in the New Testament, viz Clement, the Didachè, Justin Martyr, Irenæus. It is not necessary to quote writers later than the second century as they are numerous and the testimony is continuous. But it is the language of sacrifice used in our Prayer Book Service. It is called a “ Memory ” (Memorial) of His death, which is described as a “ Sacrifice.” In the first prayer

* Two letters in reply to the Rev. A. E. Dibben on the subject of “ Eucharistic Vestments ” written to the *Ceylon Churchman* in 1925.

after Communion we have these words : " We and all Thy whole Church may obtain *remission of our sins* and here we offer and present unto Thee ourselves to be a reasonable holy and *living sacrifice* ; humbly beseeching Thee that all we who are partakers of the Holy Communion *may be fulfilled with Thy grace and heavenly benediction.*" A leading English Liturgiologist once pointed out to me that in these words the Holy Eucharist is described as a fulfilment of the Sin, Burnt, and Peace Offerings in the sacrificial system of the Old Covenant. The prayer goes on to say that "although we be unworthy to offer unto Thee any sacrifice yet we beseech Thee to accept this our bounden duty and service." "Here then," says Dr. Gore, "we have the profoundest justification for the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. The Eucharist is the Christian Sacrifice because what is there made present to faith is the body and blood of Jesus, as our perpetual and all-sufficient sacrifice. Granted this, all the lower earthly sacrifices of prayers, alms, oblations and commemorations group themselves naturally and inevitably round this central point." It is not necessary to labour this point further. The New Testament, Early Christian writers and our own Prayer Book are unanimous that the Holy Eucharist is a sacrifice.

2. I proceed now to the second question. Here again I will at the very outset quote Dr. Gore : " No repetition of the sacrifice upon ' the Cross '," and again he says : " It does not effect any renewal of the sacrifice of the Cross—any renewed surrender of Christ to death The death, or the humiliation which belongs to the death, is commemorated only, not renewed or repeated." What then is the relation of the Holy Eucharist to the sacrifice on Calvary ? Christ as our High Priest is pleading before the Father, as set forth in the Epistle to the Hebrews, the merits of His full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice. We who are in union with Him are joining Him in doing on earth, what He is doing in Heaven, pleading the merits of His death. The Holy Eucharist is the special occasion on which we are consciously and deliberately as a Church, not merely the priest, taking part in that pleading. " We may allow that in common language a man may do something which will reconcile God to him, and restore him to God's favour ; but then all the power that any action of man can have for this end is a derived power, derived from Christ's sacrifice, from which any other sacrifice, the Eucharistic one included, borrows its virtue, and without which it would be wholly null and void." This is expressed fully in the well known hymn of Dr. Bright's :

*" And now, O Father, mindful of the love
 That bought us once for all on Calvary's tree,
 And having with us Him that pleads above
 We here present, we here spread forth to Thee
 That only offering perfect in Thine eyes,
 The one true, pure, immortal sacrifice."*

3. There remains the question whether the Eucharistic Vestments set forth the sacrificial aspect of the Holy Communion. Mr. Dibben says they do. The article on which he animadverted did not say so. As the Holy Eucharist is a sacrifice, the article in question which set forth the meaning of the wearing of vestments would have said so, because if it were true, it would be the most important thing which could be said of them. To assert that the vestments have a sacrificial significance, and that the writer who explained their use suppresses the most important aspect of them, is to charge him with disingenuousness. Mr. Dibben may quote from books written against the use of vestments, statements that vestments are sacrificial, but I do say, and say it confidently, though I have not read every book on the subject, that from the whole range of literature advocating the wearing of vestments, he cannot produce a single statement that they have a sacrificial significance.

Controversy is distasteful to everyone. But when one's teaching and practice are deliberately challenged we must "be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason." I have tried to give that reason "with meekness and fear." And if I have failed it is not through want of will to exercise those qualities.

P.S.—I am indebted in writing the above to Gore's "Body of Christ," and Mozley's "Lectures on Theological Papers."

A LETTER ON THE PRIVY COUNCIL

SIR,—The Rev. A. E. Dibben roundly stated in your last issue that the use of Eucharistic vestments is illegal because the Privy Council has said so. The ordinary layman who has not made a special study of the ecclesiastical and other courts of the Church of England and decisions in reference to ceremonies is apt to form the conclusion that Bishops and Clergy who wear Eucharistic vestments are law-breakers. The intention of what is written here is to repudiate such a charge. It is most unfortunate that a dispute which has slumbered for nearly 50 years—(Mr. Dibben gives 1877 as the date of the Privy Council decision) should have been roused by him. The Church of England stands for comprehension and it is one of her peculiar glories that she, attempting to establish unity in diversity, which is much more difficult than unity through uniformity, tries to include in one society those who emphasise the ancient historic and Catholic heritage of the Anglican Church, and those who value far more principles and practices which emerged during the Reformation in the 16th century. The wisest thing which those two wings of the Anglican Church can do is to agree to differ without calling each other names, to recognise two uses one early and historic, and the other modern and allied to Calvinistic Protestantism.

The Catholic party in the Church of England ask that they too should be allowed to have a place in the Church of England as her loyal and obedient children. Mr. Dibben will call them persons who are doing illegal things, and are therefore disloyal to her and if they do not mend their ways should either leave her or would he go so far as to say that they should be cast out of her? There are so many tasks before the Church in this country that controversies about ceremonial seem like a waste of time. But a charge having been made, it must be met if real peace is to be secured. Mr. Dibben's contention is that the wearing of vestments is illegal because in 1877 the Privy Council declared them to be illegal. By the Privy Council Mr. Dibben means the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council appointed to try ecclesiastical causes. Down to 1832 the Court of Delegates was the Court to which ecclesiastical suits were referred. This court had been created by Act 25 Henry VIII. c. 19. That ecclesiastical suits should be determined by spiritual and not by secular courts was clearly established. "When any cause of the law divine happens to come in question or of spiritual learning" it must be "declared, interpreted and shown by that part of the body politic called the spirituality." In case the Courts of the Bishops and Archbishops failed to do justice the Act referred to above provided an appeal to the King in Chancery.

And the King for the purpose of hearing the appeal issued a commission to certain persons to hear the appeal. This was the Court of Delegates. It was composed of persons skilled in ecclesiastical law : ordinarily, bishops or ecclesiastical dignitaries of requisite learning; or, after the Act allowing laymen to be ecclesiastical judges, trained ecclesiastical lawyers. This was a truly spiritual court. This court was superseded in 1832 in the reign of William II by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It was created when the Convocations of Canterbury and York were not allowed to meet. This Committee was composed of the Lord Chancellor and a number of judges and ex-judges of whom only the judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (besides the Lord Chancellor) need be a Churchman or even a Christian. Thus the right and duty of the Crown to appoint suitable persons, through whom to exercise its supremacy, was taken away and a new secular court was set up by the authority of Parliament. In this court as finally arranged, three Bishops chosen from a rota must be present at the hearing of ecclesiastical appeals as assessors not as members of the court. The court was thus a purely secular court set up by Parliament without the sanction of the Church and therefore without even a semblance of spiritual authority. The most important objections to this court are not only its composition, but also the fact that it was created solely by Parliament, which could bestow no spiritual authority. Besides, the claim of Parliament to set up an ecclesiastical court was a breach of the terms of the alliance between Church and State. The court was therefore unconstitutional as well as devoid of spiritual authority, which can only be given by the Church. Its work was equally unsatisfactory. Its decisions were marvellously hostile to the real well-being of the Church ; and again, it contradicted its own previous decisions. Its decisions on ceremonial, it confessed, were strict, while on doctrinal offences they were lax. Dean Church said that to the plain man this seemed " unjust, unconstitutional and oppressive." Bishop Stubbs one of the most eminent of English historians said : " I do not care about vestments themselves, nor for a mistake in the interpretation of the law, but there is no mistake here ; it is a falsification of documents." In a letter to a friend (afterwards published) the learned Bishop accused the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of " deliberate falsehood " in its ecclesiastical decisions. Lord Westbury, one of the greatest lawyers who ever sat on the Woolsack, declared that the way in which the Judicial Committee promulgated its decisions was " inconsistent with the truth." The Church Association, a Protestant organisation, which spent large sums of money in promoting prosecutions of many clergy working in noisome slums for alleged ceremonial offences, called on its members for an abundance of complaints. Five of the Clergy prosecuted under its direction by its agents were imprisoned for periods varying from a fortnight to nineteen months. They were the Rev. A. Tooth (1877) ; T. P. Dale (1880) ; R. W. Enraght (1880) ; S. F. Green (1881) imprisoned for nineteen months ; J. Bell Cox (1887). Many others were prosecuted in the courts for so-called ceremonial offences, the Church

Association paying the expenses. In one case a consecrated wafer was produced in Court and Archbishop Tait with difficulty secured its return. None of these priests appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council though it was the only court of Final Appeal available to them, because they refused to recognise it as a spiritual court and knew it was merely a secular court, a creature of Parliament devoid of spiritual authority. A climax was reached when the Church Association presented a suit against the saintly Bishop King of Lincoln. The case was heard by Archbishop Benson in his own court with five episcopal assessors. What is important here is that the Archbishop completely ignored all decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. He treated it as a non-existent body. Bishop King was acquitted. Dean Church described the Archbishop's decision "as the most courageous thing that has come from Lambeth for the last two hundred years." The prosecutors appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council which dismissed the appeal. The Bishop did not appear by counsel before the Privy Council as he declined to recognise its jurisdiction. This case broke the spell of the Privy Council by showing that its previous decisions were not infallible nor irrevocable. The value which should be set on decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on which Mr. Dibben relies may also be seen from the following quotation from the Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline 1906, p. 67 : "The series of Privy Council judgments which were given between the years 1868 and 1877 and which dealt with rites and ceremonies, as distinguished from doctrine, extended to cases of ritual the objection which was felt to the Judicial Committee deciding questions of doctrine. The replies, evidently framed on this point in a settled form, which a large number of the clergy have made to the complaints of witnesses, well illustrate both the prevalence and intensity of the opposition to the present constitution of the Court of Final Appeal in ecclesiastical causes. The result has been unfortunate in many ways. Bishops and others have been naturally slow to appeal to a court, the jurisdiction of which was widely challenged ; clergymen have claimed the liberty, and even asserted the duty, of disobedience to the decisions of a tribunal the authority of which they repudiate ; and judgments of the Judicial Committee, though at least the reasoned statements of very eminent judges, are treated as valueless because they are Privy Council judgments. A court dealing with matters of conscience and religion must above all others rest on moral authority, if its judgments are to be effective. As thousands of clergy, with strong lay support, refuse to recognise the jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee its judgments cannot practically be enforced."

The following practices have been declared lawful by decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council :—

1. *Agnus Dei* after consecration prayer, during communion if not interrupting service.
2. Mixed chalice, if mixed before service.
3. Eastward position for Priest for Church Militant Prayer. Eastward position during collects.

4. Ablution of sacred vessels in church, after the service.

(These were decisions given by the Privy Council in 1892 in the suit promoted by the Church Association against Dr. King, Bishop of Lincoln.)

5. Eastward position at prayer of consecration if the manual acts are visible.

(This decision was given in the case of *Ridsdale vs. Clifton*, 1877. The Judicial Committee consisted of: Lord Chancellor Cairns, Lord Selborne, Sir James Colville, Sir Fitzroy Kelly, Sir R. Phillimore, Lord Justice James, Sir M. Smith, Sir R. Collier, Sir Baliol Bratt, Sir R. Amphlett, assessors Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Tait) and Bishops Durnford, Hughes, Woodford, and Basil Jones.)

If Mr. Dibben says that what the Privy Council has declared illegal should not be used, why does he not (and I know he does not) use what is declared to be legal by that Council to which he professes obedience? There is a game known as "Heads I win; tails you lose." It is an apposite description of Mr. Dibben's position. It is a matter of regret that this letter appears when Mr. Dibben is not in the Diocese. But the reply cannot be delayed till he returns, as his letter has roused questions—and I hope he will find some leisure to make his position clearer.

To sum up: Mr. Dibben charges thousands of his brother-clergy—and many Bishops—and lay people who accept their ministrations, with doing what is illegal. He relies on the decisions of a secular Court created by Parliament, having no shred of moral or spiritual authority, denounced by statesmen, rather than accept whose services persecuted clergy preferred imprisonment, and repudiated by one of the greatest Archbishops and one of the saintliest Bishops of modern times. If Mr. Dibben does not wear vestments which declare the historic continuity and Catholicity of the Church of England, and show even the most thoughtless that at the Reformation no new Church was set up, but that the Church of England is continuous with the Church of the Martyrs of the earliest ages, he should at least allow those priests who think that these things should be emphasised to pursue their way quietly and to minister to the souls entrusted to them.

P.S.—I have to express my indebtedness for the above statements to Harford and Stevenson's *P. B. Dictionary*; Dr. Malcolm McColl's *The Royal Commission and the Ornaments Rubric*; and Ollard and Crosse's *Dictionary of English Church History*.

THE RECITATION OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS*

IT CAN be seriously, truthfully, and justly maintained that the constant and naked (without interpretation) recitation of the Ten Commandments in the Communion Service has tended to make a false conscience in many people. In a country in which as in Ceylon there are gods many and lords many, a Christian listening to the first commandment might lay the comfortable unction to his soul that at least he is free from such folly and wickedness, though he may be all the while an ardent worshipper at the shrine of wealth, pleasures, popularity, culture, respectability, etc. Coming to the second commandment, the Protestant, while he may tolerate pictures in a stained glass window, will think it his bounden duty to break down every statue in a church, forgetting that on the very top of the ark in which the two tables were deposited there were cherubim figures of gold. Coming to the third commandment he is well satisfied if his vocabulary of expletives does not contain any reference to the Deity, and it never strikes him that what it enjoins is truthfulness on all occasions and forbids even the offering of insincere compliments. The fourth commandment is the most widely misunderstood. Its constant repetition has made some people identify Sunday with the Sabbath, though according to S. Paul the Sabbath is abrogated and to observe it is disloyalty to the teaching of our Lord, as set forth by S. Paul in his Epistles to the Galatians and Ephesians. Such identification is not merely a theoretical error. It has a disastrous practical consequence. The primary object of the Sabbath was rest, and because men rested they used the day for worship. The primary object of Sunday is worship—and therefore to enable men to engage in that, they rested. It stands thus: Sabbath, rest, therefore worship; Sunday, worship, therefore rest. This is not mere juggling with words. Many a Christian neglects worship on Sunday, but if he abstains from work and rests, he thinks he has observed Sunday well. His conscience never wakes to the fact that even with total abstinence from work such as not even lighting a fire or cooking in his house on a Sunday, if he absents himself from worship, he has ignored the plain and paramount duty of the day. He has behaved as a Jew living under the law and not as a Christian living under grace.

Passing to the second table, he will pride himself that he is obedient to his employers and superiors. He may at times be somewhat bored by the pretensions of his so-called social superiors. He may not be quite just and reasonable when over a petty parochial squabble he falls out with his "teachers, spiritual pastors and masters." He might be overbearing to his inferiors. The ten commandments do not enjoin any duty of humility to them. But he has no time to think of these

* Within view of the omission of the Decalogue in the Ceylon Liturgy.

things. The recitation goes on relentlessly. He remembers the sayings in the Sermon on the Mount and so understands what the sixth and seventh commandments forbid. Then he hears "Thou shalt not steal." Why! he would be ashamed to do so degrading a thing. But he does not think that if he is working in an office, unless he uses for his employer's benefit all the time for which he is paid and is unpunctual, dilatory and slack over his work, he is guilty of the eighth commandment. No! he is not likely to bear false witness. He has never been in a court of law. But he might have been busy all the week in circulating a perfectly true story derogatory to his neighbour, merely for the pleasure it gives him to show that his neighbour is not so good as he is reputed to be. And at last he comes to the end and he understands that all he is enjoined to do is to be content with what he has, not to wish for anything which his neighbour has. It is a call to contentment he thinks and he is really content, though at times he might grasp what belongs to his neighbour by a sharp deal or charging exorbitant interest on money or not being willing to pay fair wages to his servants and thus trading on their need in the desire to get the maximum of labour at the minimum wage. All these sins, wickednesses, follies, shortcomings are hidden from him as he hears the ten commandments recited. He is a miserable sinner, but he is not like other miserable sinners. The ten commandments applied in their naked simplicity to a soul Sunday after Sunday have a soothing effect, calming and comforting a troubled spirit. It absolutely prevents a man from obtaining any real knowledge of his sinfulness. The fact is they do not go far enough, and heard Sunday after Sunday they become not a thunder waking the conscience but a consoling breeze lulling a soul. But if heard occasionally, if sometimes the Eucharist begins with a cry for mercy to the Holy Trinity or with a demand of the highest love for God and the utmost love for the neighbour, men might be led to think that though they might observe all the ten commandments in the letter, they break everyone of them in their true and deeper significance. The ten commandments should be used to rouse, not to soothe. How may this be accomplished best?

THE PRIEST IN HIS STUDY*

THE PRIEST at the Altar, or the Priest in the Pulpit, or the Priest on his Knees, or the Priest in his Parish, would seem to be subjects of far greater importance than the subject of "The Priest in his Study," but inasmuch as the preparation for the Altar or for the Pulpit or for Private Prayer or for parochial ministrations, must be the outcome of the work and experience of the Priest in his study, the subject of this survey is not by any means unimportant.

The subject on which I am to speak to you today is suggested by the following question and answer in the Office for the Ordering of Priests : "Will you be diligent in reading of the Holy Scriptures and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same?" and the answer is : "I will endeavour myself so to do, the Lord being my helper." Question and answer are both prepared for in those words of the exhortation to the candidates for the Priesthood. "Consider how studious ye ought to be in reading and learning the Scriptures". No question answering to that which we are now considering is put to the candidates for Deacon's Orders ; whilst in the office for the Consecration of a Bishop this question reappears in some degree enlarged. This restriction of the question to the higher orders of the Ministry might of itself lead us to see its special object, for it shows us that it bears upon that part of our ministerial work which is not to be entrusted ordinarily to the Deacon. The Deacon is to read the word of God to the people, and if specially licensed by the Bishop, but not otherwise, he may preach. But the Priest is distinctly commissioned to preach and yet further to be a dispenser of the word of God. And so in his case this question bearing upon the new power entrusted to him is added to the simple inquiry which alone is addressed to the candidate for Deacon's Orders.

But we must not think that the drift of this question is merely whether we will teach our flocks out of the Scriptures ? It goes deeper than that. The way that we can teach out of the Scriptures is by knowing them well and practically ourselves, by seeking continually the aid of God's Spirit that we may ourselves understand and receive them, by guarding against those habits of mind which would make us unable to enter into the depths of their hidden meaning. This then is the purpose of the question. It refers directly to the inner life of our own spirit ; it really refers only indirectly to the act of teaching. The meaning of the question then is : "You are about to be made a dispenser of God's word to others ; will you so live that you may be able to dispense it ?" And this is brought out even more clearly still as the question reappears in the Office for the Consecration of Bishops, where

* A paper read before the Colombo Clerical Union.

it stands thus : " Will you faithfully exercise yourself in the Holy Scriptures and call upon God by prayer for the true understanding of the same ; so as you may be able by them to teach and exhort with wholesome doctrine and to withstand and convince the gainsayers ?" Here the meaning of the question is perfectly plain : the Priest's lips are to keep knowledge, but that power of keeping knowledge must itself be the result of being in a certain spiritual condition. Will you then, is the inquiry of the Church, so exercise yourself that by the grace of God you may hope to make this condition yours ? So you will see the importance of this promise of study in our own inner spiritual life.

Now in weighing this engagement to study, it pledges us to be, during the whole course of our ministry, students of theology ; and it is, depend on it, of great moment that we should be so, both of what such studies prevent and of what they furnish. They prevent our sinking into a life of idleness ; and idleness, I need scarcely remind you, is the fruitful parent of almost every other fault. For from it are bred not only the habits of frivolity which make a life purposeless as to ourselves and fruitless as to others but, even beyond this, those deadly lusts in which every now and then an unwatchful ministry is drowned and some miserable man destroyed. It was when contrary to his wonted custom King David remained at home at the time when kings go forth to battle, though the army of Israel was encamped in the field, that the ready tempter betrayed him to his shameful fall. And even if idleness reach not to these marked measures of evil, it has a very paralysing influence upon a ministry. It leads to habits of softness and self-sparing which soon infect the whole character, which are fatal to a high tone of devotion and often end in the prevalence of cowardly and ungenerous actions. Against all these evils a life of Christian study is a great and blessed safeguard. And a safeguard which we need. For we must not blink the fact that, for many reasons, idleness is quite sure to prove one of our besetting temptations always. Idleness, too, must be a besetting temptation to us not only if the parish which forms our charge is very small, but from the very nature of our duties. For these are necessarily uncertain and undefined. They are not exacted from us as a tale which we render to another, but are a burden which it is left to us to lay, at our own discretion, on ourselves. They may for the most part be discharged as well at one hour of the day as at another, tomorrow as today, and a very little experience of the ministerial life will teach us that these are exactly the engagements which it is most easy to postpone without self-condemnation, and most difficult to discharge with any really exact regularity. Every eye can see when the arrow which is aimed at a single point misses its mark, but hardly any gaze can tell in the wavering flight of the butterfly whether it has visited or missed this flower or that amongst which it hovers.

Whatever, then, tends to give aim, purpose and habits of regularity and industry to our lives, is of itself a special blessing as a safeguard against a certain and besetting temptation. But it is far from being only for the sake of this negative and incidental advantage that I would

earnestly press upon you and myself the duty of forming and steadfastly maintaining throughout our ministry real habits of study. We cannot with full efficiency perform the work God has set us to do without such habits. Even if our whole ministry is to be spent among a few unlettered people, we cannot make full proof of it unless we are at all times students of sacred study. The mind which is not thus enriched will very soon become sterile. We shall, unawares, be perpetually producing from it the same crop and evermore with a feebler growth. We shall become mere self-repeaters. Our ministry will grind in a single groove on a track of the dullest uniformity. Our people may be too unlettered to reason upon the causes of this barrenness in their teacher, but they will feel it, and its impression will most assuredly be marked in their feeble perception of the mighty truths which our drowsy monotone has made so dull and commonplace to them. This is at the least. For the effect of our idleness and lack of study may indeed be far more startling than this. If we are placed in charge of men with more active minds, they will in time, through sheer weariness, abandon our ministrations; sometimes absenting themselves altogether from public worship; sometimes wandering to schismatical teachers, because they cannot endure our emptiness. For emptiness must be the result of idleness. If you are an idle man, and have the perilous gift of a commonplace facility of utterance, the connexion between idleness and emptiness is almost instant. And even if you have higher gifts—imagination and something of eloquence—the result will soon be the same.

Let us also remember that our ministry has to be exercised in a day when, for its success, it is more than ever necessary that we should speak with no stammering tongue. The spread of education through all classes qualifies all classes more than in past times to understand what is delivered to them, and stimulates them to be discontented with vague, meaningless utterances; and to demand accurate statements of what they are to believe and do. The opposition which we meet from Buddhists and Hindus is the outcome of the spread of education. Time was when they could not give an account of their beliefs, and now with the spread of education they are able to speak for themselves. We can meet them only with the spirit of prayer and humility and armed with the sword of God—His Word. And to be thus armed, we must become serious students of the Scriptures and all studies connected therewith.

I have so far tried to show you that our character as men of God, our work among Christian people, and our efforts to reach non-Christians, depend upon our becoming serious students of the Scriptures. Our Church in this country is in great danger of not having a studious and learned ministry. Far be it from me to say that it is due to idleness. It is more due to a feverish and anxious activity. They are not all bad, low selfish voices which draw us away from our studies. The voice of the sick, the voice of the untaught, the voice of the poor, are heard saying: "Come over to us and help us"; and the day with its poor

24 hours seems all too short for the work of mercy that appeals. And then when something has to be thrown overboard to lighten the overladen ship, it will be not at first the acts of visible sympathy such as pastoral visiting and teaching but the unseen acts, the effect of which is indirect. In plain words, the part to be sacrificed will be study. The result will be this: the life of the Priest will be one of little calm, little thought of his own flock bathing in the best thoughts of others, little of any consistent whole. Instead of this, it will be a life of hurry, of fragments, of hearsays, of echoes, of laborious but ill-adjusted details not indeed lacking love—that may still remain—but sadly lacking that light which can never be neglected if man is to be reduced to the obedience of God by the help and sympathy of his brother-man.

Study, then, must at any cost be secured. Let me come to some practical details of this subject. Either in the early morning, forenoon, or night, let us keep some time sacred for study. Let nothing break into it. You know that unless we have a fixed hour, no work will ever be done.

Secondly, let us always have a book of the Bible as the subject of our study. When we have done one, let us take up another.

Thirdly, let us read Christian Evidences more widely. There is a vast field of study here, useful to us directly in a non-Christian country. We have a great deal of ground to cover in this subject.

And, then, let me remind you, that for the Priest whose privilege it is to hear the confessions of his people from time to time, the study of Psychology could never be out of place. For the Priest who is constantly called upon to be a Director of Souls, the study of Christian Ethics will indeed prove to be a source of fruitful study. For the Priest whose ministry must be spent in the Mission Field, the study of missionary methods and the study of the language of his mission, must indeed be the correct though difficult thing.

Whatever be the subject of study, let us never think examinations are over and that we may allow the dust and mildew of disuse to settle on our books. Let us always have imprinted on our minds this promise of study that we once solemnly made when we were clothed with the most glorious office of the Priesthood, and let us try to discharge it as a sacred and solemn obligation. Remember the words of S. Francis de Sales, "The knowledge of the Priest is a sacrament of the Church."

AN INQUIRY INTO THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY*

Introduction. You will have to exercise the utmost patience towards me, as I may be running counter to many long-cherished convictions of some of you. I intend to set before you facts connected with the history of the Christian Ministry and draw certain conclusions from them.

1. **Authorities.** I will use as authorities the N.T. and the writings of early Christian authors to the end of the second century, i.e. of the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic ages. The period from A.D. 70, the year of the fall of Jerusalem, till A.D. 112—a period of 42 years—yields only a meagre supply of Christian literature. This is called by some writers the “Tunnel Period of Church History.” This meagreness is exaggerated so far as witness to the Christian Ministry is concerned, because we have for our inquiry the Epistle of S. Clement of Rome (A.D. 96) and the Epistles of S. Ignatius (A.D. 112). I shall include in this period the Didaché also. Canon Streeter puts it at the end of the first century. He does not think, as some do, that it was written either in the second or fourth century in some remote and isolated congregation in Syria or Transjordania but at Antioch the centre of great missionary enterprise.

At this point I should state that we ought to be clear in our inquiry not only of the N.T. but also of the works of Christian writers of the early Church. We should not be satisfied with appealing to the Bible and the Bible only. I say this for three reasons. First, when we have to decide what books comprise the Canon of the Old and New Testaments we have to seek for information as to what books were accepted as Canonical in the early Church. This evidence has to be gathered from the writings of early Christian writers. We have thus to appeal to them to substantiate our belief that the Old and New Testaments were inspired by God. If for deciding what is the Canon of Holy Scripture we have to appeal to early Christian writings, it is equally legitimate to seek in these writings evidence for the Christian Ministry. Secondly, refusal to use early Christian writers outside the N.T. amounts to casting doubts upon the continued presence and guidance of the Holy Spirit in the Church. The Holy Spirit not only guided the Apostolic age but guides also all the ages of the Church's history. Thirdly, in all conferences on Reunion it has been said again and again that each Christian body should be allowed to make its contribution to a United Church. That courtesy should we not extend to the Saints and Martyrs of the Church who lived nearest to Apostolic times?

I have already said that I will use the N.T., the First Epistle of S. Clement, the Ignation Epistles and the Didaché. These cover the

* A paper read to the Negotiating Committee of Church Union in Ceylon on the Anglican Aspect of the Christian Ministry.

period down to A.D. 112. For the closing years of the second century I shall refer to the Shepherd of Hermas (A.D. 150), Hegesippus "the Father of Church History" (A.D. 160), and S. Irenaeus (A.D. 185). It is not necessary to quote later writers, because from the third century onward Episcopal succession and the Threefold Ministry were well established.

2. The Christian Prophetic Ministry. The service of the Christian prophets of the Church cannot be over-estimated. It was through the prophets that Barnabas and Saul were set apart as Missionaries to the Gentiles—Acts XIII, 1-3. It was through prophecy that S. Paul was guided to ordain Timothy and it was also through prophecy that Timothy received some particular gift for his work—1. Tim. 1.18. It was in ways like these that the Church is said to be founded not only on the Apostles but also on the prophets—Romans 1. 2-5. The hymn in many Anglican Churches, "The Church's one foundation is Jesus Christ our Lord," is opposed to S. Paul's teaching that the Church is built on the foundation of the Apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the Corner Stone—Ephesians 11.20—binding together the Jewish and Gentile elements in the Church. There were both male and female prophets—Acts XXI.9.

Functions of Prophets. (a) *Foretelling.* Agabus signified through the Spirit that there would be a famine in the Roman Empire. The same prophet binding himself with S. Paul's girdle foretells that the Jews at Jerusalem will bind him and deliver him to the Gentiles. S. Paul was told by prophets in every city that bonds and tribulations awaited him.—Acts XX. 23.

(b) *Public Worship.* We find prophets and teachers conducting public worship at Antioch. Among these were Barnabas and Saul. The Holy Spirit signified as they fasted and prayed that Barnabas and Saul should be sent as Missionaries to the Gentile world—Acts XIII. 1-3. The prophets laid hands on them and sent them away. This could not have been their ordination, for S. Paul affirms that he did not obtain his Apostleship from any human source or through any human agency—Gal. I 11-12. This laying on of hands must have been a recognition by the Church of Antioch that Barnabas and Saul were going forth as the accredited representatives of that Church. This point is important because we find that prophets did not ordain men for the ministry, or assist in the laying on of hands at ordinations. In the reference to Timothy's ordination we find that S. Paul and presbyters laid hands on him while prophets guided S. Paul to ordain him and imparted to him a gift.—1 Tim. IV. 14.

(c) *Preaching.* Judas and Silas are sent to Antioch with the letter of the Council of Jerusalem. They exhorted the Christians at Antioch and strengthened them in the faith. Here emerges another activity of the prophets—preaching. They also seem to have been judges of character. A Cretan prophet describes the Cretan character in most uncomplimentary terms. According to S. Paul (Eph. VIII.5) prophets as

well as Apostles were the recipients of the revelation that the Church should include Gentiles and have equal status with Jewish Christians. But it was not the Apostles but prophets who took the first step for enterprising the evangelisation of Gentiles. Great indeed is the debt which the Church owes to Christian prophets.

3. **Occasional Prophecy.** Besides the Order of Prophets proper there were persons to whom the gift of prophecy was given from time to time to be used in local churches. S. Paul tells the Corinthians "Ye all can prophesy." When S. Paul laid hands on 12 persons whom he baptized the Holy Spirit came on them and they spoke with tongues and prophesied—Acts XIX. 6. In the Corinthian Church there were many persons who though not belonging to the Order of Prophets had the gift of prophecy and became an intolerable nuisance—1 Cor. XIV. 23-24.

We shall now examine what the Didachē has to say of the Order of Prophets. Their activities were not confined to any locality. They were "Ambulatory Messengers of the Gospel." They travelled from one church to another. They had no formal appointment. The gift came directly from God. But a prophet should be tested by his character and conformity of conduct to the truth he taught—1 Cor. XIV. 37-40. Once he was approved his utterances were not to be subjected to any criticism. He should be listened to with reverence and allowed to perform exceptional acts for a sign or in a mystery, like Agabus with S. Paul's girdle. The prophet was also free to give thanks at the sacred meal without the restriction of any form. A prophet may be allowed to settle down in a local church. He should then be supported by the Christian community. He was entitled to receive the first fruits of every possession for "they are your high priests."

The Decay of Prophecy. There is another side to this picture. In Thessalonica so-called prophets were fanatical, idle and troublesome to the Christian community. The Thessalonian Christians therefore began to despise prophesying and to refuse to listen to messages purporting to come from the Holy Spirit. S. Paul exhorts "Quench not the Spirit." "Despise not prophesyings." The prophets at Corinth created disorder in the assemblies for worship. S. Paul describes them with no little scorn. "If the whole Church be assembled together and there come in men unlearned or unbelieving will they not say, Ye are mad?" Even blasphemies, "Jesus is accursed," were heard in those disorderly assemblies. "When ye come together," S. Paul says, "each one hath a psalm, hath a teaching, hath a revelation." There was plenty of rivalry and vanity in the exercise of the prophetic gifts. S. Paul does not think that the abuse of a gift should take away its proper use. So he regulated the exercise of prophetic gifts and he put prophesying in the highest place and speaking with tongues in the lowest. It would be well for some who in these days say in awed whisper that the gift of tongues has appeared among them, to remember S. Paul's verdict on it.

We find from the Didaché that as early as the end of the first century the Order of Prophets was falling into disrepute. It was outliving its usefulness. Instructions are given to detect impostors. An apostle, i.e. a prophet shall not stay, save for one day, and if there be a necessity a second also. But if he stay three days he is a false prophet. Thus the "move-on rule" was applied to them. "When the apostle goeth forth, let him take nothing save bread, till he find lodging. But if he asks for money he is a false prophet. And every prophet approaching a table in the Spirit shall not eat thereof; otherwise he is a false prophet." The Shepherd of Hermas also gives tests to distinguish true from false prophets. The prophetic order disappeared gradually and its place was taken by the threefold Ministry of the Church. This will be referred to later on. The decadence of a great office or order is not unknown in the history of religion. We see from the O.T. that the Northern Kingdom was teeming with prophets. Most of them were persons whose vision was bounded by national ideas. In the Southern Kingdom there were great prophets, and they were working side by side with those who were in charge of the cult of worship. At last when the Monotheistic message of the Jewish Church was saved for the world, it was saved not through prophets, but through Israel, "who went into captivity as a nation and returned as a church," bringing the sacred scriptures with Priest, Levite and Scribe as ministers of the word and worship. Institutional religion is essential for the continuance of spiritual and mystical religion.

A ministry which has any kind of ordination cannot be called a prophetic ministry like that of the Early Church. The call to any kind of prophetic ministry should come from above without any human intervention, and such a ministry will open the door to many self-deceived persons, who will be a trouble to the Church as in the days of old.

4. **The Threefold Ministry.** I turn next to trace the history of the threefold Ministry. Our Lord appointed the Twelve. Matthias was appointed directly by the ascended Christ, to Whom appeal was made to fill the vacancy created by the fall of Judas. James the brother of John was killed early in the Church's career. The number twelve was completed by S. Paul's Apostleship. He claimed to be an Apostle on an equal footing with the original Twelve because he was called directly by the Risen Lord who appeared to him. In the upper room at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost there were others besides the twelve. Some of them perhaps became prophets. Those of them who had seen the Lord Jesus in the days of His Flesh were also probably called Apostles, a title reserved for those who had seen the Lord Jesus—1. Cor. IX. 1. We find S. Barnabas who was first a prophet is also called an Apostle—Acts XIV. 14. Two kinsmen of S. Paul, Andronicus and Junius (Rom. XVI.7) are mentioned as distinguished Apostles. In the Didaché prophets are also called Apostles.

The Evidence for the Threefold Ministry. In the first period A.D. 30-44 when S. Peter disappears from the story of the Acts, there

were Apostles, Elders and the Seven. How the Seven came to be appointed is narrated by S. Luke. No account is given of the appointment of Elders. They come into view at Jerusalem in connection with famine relief, given from the Church of Antioch to the poor Christians at Jerusalem. S. Luke probably does not give any account of their appointment as unlike in the appointment of the Seven it was no novelty, the early Church in Jerusalem modelling itself after the pattern of the Synagogue. Thus in the earliest period there were side by side with the Order of Prophets, three orders in the Ministry. We may go a step further and maintain that even so early there was something like Mono-Episcopacy. James, the Lord's brother, is not given the title Apostle directly. He is however put on an equality with the twelve Apostles. S. Paul in the Epistle to the Galatians puts him on an equality with S. Peter. The letter of the Council of Jerusalem to Antioch begins, "the Apostles and Elder Brethren," and among the apostles should be reckoned S. James who presided at the Council. He is always referred to in the Acts as holding a higher position than the elders over whom he presided. We shall see later how the presidency of S. James at Jerusalem furnished a precedent in the organisation of Gentile Churches.

The next period is from A.D. 45 to A.D. 70. Here we find survivors of the twelve, S. Paul, S. Barnabas and the Apostolic delegates, Timothy and Titus. Presbyters are found everywhere—Titus 1-5, James 5.14, I Peter 5.1., Acts 20.17. The third Order, Deacons, is mentioned in Philip 1.1, Tim. 3.8. The second Order is described sometimes as Elders and sometimes as Bishops more especially in Gentile Churches. This will receive further notice later.

The third period lasts from A.D. 70 to A.D. 112. Here Canon Streeter comes to our aid by placing the Didaché at the close of the first century, between the Acts and the letters of S. Ignatius (A.D. 112). We find from the Acts that at Antioch there was the dominance of a body of prophets. In the Didaché we find Bishops and Deacons coming into recognition. "Appoint therefore" the Didaché orders "for yourselves Bishops and Deacons worthy of the Lord." The second service Canon Streeter has rendered is that he affirms that side by side with the prophetic Ministry there was the threefold Ministry of Bishops, Priests and Deacons. A foretaste of the later Mono-episcopate he would see in the position held by S. James at Jerusalem, and by S. John at Ephesus. An example of a Church governed by a college of presbyter-bishops he would see in Rome. He bases this view of his on the fact that S. Clement writes to the Church of Corinth not in his own name but in the name of the Church of Rome. This conclusion of Canon Streeter's is open to question for some valid reasons which will be given later. He says that at Alexandria the body of presbyters had more influence than they exercised in other churches.

This view of his should be examined in the light of alleged presbyteral ordinations at Alexandria in the fourth century. However that may be, the service Canon Streeter has rendered is that he shows the growth

of a threefold Ministry which gradually superseded the Order of Prophets. At first the Prophetic Order was higher than the Order of Bishops and Deacons. But in process of time the higher Order disappeared, and what was the lower Order became established. What was temporary was succeeded by what became permanent.

5. **The Beginning of Monarchical Episcopacy** We have now to trace the process how out of the body of presbyters one was chosen to preside over the others in a Church. The Apostles were passing away. Would it not be well to organise the Churches, elevating one of the presbyters as a Bishop, to bear rule over the rest of the presbyters in a Church. Viewing the appointment from such a standpoint one might argue that a Bishop is only a glorified presbyter, entrusted only with a superior function, and does not belong to a separate order. We cannot concede that, with the historical authority we have. S. Ignatius insists that bishops are an Order separate from, and superior to, presbyters. He writes, "Be ye zealous to do all things in godly concord, the bishop presiding after the likeness of God and the presbyters after the likeness of the Council of the Apostles with the deacons who are most dear to me." Thus S. Ignatius is our witness to the fact that Episcopacy is an Order, separate from the Presbytery. We should bear in mind that when a Priest is raised to be a Bishop, he does not, whether in ancient or in these latter days, cease to be a presbyter, though he belongs to a higher Order. This can be illustrated from the N. T. S. John in his second and third Epistles describes himself as a presbyter. He wrote these when he was settled at Ephesus. S. Peter in his first Epistle begins by describing himself as an Apostle. But in a later chapter of the Epistle, when he is exhorting presbyters, he describes himself as a "fellow-presbyter." The explanation of this is that an apostle is sent forth to preach, and to organise the churches in various cities. But when an Apostle settles down to pastoral work he can describe himself as a presbyter. This is evident both from the Epistles of S. John and the first Epistle of S. Peter. S. John exhorts with authority as a presbyter from the Church where he is living, and S. Peter it will be seen from the context is concerned with the pastoral duties of a presbyter to his flock. Just as we should not call an Apostle a glorified presbyter we should not say a Bishop is a glorified presbyter.

Then comes into view the further question. Can we claim any Apostolic sanction for the position given to bishops over presbyters? To that question two answers may be given, one negative and the other positive. There is no trace whatever of any struggle in the Early Church through which Episcopacy came into being. If a presbyteral system had been established by Apostolic authority it would hardly have yielded without a struggle. And we can go even a step further. Episcopacy was not due to any ambition of presbyters. In times of persecution it was on bishops that the heavy hand of the persecuting State fell. So much so that S. Paul in his Pastoral Epistles encourages persons to seek the Episcopal Office as an honourable estate. The positive answer to the above question is this. S. John died about

A.D. 99. S. Ignatius wrote his Epistles in A.D. 112 when he was an old man. Some part of their lives overlapped. There was constant communication between the Church of Antioch, of which he was bishop, and the Churches of Asia. Thus he was able to know something of the mind of S. John. The aged apostle worked for the establishment of episcopacy in the Churches of Asia. Of this some proof will be given later. S. Ignatius urges passionately the claims of a threefold Ministry with the bishop as the head. Why these passionate entreaties for obedience to the bishop? Was it on his own authority or had he a superior authority behind him? It can only be explained by admitting that the establishment of episcopacy was according to the mind of the last surviving member of the Twelve.

Here I must remark that when the Church entered what is called the "Tunnel Period of Church History," she had from the time of the Apostles three Orders of Ministers—Apostles and Apostolic delegates, presbyters or bishops, and deacons. When the Church emerges after forty-two years of eclipse she has three Orders of Ministers. It is a mere assumption to say that during that period the threefold Ministry was abandoned. It is an argument of no little cogency, that when the Church emerges from the obscurity of 42 years she has a Creed, a Canon of Holy Scripture and a threefold Ministry. The Church during that period was not dead or inactive. Creed and Canon show that. If we admit two of these as authoritative what reason can be adduced for rejecting the third, viz the threefold Ministry?

S. Ignatius regards bishops as necessary to provide a centre of unity, preventing Churches from becoming loose in discipline and worship. And secondly in relation to the Holy Eucharist. Bishops are mentioned by him in connection with the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, which should be celebrated by a bishop or one authorised by a bishop. The reason for this is that the Apostles, according to the Acts, kept in their own hands the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. But we cannot imagine that in the earliest days, when the organisation of local Churches was not complete, there were no Eucharists unless an Apostle visited them. We have already seen that some prophets were also called apostles. They would have celebrated the Eucharist whenever they visited a Church. But both apostles and prophets were now passing away. What was to be done except to create a new Order? Is it the Eucharist that is mentioned in the Didaché or a sacred meal of fellowship, which followed the Eucharist? If it is the Eucharist that is described in it, it is significant that the order about the appointment of bishops and deacons begins "appoint therefore." Why "therefore?" Can it be that as prophets were becoming discredited and were passing away, therefore in connection with the Eucharist appoint bishops and deacons, who were always regarded as the servants of bishops. The stress I lay on a particle would be foolish unless light is thrown on it from the fact that S. Ignatius mentions bishops in close connection with the Eucharist. But we are on the sure ground not of a particle but of the earnest entreaties of a saint and martyr when we

hold that the Early Church never contemplated the celebration of the Holy Communion by a layman.

6. **The Earthly Source of Ministerial Authority.** Inquiry into this comes naturally when we have to discover who raised a presbyter to a higher Order as a bishop, and who ordained presbyters and deacons, and who was the authority to transmit ministerial power to others? The appointment of any ministerial Order was claimed by the Apostles. When the Seven were to be ordained the Christian community chose the men. The Apostles appointed them. This is clearly stated in the Acts. The appointment was not in the hands of the company of believers. They only chose. Put in the Churches S. Paul founded on his first missionary journey he appointed presbyters. It is S. Luke's habit that when he has mentioned a fact like that he does not repeat it. S. Paul must have appointed elders in the other Churches also, which he founded in Macedonia, Achaia and Asia. In the Churches of Galatia S. Paul and S. Barnabas appointed elders. S. Luke is very precise in the language he uses. He does not say that the believers chose them. Rather he says that S. Paul and S. Barnabas laid hands on the presbyters they appointed, but they commended them to the believers with prayer and fasting—Acts XIV. 23. Probably choice by the people and formal ordination were omitted because of the inexperience of these new Gentile believers and presbyters. They had evidently to pass a period of probation.

S. Paul with presbyters ordained Timothy. He sent delegates with Apostolic authority to ordain elders in Ephesus and Crete. But can we be sure that when the Apostles passed away ordinations were performed only by persons who had Apostolic authority for transmission of ministerial power? This is exactly what S. Clement of Rome says :

“Our Apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the name of the bishop's office. For this cause therefore having received complete foreknowledge they appointed the aforesaid persons and afterwards they gave injunction that if these should fall asleep other approved persons should succeed to their ministration.”

Part of that ministration was the laying on of hands. (S. Clement to the Corinthians, Section 44.)

We cannot on the face of the above facts accept the view that the authority of a Christian minister whether bishop, priest or deacon rests upon the will of the Christian community. For this view of the relation of the ministry to the Christian community, the Didaché is quoted : “Appoint therefore for yourselves Bishops and Deacons.” Nothing is said about ordination. This passage in the Didaché should be studied in connection with what appears in the N.T. on the claim made by the Apostles that ordinations to the Ministry were their prerogative.

7. **Apostolic Succession.** I have now to consider the question of succession in the Ministry. It has been already mentioned that S. Paul sent delegates with Apostolic authority to ordain bishops and elders

and deacons at Ephesus and in Crete. If Apostolic Succession was not essential where was the necessity for sending Apostolic delegates? I have already mentioned that S. Clement of Rome (A.D. 93) makes a statement about necessary succession from the Apostles, as part of the ordered system of the Church. S. Irenaeus (A.D. 185) mentions as one of the differences which distinguish the true Church from bodies which had broken away from it that the true Church has a succession from the Apostles. He says that one can enumerate those who were appointed Bishops in the Churches and their successors "even to our own time." Hegesippus (A.D. 160) travelled widely, and he enumerates the succession of Bishops (Churches provided their lists of Bishops) in the chief Churches he visited. All the writers quoted agree that the succession should be through Bishops.

In the earliest days Apostolic Succession was valued as a guarantee of Christian truth against Gnostic teachers who claimed esoteric knowledge of Apostolic teaching. When the Canon of the N.T. was closed, the Bible became the final court of appeal. Before the rise of Gnosticism the succession was valued, as is shown by S. Clement and S. Ignatius, as a foundation principle of authority and unity, preventing the Church from dividing itself into a number of sects, independent of each other. It is wrong even to imagine that Apostolic Succession is valued as a claim to ministerial aristocracy. Far from that, those who value it do so because they wish to come into as close fraternal union with all Ministers as possible.

But was the succession broken during the Tunnel Period, A.D. 70 to A.D. 112—a period of 42 years? S. Clement of Rome wrote his Epistle in A.D. 96 maintaining the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, that is to say 26 years after the beginning of the Tunnel Period, and 16 years before the end of that period. He thus stands only 5 years less than midway in that period. He affirms that a succession was provided for by the Apostles themselves. He states it as an undoubted fact. Is it likely that during the 26 years prior to his writing the succession was broken? He must have lived during the greater part of those 26 years. There is no evidence whatever of any break in the succession, while the testimony of S. Clement is a sufficient guarantee for its unbroken continuance. If it is held that prophets ordained elders, it has been already said that there is no evidence that prophets took part in the laying on of hands. That is the evidence of the N.T. In the Churches of Galatia Paul and Barnabas appointed elders. There is no mention of ordination. We cannot therefore say that though Barnabas is called an Apostle, he took part in ordinations. Thus there is no evidence for a prophetic succession but for an Apostolic Succession only.

8. Monarchical Episcopacy. We have now to consider Monarchical Episcopacy, the rule of a single Bishop in a Church. The evidence for this in Asia is the testimony of S. Ignatius already quoted in connection with Episcopacy generally, that at the beginning of the second century the episcopate was monarchical. The idea that at Rome there was a

College of presbyter bishops is based on the circumstance that S. Clement wrote to the Corinthian Church not in his own name but in that of the Church in Rome. It is clear from early writers, that the primacy of Rome was not in any way due to a primacy of its Bishop, but to the primacy of its Church, as the only Church in the West with an Apostolic foundation, and the Church of the Imperial city. It was not till the time of Leo the Great that the Bishop of Rome claimed primacy for his own name. It was therefore natural in the first century for S. Clement to write, not in his own name, but in the name of the Church over which he presided. The record of the list of Bishops of Rome given by Eusebius disposes of the theory of a college of presbyters bearing rule in the Church at Rome. The list of the early bishops of Rome goes back to the middle of the second century. Such an early tradition is evidence that Monarchical Episcopacy was primitive in Rome.

We can now reconstruct the story of the introduction of Episcopacy into Churches of the sub-Apostolic age. It is a historical fact that S. John settled down at Ephesus in his old age. He saw how well the Church at Jerusalem was organised with S. James, having Apostolic authority, presiding over a body of presbyters. What then was more natural, when the Apostles were passing away, than to introduce the same system into the Churches of Asia? What again was more likely than that before the martyrdom of S. Peter and S. Paul they should provide for the government of the Church at Rome? From Asia, through S. Irenaeus who was a pupil of S. Polycarp, a pupil of S. John, Episcopal presidency was introduced into the Churches of Gaul. The list of bishops given by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History and Chronicle is evidence for the Episcopal system at Jerusalem, Antioch, and in the Churches of Macedonia. For the same system at Crete and Ephesus we have the evidence of the Pastoral Epistles.

Conclusion. What I have tried to set before you is the evidence of history. The continuous life of the Church can be traced by means of the New Testament and the Early Christian writings. We have to interpret those facts as throwing light on the Ministry of the Church.

It is with deep thankfulness we should recognise that all Christian bodies, accepting the Divinity of our Lord, are agreed on the necessity of a Church as an organisation, on the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, on the cardinal Doctrines of Christianity, and on the value of the chief Sacraments of the Church. We have to thank God for the degree of unanimity we have arrived at. May we not rely on the good hand of God that He will guide us to unanimity about the Christian Ministry?

In the inquiry as to the origin of Episcopacy I have spoken of it from the point of view of organisation only. It is a spiritual office, for S. Peter calls our Lord "the Shepherd and Bishop of our Souls."

We gladly admit that the work of the Holy Spirit is manifest in non-Episcopal communions and we acknowledge the marvellous success of their work. God is not tied to the Sacraments of the Church. They are the normal means of grace. God's goodness overflows the

normal channels of His grace. But if the blessing of God rests on the work of non-Episcopal communions, when that argument is used as final in reference to the Christian Ministry it might overthrow completely the value which we all lay on some form of ordination to the Ministry, for we acknowledge the piety of Quakers, the splendid work of the Salvation Army, the deep earnestness of Pentecostalism and the comfort Christian Science has brought to many sufferers, and they have no Ministry appointed by laying on of hands.

I shall conclude with some weighty words of the late Dr. Armitage-Robinson :

“ We need now as much as the sub-Apostolic age needed a Ministry which can hold the whole Church together. We cannot accept a congregational independence which subordinates the unity, that aims at offering examples of the corporate life of one Body of Christ. We cannot be content with any system of local independence on however large a scale which tries to live, so to speak, in the Apostolic age without the unifying control of the Apostles.”

AN INTERPRETATION OF THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT

THERE ARE some good men who stand outside the Christian Church and express their conviction that Christians have not interpreted aright Our Lord's Teaching in the Sermon on the Mount. All such criticism is useful because it might drive Christians to study the Sermon again and again. The only fault to be found with the criticism is that those who fling it against Christians do not themselves try to give any idea of what they consider to be the interpretation. This of course might be due to a notion that Our Lord's ethical teaching was clearly wrong, that it is inapplicable to the modern world, and that just as the intellectual positions of Christianity are untrue, its ethical teaching is also wrong.

The following study of the Sermon on the Mount is offered as a contribution to its explanation in a tentative way. Christian thought and devotion during twenty centuries have meditated over Our Lord's words. But they are like the ocean with its unplumbed depths. All that a Christian can attempt is to find out what His teaching means for himself, and what he has found for his guidance might be useful to others also.

It is well known that to understand words spoken in the distant past, the first requisite is an attempt to reconstruct the historical background of the age in which they were spoken. This is really what is attempted in the various lives of Our Lord, which appear from time to time. The scenery, the manners and customs, the habits and occupations, the political and social world of Our Lord's days are described in the hope that all this would not only make Our Lord's life on earth more vivid but that it would also throw light on His teaching and His personal claim.

In studying the Sermon on the Mount, it is not necessary to elaborate every external detail or to describe the scene in which it was delivered. What is necessary, as most important to obtain its significance, is to get some clear notion about the composition of the crowd who first heard it. Here a caution must be entered. We speak of the Sermon on the Mount as if it were delivered in its entirety on some particular occasion to a certain audience in a definite place. It is the genius of the writer of the first Gospel which brought together various sayings of Christ, spoken to various audiences, at various times and places. The Sermon is found in shorter form in S. Luke's Gospel. Other sayings in it are found scattered about in other Gospels. Their arrangement in a methodical form is the work of the first Evangelist. But it may be taken as a well-established fact that the Sermon belongs to the cycle of Galilean

teaching. Not only does S. Luke say that a Sermon, the nucleus of which is found in the Sermon on the Mount, was delivered in Galilee, but the vividness, the appeal to nature, the picturesque simplicity of the whole discourse points to an audience not of teachers of the Law, of frequenters of the Rabbinical schools, and the crowd of controversialists and antagonists in Jerusalem. It was an audience, composed of peasants, working men, men in humble stations of life, that heard the Sermon. Such an audience would have been found only in Galilee.

What would the composition of such a Galilean audience be, not as regards occupation but as regards religious and moral thoughts? Galilee was the home of apocalyptic expectation. Modern writers have made a mistake in taking the records of this apocalyptic teaching and trying to reduce it to system and order. All that can be said with certainty of this teaching is that there was an expectation that God would intervene suddenly, bring the present age to a close and introduce a Golden Age in which the Sovereignty of God would be acknowledged. That was the dream of patriots face to face with Roman domination. Without delving into the confused mass of apocalyptic writings of centuries near the first Christian era, some notion of apocalyptic expectation could be drawn from the Gospel of S. Matthew itself. In that Gospel there are found two phrases: the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of Heaven. By the former was meant the period of preparation for the Kingdom of Heaven. That period of preparation included the teaching of the Messiah and His death, and it would be brought to a close by His Resurrection. He would ascend to Heaven and return in the clouds and inaugurate the Kingdom of Heaven, the Golden Age, when the old order of resistance to God will disappear and the sovereignty of God will be established on earth. Among Our Lord's audience there were crowds of people who lived in expectation of this age and were yearning for it.

But right across these hopes of the Galilean crowd there was a party, a strong party, which made its power and influence felt. They were the Scribes and Pharisees. They were entirely opposed to apocalyptic ideas and hopes. Whenever they could they destroyed apocalyptic writings. Their hope of establishing the sovereignty of God lay in a careful observance of the law. To ensure such observance they multiplied laws, regulations, prohibitions and concessions which dealt with details of conduct in every possible way. Mention is made of the Scribes and Pharisees in the Gospels because at the time they were written, these Scribes and Pharisees were the only one of the Jewish sects which survived. In the catastrophe of the fall of Jerusalem, the apocalyptic visions faded and those who entertained them were scattered. So the Gospels make no mention of those who entertained apocalyptic hopes. But there was a large group who heard Our Lord's teaching.

In the catastrophe of the fall of Jerusalem there perished the Zealots. Their name is preserved in the Gospels only in the lists of the Apostles. Simon the Zealot was an Apostle. No mention of them is made in the

Gospels as a body as they too had disappeared when the Gospels were written. But they were a powerful body. They hoped to overthrow the Roman Government by insurrection, rebellion, assassination and every form of violence. It was their fanatic zeal which precipitated the catastrophe of the destruction of the Holy City. Simon the Zealot who was chosen to be an Apostle was only one of the many Zealots who listened to Our Lord.

With the apocalypics, Pharisees, and Zealots there was a large group of persons who were described as "publicans and sinners." Among them were probably some sincerely devout men like Matthew. But of them generally it might be said that no man who claimed to decency of life associated with them. "Why eateth your Master with publicans and sinners?" was a sneer directed against Our Lord. They followed Our Lord in large numbers and He went among them.

In this crowd there were no rich or aristocratic persons, though among chief publicans there were rich men like Zacchaeus. They were all of them toilers to whom life was a daily drudgery of anxious work.

What then would these sayings of Our Lord have conveyed to men who as apocalypics longed for the catastrophic intervention of God to establish His Sovereignty on earth? To the Jews as to the Moslems of the present day the cardinal doctrine of religion was the all-powerful, resistless, almighty power of God Who would win life's victories without man's intervention. What help could man render to establish God's Sovereignty? He can only be passive. He must leave all in God's hands. To men who had such ideas of their duty to God, Our Lord speaks of a character which men have to cultivate to bring God's kingdom on earth. They must sit light to things of this earth, they must be penitent, regardless of their rights, hungering and thirsting for goodness, merciful, single in aim, peacemakers, and willing to suffer. They must be like salt and light in their action on human society, and the rest of the Sermon has a reference to them. It is character cultivated in reference to God and to man which will bring the Sovereignty of God on earth. It is not necessary to interpret the whole Sermon as a message to men who considered that man had nothing to do, and God everything, to establish His Sovereignty. Each reader of the Sermon on the Mount can do this for himself. The fact that emerges here is that the message to the first hearers of the Sermon is the message to all men to the end of time. There is no misinterpretation of the Sermon here.

Then to lovers of the law Our Lord points out that the law should be interpreted according to the principles which underlie the law. Its aim and purpose should be sought. It is not the letter on which casuistry works, but the spirit, and this is where stress should be laid. The Old Testament law is best observed by deepening its significance and applying it not only to external conduct but to inward feeling too. Sometimes part of it has to be abrogated, treating it as a preparatory discipline for a higher rule of conduct. Even such good actions as almsgiving, fasting and prayer may minister to pride.

Their real value for character depends on motive. Here again this clue of underlying motive in action and observance can be traced through the whole Sermon as applicable to men who insisted on external observance of the law. Here again the Church has not misinterpreted the Sermon.

Then there was the message to the toilers, the publicans and sinners : " Lay up for yourselves treasure in heaven," " Be not anxious," " Ask and it shall be given," " Enter in at the strait gate." Life here is raised to a higher plane from the sordid things of the earth. The ideal is given : " Be ye perfect even as your Father in heaven is perfect." It would be a mistake to suppose that the rest of the Sermon had nothing for this group. Indeed it is not so. The whole Sermon has its teaching for them. The Church is not guilty of any misinterpretation on a liberal footing of the precepts of Our Lord.

We have reserved to the last Our Lord's teaching on non-resistance which was His special message to the Zealots. Here are the passages : the humble, not the proud, the poor in spirit are blessed. Not the fierce but the mourner, not the fighter but the meek, not the cruel but the merciful, not he who persecutes but he who is persecuted is blessed. " Resist not evil. But whosoever smiteth thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also." " Love your enemies, pray for them that persecute you." " Whatsoever things ye would that men should do unto you do ye also to them." It is here that the Christian Church is accused of having misrepresented Our Lord's teaching. In fact, it is urged that it is evaded by Christian people. Non-retaliation, pacifism, non-resistance, submissive yielding is recommended and Christians have unsheathed the sword, they go to law for justice, they insist on international law under threat of war. Under these charges there are some who say that Our Lord was speaking only for that period in which He lived, exhorting the Zealots to abandon their policy of violence and that modern states, if they followed these precepts, would not last a day. But in Our Lord's words we find principles which are for all time. Others think that Our Lord here is speaking of a man in his aspect as an individual and not as a member of society and so a man should not resist an adversary when only his individual interest is concerned, but he should follow a policy of resistance for the preservation of society. But no man liveth to himself. We are in everything we do members of a society. The individual and society are intertwined inextricably. There cannot be two classes of duty for a man so situated.

To get at the right interpretation we must remember that Our Lord was speaking to a group present before him who thought it was their duty to offer every kind of violence to people who were separated from them by race and religion. Our Lord bids them desist. This non-resistance at the present day teaches the duty of the individual Christian in reference to every non-Christian, so that we alight here on the true interpretation of the law of non-resistance as shown in two ways. Our Lord in dealing with the authorities of the Jewish Church and Jewish people drove out with violence those who desecrated the Temple. He

denounced in language most fierce and emphatic the ecclesiastics who misled the people. His life was one of conflict with hypocrisy and wrong-doing on the part of the leaders in the Jewish Church. But what was His attitude towards those who offered Him violence? And servants of the High Priest, who though Jews, were not free agents. It was a long-drawn act of non-resistance and we find in the Epistles exhortations to Christian people not to offer any retaliation when persecuted by non-Christians. S. Paul ever observed this rule. The martyrs of the Church suffered passively. They willingly followed the law of non-resistance.

It is the duty of every Christian in reference to every non-Christian to follow the law of non-resistance and non-retaliation. But what of Christian society in relation to non-Christian society? The same rule should apply in the ordinary life of the Christian society. But it may be asked whether a Christian nation should ever go to war with a non-Christian nation. For instance, what is the duty of Christian nations to non-Christian China? Should it be a policy of non-resistance? Should Christians bow meekly to Chinese violence? Our Lord shows that apparently good actions may become wrong, when they are done with a wrong motive. It is the motive which decides the character of any action. If for the protection of the weak and defenceless, for the maintenance of right and justice, a Christian nation goes to war with a non-Christian nation it cannot earn the disapproval of the Lord who always interposed to save His disciples from critics and mobs. It is true He never used any violent methods, but a violent method may be the expression of truth and justice when wrong is done.

Intervene with violence if necessary for the protection of the weak and defenceless but not for avenging private quarrels and private wrong-doing.

THE ATTRACTION OF CHRISTIANITY

THE GREATEST problem before the Church of Ceylon is how to attract the Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim population of this country to Christianity and convince them that in Christianity there is power given by a living Christ to walk in newness of life and be freed from error and superstition. It is not only a problem for Bishop and Clergy and evangelists but for the laity.

It would be helpful to set before you how Christianity triumphed over the philosophy of Greece and the corrupt and degraded society of the Graeco-Roman Empire, which S. Paul describes in awful realism in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. It was a remarkable triumph for within three centuries the Cross of shame on which Christ was crucified was found in the glitter of gold and precious jewels of the Roman Imperial crown. The Cross was the gallows on which slaves and non-Romans were executed. It became the most honourable symbol of the Roman power.

That Early Church of the first three centuries approached the non-Christian world in several ways. Before I mention those ways I will state in what ways it did not approach. It is true that the Old Testament was in existence. But its appeal was only to Jewish people. The Greeks and Romans and other people in the Roman Empire never read it for they did not know Hebrew. And the New Testament was not completed and copies were not available.

The New Testament was written for Christian people, as S. Luke says, that they may know the historical certainty of the things in which these Christians were instructed orally. Neither were non-Christians approached through Christian schools, for Christians were for many years persecuted for teaching Greek and Latin authors in their schools. I mention these because at present the presentation of Christianity to non-Christians is through the New Testament and our schools.

In what ways was Christianity presented to non-Christians in the early centuries? To the learned people it was presented by two classes of writers. There were the Greek Christian philosophical writers, who showed that Greek philosophy was a preparation for Christ and its culmination was to be found in Christianity. Plato had advanced to the belief that God is the author of all existence, physical and moral and spiritual. Socrates foretold that when the perfectly good man appeared in the world he would be put to death by his countrymen.

The Latin writers on the other hand exposed the errors, follies and superstitions of that conglomerate of beliefs: Greek, Roman and Egyptian. Greek religion had an immoral aspect; Roman religion

was mainly conventional ; and Egyptian religion was a farrago of immoral and superstitious rites. On the one hand there was an appeal to philosophy and on the other hand a denunciation of immoral religion. These methods appealed only to the few. But it was the holy and blameless lives of Christians which made the strongest, best, and most persuasive appeal. Non-Christian religion in the early days was mostly immoral. The Greek mystery religions had germs of truth, and Stoicism was a noble philosophy. Christians kept aloof from religious immorality though (for that reason) their non-Christian neighbours accused them as haters of mankind as they did not join in the debauchery and superstitions of their neighbours.

So there was the appeal of Christian martyrs who rather than renounce Christ were ready to suffer political, social, and pecuniary loss. But the Christian martyrs witnessed for Christ, in spite of the sword, the fire, and the lions, which destroyed them to make a Roman holiday.

But the greatest appeal was through Christian character. There are virtues which we may call natural, such as honesty, truthfulness and straight-dealing, without which the world's life cannot be carried on, and Christians exhibited in their lives supernatural virtues such as those described by S. Paul in the Epistles : love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness and self-control. Again, S. Paul exhorts Christians to follow after whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honourable, whatsoever things just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report.

So the Christians came to understand that there was in Christianity something worth dying for and also there was power. Christians called for the grace and power of the Holy Spirit to train for purity and elevate human lives. That appeal they could not resist, and the might of Rome fell under the power of the Christian Cross. It is such an appeal of Christian character by the Christian community which can attract men and women to become followers of Christ. And so comes Our Lord's appeal, " Let your light so shine before men," as a city set on a hill, " that they may see your good works and glorify your Father which is in Heaven."

THE STORY OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION IN CEYLON,* 1796-1845

THE STORY of the Anglican Communion in Ceylon falls into well-defined periods.

First, Ceylon as part of the Diocese of London, with India, Burma, Australia, New Zealand and Oceania. This connection with the Diocese of London was not merely nominal. When Chaplains were sent out by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Bishop of London took part in choosing, *e.g.* it was through the intervention of the Bishop of London that the Rev. J. M. S. Glennie, who was with His Lordship at Bury St. Edmunds School came to Ceylon as a Colonial Chaplain. Records of marriages solemnized in Ceylon were transcribed in the Marriage Registers of the London Diocese. There is a record that in 1809 the Rev. William Hontyn Heywood, Garrison Chaplain of Colombo, started for England in a sailing vessel going round the Cape, perished in a shipwreck, and the Register of marriages solemnized in S. Peter's Church, Fort, was lost. His intention was to have the records transcribed in London.

The second period is, Ceylon as part of the Diocese of Calcutta when a Bishop was appointed to Calcutta in 1818. The Bishops of Calcutta visited Ceylon as Metropolitans. When there was no Bishop of Colombo they confirmed and ordained, and consecrated churches and cemeteries.

The third period began on 13th June, 1835. Ceylon was part of the Diocese of Madras when Madras became an Episcopal See. This continued till 7th November, 1845, when the first Bishop of Colombo was installed.

The fourth period begins in 1845, Ceylon as a Diocese with its own Bishop. The Church was the Ecclesiastical Department of the Government of Ceylon. The Bishop was the Head of the Department. He recommended men for lay work or for dismissal and the Governor sanctioned. The Bishop could not move or appoint a Chaplain without the sanction of the Governor, or even give leave of absence from duty.

The fifth period : the Church was disestablished in 1885, and became a self-governing Church having a life of its own. Till this period the notion of a Holy Catholic Church was obscured. The Colonial Chaplains, the Archdeacons, and the Bishop were officers of Government. The Church Missionary Society was practically independent of the Bishop, who was merely the licensing authority. Places where the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel worked were labelled as such. Bishop R. S. Copleston once remarked that the idea of a Church was pre-

* Hitherto unpublished.

sented nowhere. He strongly denounced again and again the C.M.S. notion of building a "native Church" and asked whether S. Paul founded Churches for each of the national groups when he evangelised. To Bishop R. S. Copleston is due the credit of making the Church of Ceylon one Church for all nationalities in this land. He had not only to combat the C.M.S. notion of a "native Church," but also the idea of a national Church which had been carried to a logical absurdity when it was stated that S. Peter's, Fort, was for Europeans (some pews being however allotted to Sinhalese Chiefs and the Salagama and Burgher Communities), S. Thomas', Chekku Street, for Tamils, S. Paul's, Pettah, for Portuguese and Dutch descendants, and hospitality was given there to Sinhalese Christians till All Saints' Church, Hulftsdorp, was built for them. Bishop R. S. Copleston set his face against racial places of worship.

The sixth is the present period, the Diocese of Colombo, a self-governing Church of the Province of India, Burma and Ceylon in communion with the Church of England. This came into effect on 1st March, 1930.

I deal in this sketch with the story of nearly half a century, *i.e.* from the beginning of British Rule in the maritime Provinces of Ceylon in 1796 till the installation of the first Bishop of Colombo on 7th November, 1845. In this period I will deal mainly with the pastoral and evangelistic work of the Church. I am obliged to omit the story of the great educational work done by her as the agent of the Government. When British rule followed Dutch rule, a great many people were thrown out of work in towns and there was great poverty. Government gave pensions to "Poors" (as they were called), and the Chaplains were the Almoners on behalf of Government. The history of Church building in this period requires separate treatment. The history of S. Peter's, Fort; S. Paul's, Pettah; S. Thomas', Chekku Street; S. Stephen's, Trincomalee; Calpentyu Church and Kelaniya Church built by Laurens Samaraweera Gunawardena at an expense of 3,000 Rix dollars, requires separate treatment.

I will only make a brief allusion to the long-drawn controversy of the alleged connection of Government with Buddhism and idolatry. I will make only the barest reference to the story of the Roman Communion in Ceylon as well as to the work of the Presbyterians who came with the Dutch in 1658, Anabaptists (1812), American congregationalists (1816), Methodists (1818). The story of the C.M.S. (1818) has been written by the Rev. J. W. Balding. The story of the S.P.G. in Ceylon can be written when access is obtained to the records in the S.P.G. House in London. The biographies of notable Chaplains and missionaries, such as Twisleton, Armour, J. C. Arndt, J. M. S. Glennie require separate treatment. The acrimonious controversy between the Presbyterians and Episcopalians who tried to annex Wolfendhal Church for themselves belongs to battles long ago and sheds much indirect light on this period. The dispute was ended by a Parliamentary Commission sent

to Ceylon and Wolfendhal Church was declared to belong to the Dutch Reformed Church.

For the purposes of this sketch I have consulted documents and newspapers in the office of the Government Archivist. I expect there are equally valuable papers in the Colombo Museum, Diocesan Office and the Bishop's Office. (I have not consulted these.) There are also Registers preserved in the various Churches of the Diocese. The Archdeacons might perhaps be able to state whether the word "preserved" can be used rightly in this connection. There is no lack of material for the study of these 50 years. To mention only a few : Turner's History of the Maritime Provinces ; Spence Hardy's and Gogerly's works ; Pridham, Cordiner, Percival, Knighton, Davey, Mills, Lewis, Gratiaen (on schools), Tennent's History of Christianity in Ceylon ; Newspapers, Civil Lists, Blue Books, Despatches to and from the Governor ; Bible Society Reports ; and Government Gazettes.

As mentioned above, British rule of the maritime Provinces of Ceylon began in 1796. From that date till 1798 Ceylon was administered from Madras. The first Governor was appointed in 1798 : The Hon. Fredrick North (afterwards the Earl of Guildford). He was appointed by the King, but his administration was directed by the East India Company, "The Hon. the United East India Company of Merchants Trading in the East." The Company issued an official letter of instructions to North and quaintly subscribed themselves as "your loving friends." The connection with the East India Co. ended in March, 1801.

North immediately after arrival began to make arrangements to provide ministrations to the members of the Church of England in the Civil and Military services and to those who had accepted baptism during Dutch rule and to continue the work of the Dutch for the evangelization and education of the indigenous population. There was a further duty. When the maritime Provinces of Ceylon were ceded to the British Government, it was agreed that the new Government should conserve all rights and emoluments of the Dutch Reformed Church. The Dutch had an elaborate system of registering Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths of the inhabitants of every race in Ceylon who were willing to accept Christianity even nominally. This system was continued under the supervision of the English Colonial Chaplains. The Dutch had also opened schools and built churches not only in towns but even in villages reached by footpaths. In these schools instruction was given not only in the three R's but also in the principles of Christianity. They had also preachers to instruct adults. In view of what I intend to say further on I shall mention that the system was wrong. It is true that it was an honest attempt to bring the ruled to the religion of the ruler. What was wrong was that Baptism was administered to any who asked for it without testing the sincerity of the applicants and without teaching them. All that was asked for was a nominal acceptance of Christianity in the hope that some day the nominal would become real. There are records which show that with some notable exceptions, many who were set to teach were more hypocritical than

those who asked for baptism. These latter sought baptism and marriage in church to get their names into the Registers (there was no Civil Registration at that time) to prove their title to landed property. Services in places of worship had to be held in English, Indo-Portuguese, Sinhalese and Tamil.

I will now quote from a despatch of Governor North about the character of the Christianity of the indigenous population. He writes : " Christianity is the profession of much of the larger half of the inhabitants of whom the majority profess it according to the Helvetic Confession ; the others according to the Church of Rome. That the common people of these two communions were well instructed in the tenets of Christianity is what I cannot undertake to answer. In general they differ very little from their heathen neighbours. Even the principal native officers of Government who are and must be Christians are suspected of strong superstitions, reverence for pagan rites and the doctrines of Buddhists and those who are further from the seat of Government. They consult without reserve and with the greatest confidence the priests of Buddha on all affections either of body or mind as conjurers and physicians." Writing on 5th October, 1799, North mentions a relapse of the inhabitants into paganism which made dreadful progress in the East and North of the Island. Writing on 30th August, 1800, North takes a more unfavourable view of Christianity in other parts of the Island. " The scandalous neglect which prevailed among the Dutch of giving religious instruction to those whom they baptised and the abominable practice of baptising the natives without any security for their education have caused the relapse of about all the inhabitants of the Southern Province to idolatry if indeed they can be said to have been guilty of it." What was then left of Christianity in the Island ? North, East and South fell away. North-Western and North-Central Provinces were desolate regions. The central parts of the country had not yet come under Dutch or British rule. What was left of Dutch Christianity was in the Western Province only. Even in the Colombo District Christianity was disappearing. When Civil Registration was introduced in 1812 almost all Colpetty and Bambalapitiya, Thimbirigasyaya and the villages near by, Kotte, Kelaniya, Kohilawatte, Nugegoda, Borelesgamuwa and Mampe fell away. Hundreds of records of baptisms of people who afterwards lapsed are preserved in S. Michael's, Polwatte. I buried the last Christians in Captain's Gardens (now acquired by the Railway Department) and Dias Place, where the first Archdeacon of Colombo resided. Of the remainder left, North writes on 27th February, 1805, " The professors of Protestant Christianity alone have fallen off. Not that their spiritual direction under Dutch rule was well managed. Far from it. The most sacrilegious hypocrisy was encouraged by the exclusive appropriation of offices to nominal Christians. The Sacrament of Baptism profanely administered to notorious pagans and their children ; the incestuous marriages of Buddhists tolerated in families professing the Gospel ; the superstitious ceremonies allowed in the country churches ; in short,

by every act which could offend the real believers in every religion were persecuted under the dominion of an establishment most exclusively intolerant." This last sentence refers to the persecution of Roman Catholics by the Dutch Government which prevented them from gathering for worship except secretly, the hunting out of their priests and the pulling down of their churches. So greatly was nominal Christianity tolerated that in the enumeration of children at this period they were divided into three classes, viz Christians, nominal Christians and heathens. The condition of non-Roman Christianity in these early days is described unfavourably not only by Governor North. The Rev. S. W. Dias writing to Archdeacon J. M. S. Glennie on 29th March, 1834, about Christians at Moratuwa says : " The whole aspect which the Church of Morotoo presents on this occasion (at an almsgiving to the poor) is that of an idolatrous temple in which there is nothing but disorder and confusion. The behaviour of the people which is incorrigibly boisterous plainly shows that their minds are stranger to those sublime teachings which warm the Christian breast. While they give the most unbounded looseness to their conversation during the very time of Divine service, perfectly heedless of every remonstrance which may be urged, the freedom of their behaviour in other respects is equally unrestrained by any consideration of decency. Added to all this the superstitious custom of making splendid illuminations, lighting candles and offering money—performance of much imagined merit in discharge of particular vows—goes at once to shew that the practice could not have had its origin in anything like sincere feelings of Christian piety to the interests of which it is so much opposed." He goes on to say : " I should not forget to mention what is called almsgiving observed on the day which closes the scene (*i.e.* the illumination of the church). The manner in which it is done is simply this. First, provisions contributed for the purpose by the Christians are cooked near the church and partaken of by themselves in common with a number of mendicants invited to the occasion. By supporting such a thing as this distribution of alms within the very walls of the church to a large crowd in the greatest possible disorder (many of the people being not unfrequently found in liquor) is rather an abuse of charity" " We have obvious proof (of superstition) in the eagerness with which after idle dreams, supposed to forebode future days and calamities, permission is sought to illuminate the church, to have a service performed to distribute alms in it." Mr. Dias proposed to abolish all this totally, to prevent the possibility of heathen illuminations, of lighting of votive candles. He proposed a series of Lent lectures to instruct the people.

I wish to call attention to certain points in the above quotations. It is stated that the majority of Christians were Protestants. They outnumbered the Roman Catholics. At the present time out of every ten Christians in this country nine are Roman Catholics. It is also stated : " The professors of Protestant Christianity alone have fallen off." Why Protestant Christianity only? How is it that the perse-

cuted Roman Catholics stood firm? Protestant Christians thought the offices and honours conferred on them had a high social status in the country. Public money was lavished for the support of Protestant Christianity. Under Portuguese rule, the Franciscan Missionaries did a notable work. They converted, baptised and exercised intense pastoral care over their flocks. The priests stood between a suffering people and the cruelties of the Portuguese soldiers. In the Dutch period the Roman Catholic Church was woefully poor. Both priests and people were ignorant. They were served by Goanese priests from Goa. Till about 55 years ago the Roman Catholic Church had no schools for secondary education and S. Joseph's College was founded in 1895. The Roman Catholics as stated above were persecuted by the Dutch. They were not admitted to Government service. They did not try to adapt their services to oriental forms which we hear so much of now as being indispensable to the progress of evangelization. The Roman Catholic Church received no subsidies from Government, except for the restoration of S. Philip Neri's Church in the Pettah, which was falling into ruin. The subsidy was given at the request of Bishop Chapman. Every student of missionary endeavour in Ceylon should find reasons for the steadfastness and growth of Romanism in the country. Poor, unlearned, persecuted, with no social status in those early days, they now lead in all Christian work.

Several causes were at work to account for the acceptance of baptism by multitudes at the hands of Protestant ministers for the purpose of proving legal title to lands. Christianity was regarded by the majority not as a religion but as a requirement of Government. Sufficient pastoral care was not exercised by the Colonial Chaplains who were ecclesiastical grandees. An exception to this was the Rev. S. W. Dias who exercised his ministry at Galkissa and Moratuwa. There were no lapses in that district and it continues to have the largest number of Sinhalese Christians in the country. The religion propagated by the Church laid all stress on knowledge of the Bible, and the Sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion were neglected. On the other hand great service was rendered by brotherhoods of Romanism living austere and self-denying lives, while the Protestant ministers accepted the ministry as a profession. Nominal Christianity was the blight which fell on Christianity fostered by the Government. This is proved by two facts: C.M.S. missionaries were absorbed as Government Chaplains to baptise and to marry people and enter their names on Registers. This became a hindrance to the evangelistic work of the C.M.S. (*vide* Selkirk's Recollections of Ceylon). The Governor, Sir Edward Barnes, writes on 11th March, 1829, of the work of the C.M.S. missionaries as follows: "Their chief time is paid to the education of native youths. Little if any impression is made, with all the pains which have been taken, upon the adult Sinhalese population who are merely Christian in name, being with very few exceptions ignorant of the first principles of Christianity." Where nominal Christianity was discouraged evangelization was successful. For instance, the same Governor notes the

success of the American Congregational Missionaries and Methodist Missionaries who were not allowed to baptize and marry except their own converts and persons in remote villages.

The Directors of the East India Co. wrote to North that full religious liberty should be given to the unbaptized population while provision should be made for the pastoral care and education of the baptized though they were most of them nominal Christians. The instruction given was : " You are to permit liberty of conscience and the full exercise of religious worship to all persons who impart it and frequent the settlement provided they be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same."

Governor North made his proposals for organizing the Christian forces to save the Christian remnant from lapsing into paganism. He sets forth his proposals thus : the expense of bringing a sufficient number of Clergymen from our country is what I do not propose. But the method which appears to me the most likely to ensure the spiritual comfort and welfare of the inhabitants of these territories with the least inconvenience to your finances (*i.e.* of the East India Co.) will be to allow me to send to England from this country every year one Malabar and one Cingalese of high caste who may have given proof of intelligence and aptitude for learning in a school which I am about to establish for the education of young men in English and the native languages and lower humanities. These young men having remained at one of the Universities for eight years on a Pension of less than £100 per annum may receive Episcopal Ordination to be sent out to supply the Island with Parish Priests, who being placed over a considerable district attached to the country of their birth and also being attached to England by their education, being in a suitable situation in which they will enjoy influence without danger must be possessed would I should think become the most effectual means of contentment and tranquility among their countrymen and prove a means of communication between them and us which no other system of Government could offer. The number of Parish Priests throughout the whole country need not I should think exceed the number of forty. They might be comfortably provided for by accommodation or sums free of duty, and small pensions of £30 or £40 per annum given by Government to the most deserving or the most prominent among them would make the situation easy and respectable. Their rank in the country must be equal to that of a Bishop among us. Under them there would be several Catechizers and Schoolmasters as there are now, but they would be more attentive to their duty as they would be subject to the superintendence and control of the Clergyman during the whole year. This proposal is by no means made without the sanction and experience of two most learned of the present Divines, Messrs. Morgappa and Philips, the one a Malabar and the other a Cingalese native. I should also recommend that this Church be governed by an Archdeacon sent out from England with the assistance of a Cingalese and Malabar Vicar-General resident with him in Colombo. A Chaplain we must have for there is not one at present in

the Island and the Dutch Clergy having very severe canons cannot obey in point of discipline and not being, as prisoners, obliged to perform any ecclesiastical directions demanded of them, are not of much use to the English part of the population."

North's proposals fructified gradually. He obtained a Chaplain for Colombo. Much later an Archdeacon was appointed. As for the experiment of training men for the Ministry in England, it cannot by any means be called a success. From 1796 till the appointment of the first Colonial Chaplain large numbers apostatized who had previously received baptism.

North writes later that in his efforts to prevent the total extinction of Christianity in this country he had the happiness of being ably and zealously seconded in all that regards this subject by the Rev. James Cordiner, a Clergyman of the Church of England who had been sent out to Madras by Archdeacon Bell to take care of the schools which he had established in Madras. Cordiner on arriving in Madras found the post to which he had been destined already occupied and North engaged him as Superintendent of all schools in Ceylon and examiner of candidates for the office of school master on a monthly salary of 250 Rix Dollars.* Cordiner was also appointed a Colonial Chaplain and he was thus the first Colonial Chaplain in Ceylon—the first in a long succession. He was also Chaplain to the Colombo Garrison. He toured the country with North establishing schools. He published two quarto volumes giving a description of maritime Ceylon in the beginning of the 19th century. He returned to England after 5 years. North gives a glowing testimony of his work.

He was succeeded by the Rev. the Hon. T. J. Twisleton who arrived in 1804. He was made the first Archdeacon of Colombo in 1818 and died at Tangalle while he was on a visit to a married daughter of his in 1824. He was appointed, on his arrival as Senior Colonial Chaplain, Principal of Schools and in order to increase his income he was appointed "a sitting Magistrate," *i.e.* he held court as a Police Magistrate.

North's recommendation to send candidates for the ministry was also carried out. Two Sinhalese young men,** Johan Hendrick de Saram and Balthazar de Saram were selected. They sailed for England in 1811 under the care of Sir Alexander Johnstone, Chief Justice of Ceylon, and were entrusted in England to Mr. Samuel Tolfrey.*** Balthazar declined ordination. He was given a passage back to Ceylon on condition that he taught Sinhalese to two Civil Servants during the voyage to Ceylon. Balthazar went later on to Madras and we lose sight of him. J. H. de Saram was given his Master's degree at Oxford *honoris causa*, was ordained in England and returned to Ceylon with a Cornish lady as his wife in November, 1825, under the care of Sir Richard Ottley,

* A Rix Dollar is equal to 75 cents today. Its purchasing power was greater than today.

** He was the ancestor of one branch of the de Sarams to which Leslie de Saram and Dr. Gerald de Saram belong.

*** See Lewis *Monuments*.

Chief Justice. On his return the Governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg, reported that de Saram's English was imperfect as shown in a letter of his to the Governor (letter lost). He had forgotten Sinhalese and Indo-Portuguese which was spoken by the educated Sinhalese and Dutch descendants (to be conversant with Indo-Portuguese then was considered a mark of culture and refinement, while acquaintance with it is now considered a mark of belonging to a lower class of people—*sic transit gloria*). Some of de Saram's sermons are preserved with S. W. Dias's sermons at All Saints', Hulftsdorp. The latter, the sermons of a scholar; the former, of a man who could hardly spell. The Governor says that as a large sum had been spent on the education of the "young man" he appoints him as Sinhalese Colonial Chaplain on £400 a year (the Rev. S. W. Dias succeeded him). De Saram mustered a handful of Christians in Wolfendhal Church where Anglicans were allowed to worship. The Rev. J. B. Palm (who tried unsuccessfully to revive Dutch in Ceylon) closed the Church to them. They then migrated to S. Paul's, Pettah.*

After de Saram's return a Tamil (or Malabar as the term used then was) by the name of Fredrick David, son of Christian David, Malabar Chaplain of Jaffna, was selected to be sent to England. Government gave him a liberal grant for an outfit of clothes and passage. A very generously large outfit was bought. A full list is found among the Archives. It is a full list and would interest persons who study sartorial matters of the period. Among items which cover a whole page of foolscap there are included 48 shirts, pantaloons, handkerchiefs and two nightgowns. Fredrick failed to secure a passage in a troopship which called at Colombo. He declined then to proceed to Europe and preferred to remain in Ceylon to be trained by R. Lynch, a Wesleyan Missionary at Jaffna. Money saved from the outfit and passage expenses were on the orders of Government given to complete the building Fund of old S. Paul's Church in the Pettah. There is no record of Fredrick's Ordination. No more candidates for the ministry were sent to England by Government.

Bishop's College, Calcutta, was founded in 1823, and at a meeting held at Governor's House in Colombo a fund was raised to found a scholarship called the Heber studentship for candidates for the ministry from Ceylon. The holders of this scholarship in the earliest years were: S. W. Dias, a Burgher (name not traced), Simon Dedrick Jurgen Ondaatjie** (later appointed Tamil Colonial Chaplain of Colombo, ministering at S. Thomas' Church, Chekku Street). He was the son of the Rev. F. J. Ondaatjie, Malabar Chaplain at S. Thomas', Chekku

* In Galle and Matara Anglicans were allowed to have services in Dutch Churches. At Galle there was a fiery controversy because the Anglican Chaplain decorated the Church with a few flowers at Christmas. At Matara only the evening service of the Anglicans was held in the Dutch Presbyterian Church. It was closed to them because the Rev. J. S. Lyle who was in charge of S. Thomas', Matara, called it a meeting house and not a church.

** Ondaatjie's only son was drowned at Hanwella in the Kelani river. The house now called "Wykeham" Bandarawela, the Bishop's residence, belonged to a son-in-law of Ondaatjie named Tocke who came out as a writing master of S. Thomas' College.

Street. S. D. J. Ondaatjie was ordained at Ootacamund in India by the Bishop of Madras. Other students who were sent out in those early days were : Oorloff (ordination not recorded), Edward Labrooy, a cultured, gentle, holy man and a beautiful reader of lessons in Church.* The Heber scholarship still exists and has been held by many men from Ceylon.

I have been obliged to depart from the strict chronological order. I must pick it up from the year 1800. In January that year North reports that some prayers of the Anglican Liturgy had been translated and made use of in the schools and native Churches. "The remainder," he says, "will shortly be finished both in the Malabar and Sinhalese languages. A Portuguese translation by the Rev. Mr. Giercke of Madras will shortly be introduced into the chief churches of Colombo." The value of the statement is that hitherto the Calvinist services, given by the Dutch, were in use in all the churches.

North complains that owing to the small number of clergy and the consequent difficulty of marriage, concubinage was general throughout the country and the worst of that state was that the whole condition was growing disreputable and would probably lead to infanticide unless foundlings can be safely and easily provided for. Much later an Orphan Asylum was opened in Colombo. Soldiers lived with Sinhalese women of the poorer classes. As was remarked by Lady Brownrigg, a Governor's wife, "soldiers left a brood of children." For these an Orphan Asylum was carried on and many Burgher families who have English names are the descendants of these homes.

The records at Kotte show that the C.M.S. Missionaries solemnized the marriages of soldiers with Sinhalese women.

By a regulation of 1822 the publication and registration of banns was a legal marriage. A fine of 20 Rix Dollars was the only punishment directed to be inflicted on "Christians" for not being married by a proponent or other person within 12 months of the registration of banns. Light is thrown on this by a report of Mr. Andrew Armour, a proponent who was deputed to visit all the schools. He reported that in 1810 he visited all the schools. There is no report available of this visit. But in 1811 he reports that on a visit of his in the Colombo Korale in the space of 29 days he baptized 1,771 boys and 1,381 girls; also 132 men and 52 women. He married 27 couples. He examined in schools, 1,698 boys and 1,018 girls. No record is found for 1812. In 1813 Armour visited the Colombo Korale with the Registrar. In 1814 he visited the Districts of Colombo, Negombo, Kalutara, Galle and Matara from January 15th to April. In Galkissa Peruwa, Wewala, Panadura and Rambukkana he baptized 654 children, 37 adults and married 222 couples. Armour visited these places in a palanquin. As palanquin bearers 36 men were employed at three fannams** a day. There was also a paymaster called a kanakapulle and six Lascreeen guards. In Galle eight rowers were employed.

* I had the privilege of ministering to him in his last long illness.

** A fannam is equal to six cents.

Burghers and Roman Catholics had to obtain permission from Government to marry. Schoolmasters were expected to keep registers of baptisms and marriages. They were empowered also to act as notaries. About Burghers being obliged to obtain permission from Government to marry there is an interesting incident recorded. There is a petition dated 2nd April, 1811, given to Government by one Petrus Jacobus Roosmalecocq of Galle. He had adopted as his son, a nephew of his named Elias Schiller at the age of one year. When Schiller was 18 years of age he obtained a licence from Government to marry one Maria Catherine Marthies. Roosmalecocq petitioned Government to withdraw the licence "as Mr. Schiller proposes to enter the Holy State of Matrimony with a Miss too ancient than himself." In this connexion the Rev. Mr. Giffening of Wolfendhal Church wrote that according to the laws of the Dutch Presbyterian Church a bridegroom should be at least 25 years and a bride 20 years.

A proposal was made to take away the Registers from the schoolmasters as there were grave irregularities, such as levying of unlawful fees for interpolating the Registers. Archdeacon Glennie made a rule that all Registers should be forwarded to him quarterly so that the entries might be entered in a register in his office to prevent alterations being made. Some sent these registers and some failed to send them.

The cadre of the Ecclesiastical Establishment at this time was :

- (1) Colonial and Military Chaplains.
- (2) Assistant Colonial Chaplains.
- (3) Clerks to read the responses in Church.
- (4) Praeceptors to read the lessons.
- (5) Organists.
- (6) Vestry attendants to help the clergy to robe.
- (7) Proponents, Schoolmasters, Preachers and Catechisers.

These were all paid by Government.* Government even paid organists and choir masters. It kept all churches and schools in repair. The Missionaries were supported by the Missionary Societies.

Catechisers went from time to time to visit village schools and to catechise children in the rudiments of Christianity. Some schoolmasters assembled their pupils only when they heard that a catechiser was coming.

In districts where there were Wellalas and Cholias, there was one proponent for the Wellalas and another for the Cholias. Caste feeling was so high that in appointing schoolmasters caste had to be taken into consideration. So high was caste feeling that when in the Government

* There is a record that 10 Rix Dollars were paid by Government for polishing the silver vessels at S. Peter's Fort. Government also paid for the Bread and Wine used at the Holy Communion and oil for the lamps. It paid for the washing of the floor of S. Peter's Fort and the congregation raised a protest when Government decided not to meet the item of expenditure. The provision of Bread and Wine by the Government was brought to an end on the representation of Rev. Owen Glennie when he was Chaplain at S. Peter's. The Bishop of Madras did not agree with him at first but later conceded that Glennie was right. The Altar ornaments of S. Peter's are a gift from King George III.

Colombo Seminary Mr. Armour mixed up the Wellala and Cholia boys 56 of the former class left the school and petitioned the Government on the affront. Government was obliged to take notice of this. Records show that there was one master for the Wellalas and another for the Cholias.

Earlier Colonial Chaplains took the deepest interest in evangelistic work*, but it is reported in 1840 by Sir Stewart Mackenzie, the then Governor, who "officially declared that the conversion of the heathen around them is no part of their duty and they must faithfully act up to that declaration." The Colonial Chaplains were expected to minister to the civilian and military population. The proponents (a legacy from the Dutch) were allowed to preach, baptize and marry. There were some excellent men among them such as Armour, J. C. Arndt, Christian David and F. J. Ondaatjie. They were ordained after many years as proponents. Among proponents not advanced to the priesthood were Panditaratne at Panadure, an ancestor on the maternal side of Sir Solomon Dias Bandaranaike, and Isaac Pereira, an ancestor of the late Rev. R. F. Pereira, and Mr. H. D. V. V. Pereira of Dehiwala. These proponents have left a good record of work. When there were clergy available, proponents were done away with. Catechists were appointed to help the clergy to hold services where no ordained minister was available. As Colonial Chaplains did not wish to have anything to do with evangelistic work, schoolmasters were in 1811 put under the Collectors of the various districts.** Mention has already been made of the dishonest practices of the schoolmasters in keeping Registers of Births and Marriages. A man appointed schoolmaster of Ahangama, near Weligama, was accused of being a heathen exorcist, though nominally a Christian. Proponents who wore European clothes, like Armour, Arndt and Ondaatjie, were paid 50 Rix Dollars on account of the greater expense of European clothes. Others were paid 25-30 Rix Dollars.

The Colonial Chaplains thought that they were superior to the Missionary Clergy though the latter had scholars like the Rev. J. F. Haslam of the C.M.S. who was 7th wrangler in his year at Cambridge, while some of the Colonial Chaplains had no university degrees. Among later Colonial Chaplains who differed from their predecessors were: Archdeacon W. E. Matthew, who prepared me for ordination, and the Rev. C. T. Boyd,*** Vicar of S. Michael's, Polwatte, who gave me my title for the Priesthood.

The assumption of superiority by Colonial Chaplains over missionaries was put an end to by Bishop R. S. Copleston, who on the very first

* Twistedton compiled a catechism on Christian Doctrine. There was a translation of it in Sinhalese, which was made available to converts.

** Collectors are termed today Government Agents, but the word is still used in India.

*** The first Colonial Chaplain to call himself Vicar in Ceylon with the sanction of the Bishop was the Rev. J. E. B. Brime of Holy Trinity Church, Nuwara Eliya, a grandson of Dr. Pusey. This first among the Ceylonese Clergy to adopt the title of Vicar was the Rev. James Floris de Mel at Ratnapura. The title Incumbent survives at Moratuwa. C.M.S. Clergy are called Pastor.

occasion when he met the clergy in the dining room of S. Thomas' College, Mutwal, said that all clergy whether chaplains or missionaries, European or Ceylonese, should stand not in groups apart from each other but together.

During Governor North's administration the estimate for the whole Ecclesiastical Establishment of Government was £5,000 per year. The number of inhabitants in the maritime Provinces and Jaffna was 50,000. In Colombo District alone there were 90,000 baptized persons. The Governor, Sir Colin Campbell, complained of the enormous expenditure on the Ecclesiastical Establishment as compared with the duties performed by the Government Chaplains. The native population, he says, were abandoned almost entirely to Missionary Establishments which were "both numerous and well conducted." He commends the Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyan and the American Congregational Missions working in Jaffna. The Bishop of Calcutta recommended the appointment of 12 additional Chaplains. Government was somewhat tired of Colonial Chaplains. The Legislative Council declined to carry out the Metropolitan's recommendation but was in favour of assisting Missionary Societies.

The Ceylon Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society was founded in 1812 at a meeting held at the residence of the Governor. The Governor, Sir Edward Barnes, advanced from the Government Treasury a loan of 2,000 Rix Dollars to the Society for translating the Bible into Sinhalese and he was in favour of the loan later being made a gift.

I will now try to give the story in some chronological order. The population of the maritime parts of the country in 1800 was 450,000. In 1814 it was 492,053. The Kandyan kingdom was ceded to the British in 1815. The population was estimated at 90,469. The population of the maritime districts had increased in the year to 595,105. The total population of the whole Island in 1824 was 685,574. The present population is six and a half million. This represents an increase of nearly six million in a little over a century.

A question arose on the interpretation of the "Kandyan Convention" with the British Government. The 5th Article of the Convention reads: "The religion of Buddha professed by the Chiefs and inhabitants of the Provinces is declared inviolate and its rites and Ministers and places of worship are to be maintained and protected." The word "inviolate" represents the Sinhalese word: කඩනොකළ හැකි (*kadanokolahakie*).

On June 1st, 1816, the Governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg, inquired whether the word meant that Christianity was not to be introduced into the Kandyan Districts. The Secretary of State for the Colonies replied: "The affirmative part of the clause viz that the rites, ministers and places of worship are to be maintained and protected embraces the sum total of the support engaged for on the part of the British Government."

There arose, not long after, a bitter controversy on the alleged connection of the British Government with idolatry. The Rev. Spence Hardy of the Wesleyan Mission began the controversy with a pamphlet. Other pamphlets followed by the Rev. J. Pegg of the Wesleyan Mission and Dr. Barcroft Boake, Chaplain of Holy Trinity Church and Principal of the Royal College. The latter printed in his pamphlet a notice of the Kandy Perahera issued by the Government Agent of Kandy in which after a description of the various ceremonies of the Perahera he closes with the formula "God Save the King." It was proved that devil-dancers, drummers and others who rendered service at the Perahera were all paid from the Kacheheri. The Government Agent of Kandy was at this time guardian of the Tooth Temple at Kandy and was in charge of the keys of the shrine. The end of the controversy was that the keys were entrusted to a Lay Guardian of the Temple called the Diyawadana Nilame, certain Kandyan Chiefs and six monks of the Asgiri and Malwatte Temples at Kandy. The shrine cannot be opened without the Lay and Monk Guardians acting together. Thus the British Government broke off its connection with the Tooth Temple and the Perahera at Kandy. According to Bishop Copleston Buddhism is still the "established" religion of the country, for the election of the High Priest of Adam's Peak has to be reported to and sanctioned by Government. The Buddhist Temporalities were being alienated by Buddhist Monks. The control of the Temporalities was then entrusted to lay guardians. They proved even more untrustworthy. The Public Trustee is now in charge of the Temporalities, and the State Council by a majority, whose members are Buddhist, were unwilling to sanction a payment of 5 per cent. of the annual income for the services of the Public Trustee's Department.

On 27th March, 1816, there arrived five Congregational Missionaries from America. The Government was somewhat reluctant to admit non-British persons to an Island only recently acquired. But it allowed them to work in the Jaffna Peninsula and they were given some of the abandoned Dutch Churches and lands adjacent to them. The Mission did such good work that Government gave them financial assistance from time to time.

A meeting was held the same year at the Governor's residence to support the S.P.C.K. which gave books to the value of £70 to the schools every year.

On October 23, 1816, the Bishop of Calcutta visited Ceylon. It was at that time no part of his Diocese, there also being no Archdeacon of Colombo. He spent ten days in Colombo visiting all church schools and charitable institutions. He expressed much appreciation of all he saw and thought the Christian outlook was hopeful. Government paid him £1,000 for his expenses and £300 for distribution for charitable purposes. A house was taken on rent by Government in Colombo and it was furnished with every conceivable article of domestic use from the drawing room to the kitchen at a cost of 2,179 Rix Dollars, 5

fannams and 2 pice. A catalogue of these articles is preserved in the Government Archives and shows how, early in the 19th century, a gentleman's house was furnished. After the Bishop's visit the articles were sold by public auction.

In 1818 members of the Wesleyan Missionary Society arrived in the Island. In the same year Ceylon was made an Archdeaconry of the Calcutta Diocese. The Senior Colonial Chaplain in Colombo, the Rev. the Hon. T. J. Twisleton, was made Archdeacon on £2,000 a year. He resigned his work as Superintendent of church schools and his work as sitting magistrate of Colombo, his new office being considered too exalted to fill these positions. A Registrar of the Diocese was appointed on £100 a year.

The C.M.S. began work in 1818 and a visitation by the Metropolitan took place in 1821. On 29th May, 1821, Andrew Armour was ordained Deacon. It was the first Ordination held in the Diocese of Colombo. S. Peter's, Fort, and S. Paul's, Pettah, were consecrated and were also provided with cemeteries for their use; in Galle Face for S. Peter's* ; and behind the Wolfendhal Church for S. Paul's. The Rev. S. W. Dias was made Deacon in Calcutta by Bishop Wilson in 1833 and on 21st November, 1834, was ordained Priest by the same Bishop when on a visit to Colombo. He was appointed Sinhalese Chaplain of Galkissa and Moratuwa and in 1852 was appointed by Bishop Chapman to succeed the Rev. J. H. de Saram as Sinhalese Chaplain of Colombo.

In 1840 when Madras became a Diocese with its own Bishop, Ceylon became an Archdeaconry of the Diocese of Madras. The same year the S.P.G. came to work in Colombo.

In January, 1842, Archdeacon J. M. S. Glennie who succeeded Twisleton wrote to the Governor, Sir Collin Campbell, that a Bishop should be appointed to Colombo as the Bishop of Madras came to Colombo only once in 3 years. The Governor approved and recommended Glennie to be Bishop of Colombo.

The Rev. J. M. S. Glennie, while Archdeacon, had begun to plant on a large scale at Pussellawa and he was often there as he had no parochial charge and was not in charge of any school. He professed that it was his intention to build a church there and endow it. He would perhaps have carried out this intention of his but when it was decided to consecrate a Bishop of Colombo he was retired on a pension of £1,000 a year. So he withdrew to Pussellawa and coffee-planting. The Anabaptist newspaper, the "Ceylon Observer," made scurrilous remarks about the Archdeacon because he was opposed to the Anabaptists. Glennie worked in the Colombo Diocese from 1824-1844. He was charged at the Metropolitan's first visitation of the Archdeaconry of Ceylon in 1843. The Bishop remarked that he did not intend coming to any decision whether a clergyman could engage in coffee-planting or

* This plot of ground was originally intended for the Holy Cross Cathedral but in 1944 it was exchanged for the big block of land in Buller's Road.

speculative games. He quoted many Acts of Parliament which showed that a clergyman could not possess more than 80 acres of land and that the punishment for engaging in secular affairs with a view to making gain is, for the first offence suspension for 12 months, and for the subsequent offence deprivation of office. The matter ended there with the retirement of Glennie.

It was decided to allow the Bishop £2,000 a year and a grant of £500. The office of Archdeacon was made honorary and was to be held by the Senior Colonial Chaplain.

The new Bishop, Dr. James Chapman, arrived at Colombo by the ship "Malabar" on Saturday, 1st November, 1845, in the evening. His Letters Patent bear the date 6th March, 1845. He was accompanied by Mrs. Chapman and their 4 children, and a Chaplain, the Rev. H. Portescue, who was allowed £200 a year. There came also with the Bishop two young men who hoped to be ordained in Ceylon.

The Governor, Sir Collin Campbell, gave the whole party a warm welcome. His Lordship on landing proceeded at once to S. Peter's Church for prayer, and the "Ceylon Herald" wrote: "thus, as a Bishop ought to do, making the House of God his first claim in a foreign land." The Bishop's House was in Kew Gardens (now a central Police Barracks) and behind the Slave Island Police Station bordering the Colombo Lake. The "Ceylon Herald" and the "Ceylon Observer" were opposed to each other in the manner in which provincial newspapers are opposed to each other as described by Dickens. The former in welcoming the Bishop in graceful terms wrote: "We were sorry to see that His Lordship was not attended by a Guard of Honour as has always been the case when other Bishops have landed." The "Observer" which was opposed to every Church and Episcopacy in general replied that only military men have to be protected by a guard and it did not see why a Bishop should be so protected. Later this salute was given but Bishop R. S. Copleston dispensed with the salute.

The notice of the Installation of the Bishop appeared in the "Ceylon Herald" (but not in the "Ceylon Observer") signed by Mr. H. G. Staples, Registrar of the Diocese, who was the first to hold that office in the Diocese. The Installation of the Bishop took place at S. Peter's, Fort, on Friday, 7th November, at 11 a.m. No account of the Installation Service has yet been traced. The Senior Colonial Chaplain acted as Archdeacon at the ceremony. The old retired Archdeacon was not present.

On the day before the Installation the Bishop visited the Colombo Academy at San Sebastian and also the site of the new Church (Holy Trinity) in course of erection in the Academy grounds. He expressed himself well pleased with the site of the new church. He also consented to be examiner for the Turnour Classical Prize. The Bishop took always the greatest interest in schools having been an Eton Scholar at King's, Cambridge, and an assistant master at Eton before he became Rector of a Parish.

The "Ceylon Herald" of 25th November, 1845, reported as follows :
 "A meeting was held in the Council Chamber yesterday to take into consideration the building of a Cathedral in this our capital city. His Excellency took the Chair and briefly stated the object of the meeting. The first resolution being placed in the hands of the Lord Bishop, His Lordship commenced by reminding us of the cordial reception he had met with in Ceylon and from the manner in which he expressed himself on the subject no one could doubt that his feelings were deeper than he could express. He then alluded to the manner in which the Bishopric of Ceylon had been most unexpectedly offered to him ; in fact, offered in such a manner as to leave no doubt in his own mind that it was a call from his Church and above all from his God. He felt this so strongly that he could not hesitate but immediately resolved to come amongst us to spend and to be spent, to live, to work and to die here. His Lordship also alluded in the most endearing terms to the scene of his labours in England and from the proof which lay on the table in the shape of Bible, Prayer Books, Public Communion Service, Private Service* for the Bishop's own use, besides, Communion table cloths and other things exhibited, no one can doubt that our Diocesan left the land of his birth with the heartfelt blessings of those with whom he was there connected. Besides, His Lordship who was 12 years ago one of the Masters of Eton received from that establishment on his appointment to Colombo a most flattering letter by the Master enclosing the sum of £1,000 subscribed to be placed at his disposal. He also preached at Windsor Chapel when a collection was made and those with other sums obtained by His Lordship put him in possession of upwards of £2,000 towards the erection of a Cathedral, which he placed at the disposal of the Committee The Hon. Mr. Justice Carr moved that the Governor be requested to grant a site for the Cathedral. He remarked that five sites had been mentioned, viz the compound of the Orphan Asylum at Colpetty, the site at the four roads near Walker's Bungalow, the site of S. Peter's Church, the site of the Church now commencing at San Sebastian and lastly the site at Kew Road near the Bishop's residence. The Rev. B. Bailey who seconded the resolution recommended the first of these sites as being more central than any other."

The battle of the sites then began in the newspapers. The "Ceylon Herald," favoured the site of S. Peter's or some other site in the Fort. The Bishop favoured the Colpetty site. Eventually neither was selected. A site for the Cathedral and S. Thomas' College was selected in Mutwal where the present Cathedral stands. It was acquired with

* This consisted of two chalices, two patens, a flagon, all of silver with the inscription "Separatis manet communio." They were first locked up in the Warden's office in an iron safe. They were left later in a wooden box without a lock in the vestry of the Cathedral from where they were stolen. The Private Communion set was used in the Chapel at the Leper Asylum and was stolen from the writer's bedroom on the first and only night they were left there at S. Thomas' College, Mutwal. The Prayer Book rebound by Bishop R. S. Copleston is the only article now left.

a lungalow from Mr. J. Park. Mutwal was then the best residential quarter of Colombo. It was the Bishop's idea to build the Cathedral and make S. Thomas' College to be closely connected with the Cathedral, sharing it with the Warden of the College, and he intended that there should be a body of Priests at the College, taking pastoral charge of the various churches in Colombo. S. Thomas' College was to consist of a school for boys, a College affiliated to the University of Calcutta, and as the completion of the scheme a Divinity School for training clergy which I understand according to the Trust Deed should be located within the precincts of the College.

THE SOUTH INDIA CHURCH UNION SCHEME*

I.

ALL CHRISTENDOM longs and prays for the union of all Christians in one Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. The South India Church Union Scheme is an attempt to weld together in a United Church four Dioceses of the Church of India, Burma, and Ceylon and certain non-episcopal Bodies. This effort deserves respectful consideration. Care should be taken however that no essential doctrine belonging to the Church Universal is either omitted or not clearly and fully stated for that will lead to constant controversy, to spiritual ineffectiveness and perhaps to further secessions.

The basis of the proposed Union is : (1) The Bible (2) The Apostles' and Nicene Creeds (3) The Sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion (4) The Historic Episcopate.

1. **The Bible** is accepted by the Greek, Roman and Anglican Churches and also by Presbyterians, Lutherans, Baptists, Methodists, Quakers, Pentecostalists, Adventists, &c. They are divided from each other because they differ in its interpretation. Thus the bare mention of the Bible as containing a Divine revelation is not sufficient. It is essential to state that the fullness of Christian doctrine is in it and its interpretation belongs to accredited teachers of the Church. The Apostles expounded the O.T. and gradually wrote the N.T. The Bishops should therefore be the accredited teachers as successors in office to the Apostles.

2. **The Creeds** are accepted as "witnessing to and safeguarding" the Faith. They should therefore be given prominence in the life of the Church, used for instruction in the Christian Faith, as a Baptismal Confession of the Faith and in Public Worship. If this were not done they would soon drop out of use, be forgotten and become obsolete. The Scheme does not lay due emphasis on these uses of the Creeds. Attention is drawn to note 1 on p. 5 of the Scheme which cautiously qualifies the acceptance of the Creeds.

3. **The Sacraments—Baptism and Holy Communion.** It is in dealing with these Sacraments that the doctrine embodied in the Scheme is lamentably defective. (a) **Baptism** This is described as the rite which admits believers into membership in the Church. Grace is mentioned in this part of the Scheme, but it is not stated definitely whether grace is conveyed through Baptism, or apart from it, as some non-episcopal Societies hold. Neither is it mentioned that it is "the

* Criticism of the VIIth Edition of the South Indian Scheme.

washing (laver R. V. Margin) of regeneration" (Titus 3.5) *i.e.* the Sacrament of spiritual re-birth. It is well known that some Christian people repudiate this truth, laying all emphasis on conversion.

(b) **The Holy Communion** This Sacrament has two aspects. It has a God-ward offering, *i.e.* a pleading before the Father the merits of the "full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world" made by the Son; and a man-ward gift. It is a sacrifice and a feast on the sacrifice. The first of the above truths is not mentioned in the Scheme. In fact it is excluded by the omission of the title "Priest" throughout. This is in the English Prayer Book in all that belongs to the Rite. It shows that the Anglican Communion accepts the doctrine that the Eucharist is a sacrifice.

Crucifixions took place continually in the Roman Empire. "On the night he was betrayed," our Lord using sacrificial language, in the institution of the Holy Eucharist, showed that the tragedy which would take place at Calvary on the morrow would not be like other crucifixions; but would be a sacrifice for the remission of the sins of mankind. The Holy Eucharist and the Crucifixion were not two acts, but one. When a Priest celebrates the Holy Eucharist he connects it with the Sacrifice consummated at Calvary. "As often as ye eat this Bread and drink this Cup" says St. Paul, "ye do proclaim (RV) the Lord's death" (1 Cor. 11.26) *i.e.* proclaim to mankind the meaning of Calvary and plead its merits before the Father. Both these truths about the Holy Eucharist are given in our Catechism:—The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was ordained "for the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ and of the benefits we receive thereby." The benefits whereof we are partakers thereby are "the strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the Body and Blood of Christ."

4. **The Historic Episcopate.** This section is the least satisfactory part of the Scheme. When it is read through it will be clear that of the two functions allowed to Bishops the first is teaching according to statements "adopted by the Synod" (p. 45). Thus in teaching the Bishops may not be the exponents of the teaching of the Church Universal but only of a local Church. Those statements adopted by the Synod may or may not fall short of the fullness of Catholic Doctrine. There is no guarantee except that Congregational, Presbyteral and Anglican standards will be combined. The other function of the Bishops is the ordination of priests and deacons. The authority of Bishops concerning the "faith and doctrine of the Church" is taken away from them and given to a Synod, of which Bishops, elected presbyters and laymen are members. Bishops are in a minority. They can be out-voted. "The Synod is the supreme governing and legislative body of the Church of South India and the final authority in all matters pertaining to the Church" (Ch. 9-13). This traverses what has been the duty and function of Bishops through all the centuries in the Church Universal. In Oecumenical Councils Bishops formulated Creeds and offered them to the Church. They were also guardians of

the Faith. Consonant with this, an Anglican Bishop at his consecration promises, besides teaching, to be "ready with all diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrine contrary to God's word." Whatever the Scheme may mean by the "Historic Episcopate" the Episcopate of the South India Church will be an Episcopate deprived of powers belonging to Bishops in the Church Universal. The Episcopate which has the right to be called Historic is a Ministry to which "certain very definite functions have been traditionally, universally and permanently assigned." The reason for the deprivation of Bishops of the inherent rights and duties of the Episcopate is given in a pamphlet (undated) issued by the Bishop of Dornakal:—"Our Church has repeatedly asked that a provision for a vote by Orders will secure the recognition of the authority of the Bishops in such matters which have always belonged to Bishops. Our brethren in the other Churches have always fought shy of this. They do not realise that a vote by Orders in all subjects relating to Faith and Order will secure as much the authority of the Bishops as that of the Laity, since any House either of the Bishops or the Clergy or the Laity can throw out a proposition. However it has to be recognised that there is the fear—though, we believe, erroneous—in the minds of our negotiating brethren that such a power put into the hands of the Bishops may, as in the past, be misused to the detriment of the purity of doctrine." The Scheme exhorts much about mutual trust. Bishops are excluded from this.

II.

Before proceeding further some comments are necessary. The doctrine underlying the Scheme is defective concerning Baptism, the Holy Eucharist and the Historic Episcopate. Why should we be insistent on full doctrinal standards? The answer is given in the history of the separated ancient Churches of the East, Armenian, Assyrian, Coptic, Abyssinian. The members of these Churches cling passionately to them. But the Churches are ineffective in relation to the peoples among whom they exist. The Churches they founded in the East as far as China have perished. This tragic story is the result of defective doctrine and isolation. The United Church, it is shown above, omits important Christian doctrines and it will be isolated as a Church from the world-wide Anglican Communion. The study of Church History which records the triumphs of Christianity is a cordial for drooping spirits. It also conveys warning of the fate of Churches which do not teach the whole truth and are isolated.

There are some who plead: Let the United Church go on its way. We of the Church of Ceylon are not affected by it. This aloofness is not wise. It is stated that if this South India Scheme is accepted, North India will start a Scheme of Reunion. When that Scheme is consummated, it is likely that the Church of Ceylon will be invited to join the South India-United Church. Much we value will have to be abandoned. If we do not accept the doctrinal position of the United

Church, because it is defective and yet commend it to others, it denotes a sad lack of Christian charity which should not only include care for one's own welfare but also secure the well-being of one's neighbours.

III.

There is a statement often made which is incorrect, that Lambeth has approved the present Scheme. What Lambeth approved was the Scheme put forward in 1929. That did not contain the amazing Section which deprives Bishops of their rightful authority in the Church. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Cosmo Lang) wrote (August 1, 1938) to the Metropolitan of India:—"This note (probably the Metropolitan's) commented on the provisions enabling Synod, after an elaborate series of votes, to overrule the refusal of the majority of Bishops to a proposal emanating from the Synod concerning a matter of Faith and Order. A majority of the Consultative Body viewed these provisions with grave concern. The general conclusion of the Consultative Body in this matter may be summed up as follows:—Except in regard to the new position assigned to the Bishops in the Synod with regard to questions of Faith and Order, the changes introduced since 1930 are not such as to give ground for supposing that the Lambeth Conference of 1940 would wish to reconsider the general approval given in 1930." (The Consultative Body is the Committee which carries on the work of the Lambeth Conference between one Conference and the next.) As for the supposed approval of this Section by the Indian Episcopate the Bishop of Dornakal writes:—(The Bishops in India) "resolved not to raise again the issue" concerning the authority of Bishops in matters concerning the Faith and Doctrine of the Church. He goes on to say:—"The Diocesan Councils must judge for themselves . . . after studying Ch. 9, Section 23." Thus the Bishops in India without approving it throw the responsibility of decision regarding this Section on the Diocesan Councils. Who are better equipped to address themselves to this task, Bishops or Diocesan Councils, which are not sufficiently acquainted with theological and historical knowledge to give a right decision?

In any chain there might be a weak link which destroys the strength of the whole. This section is the weak link, while it is most important in a Scheme which commends Episcopacy. The Bishop of Dornakal wrote in an Appeal issued by him in August 1939: "We understand that those within the Anglican Church, who for various reasons are opposed to the Scheme, will endeavour to change the favourable vote that Lambeth gave to the Scheme ten years ago." He asks therefore for a decision without further reference to Lambeth. In a matter which will ultimately affect the whole Anglican Communion there should be no place for hasty and precipitate action nor for diplomacy.

The Negotiating Bodies insist that in the United Church the three elements Episcopal, Presbyteral and Congregational should have place, so after the Bishops have considered the Scheme they refer it to Dio-

cesan Councils of which Presbyters and lay people are members. But it should not be for a final decision. That is against Scriptural precedent. In the Council at Jerusalem (Acts Ch. 15) all three elements were present. Much discussion took place. But guided by what three Apostles said, the President of the Council, who had the status of an Apostle, gave the verdict. The letter of the Council was sent to the Churches in the name of the Apostles and Presbyters. Is it not reasonable that after the Laity have expressed their views and Synods of Clergy theirs the Scheme should go back to the Indian Episcopate to be transmitted for a final opinion to the Bishops of the Lambeth Conference?

[A pamphlet with a discourteous reference to our Bishop about a statement issued by him has been circulated at the request of a Methodist Minister. It gives at length what Lambeth said in 1930 and before. Since those dates additions have been made to the Scheme, e.g. the deprivation of Bishops of their lawful and rightful authority.]

The pamphlet correctly states the attitude of the Indian Episcopate to Ch. ix. Section 23 of the Scheme which refers to the non-recognition "of the authority of Bishops in such matters which have always belonged to Bishops." It is stated that "the Episcopal Synod of 1942 resolved not to raise this issue again" i.e. express an opinion on it. It is thus plain that the Indian Episcopate while recommending the Scheme makes an exception of the Section and this is the most important Section of the Scheme.

We are asked to accept the Scheme as a whole or reject it as a whole. The Indian Episcopate which withholds its approval of this Section thus takes the lead in rejecting the Scheme. This same pamphlet states that Bishop Lightfoot did not consider the Episcopate to be of the *esse* of the Church. Compare with this statement:—Dr. Lightfoot speaks of the Episcopate as "the backbone of historical Christianity" (A. J. Mason, *Principles of Ecclesiastical Unity* p. 99). Most people think that a backbone is essential for stability.]

IV.

"THOSE FIVE COMMONLY CALLED SACRAMENTS."

1. **Confirmation.** It was agreed to, at the inception of the Scheme of Union, that acceptance of Confirmation would not be required as a pre-requisite of union. That is a correct statement. This Scheme promises that for 30 years every Ordination will be by Bishops. No undertaking similar to that is in the Scheme as regards Confirmation. If Bishops are available for Ordination for thirty years, why should not their services be accepted for Confirmation during that period? Lambeth in 1930 wrote:—"We most earnestly commend the use of it both because of its association from the time of the Apostles with the gift of the Holy Spirit and also because of the benefit it has bestowed on individual members of the Church and the enrichment which it

brings to the pastoral ministry of the Bishop." This earnest commendation is relegated to a footnote and is alluded to in a later page of the Scheme. It allows a non-scriptural ceremony for completing Baptism parallel to Confirmation. "They" (members of the United Church) the Scheme states, "shall make this profession at a public service which shall include prayers for them, that they may be strengthened by the Holy Spirit and may receive His manifold gifts of grace for their work." Of these two rites, the former is Scriptural, the latter is not and it is put forward though the Scheme states that the Church "should always be ready to correct and reform itself in accordance with the teaching of those Scriptures." Anglicans faithful to the teaching of the New Testament cannot agree to put in place of Confirmation in a Church in which there are Bishops, a non-scriptural form for completing the Sacrament of Baptism. In the Acts of the Apostles the laying on of hands on the baptised is connected with the imparting of the Holy Spirit in larger measure. S. Luke, who is careful in his language, uses the words "fallen upon them," "came upon them" in connection with the laying on of hands. If it is urged that Confirmation should be disused, because the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit have ceased in the Church in connection with the laying on of hands, the answer is found in the Epistle to the Hebrews Ch. 6.1: "Let us cease to speak of the first principles of Christ and press on to perfection, not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works and of faith toward God, of the teaching of baptism and of laying on of hands and of resurrection of the dead and of eternal judgment" (R.V.). The laying on of hands is mentioned by the author as one of the first principles and foundations of the Christian life. He gives what would be put before a candidate for Baptism in his elementary instruction. (1) Repentance. (2) Faith. (3) The doctrine of Christian Baptism (as distinct from the baptism of proselytes, the baptism of the Baptist and baptism of certain ascetic sects). After the administration of Christian Baptism there follows the "laying on of hands." The doctrine of Confirmation is that while in Baptism there is for its recipient a spiritual rebirth (the Easter gift) in Confirmation he is equipped by the Holy Spirit with manifold gifts for life and work (the Pentecost gift).

In the confusions of the sixteenth century when many persons seceded from the Church and no Bishops seceded with them, Confirmation fell into disuse. In a Church which welcomes Episcopacy, Confirmation should be restored to its rightful place as one of the foundations of the Christian life.

2. Restoration of Penitents to the Church. The Basis of Union states that presbyters are called and commissioned by God to declare the message of pardon to penitent sinners. This is mentioned later in the recitation of the duties of presbyters.

3. Unction which is being revived in the Church for healing of souls and bodies is not mentioned.

4. **Matrimony.** The Scheme states that, as some of the Negotiating Bodies allow a man to marry his deceased wife's sister and a woman is allowed to marry her deceased husband's brother, such unions will be allowed for the present. In a cautiously-worded paragraph some hope is held out to divorced persons that, while their divorced partners are living, they will be allowed to take to themselves an additional husband or wife, as the case may be, with the sanction of the United Church. An early interpolation in the First Gospel is sometimes quoted as authority for the allowing of divorce, and even that interpolation (contradicted by the first Gospel itself and the rest of the New Testament) gives only one cause for divorce. Causes for divorce are being multiplied and some people have lost shame in suing for divorce. The present increase of divorce cases makes it necessary to bring to the fore the true doctrine that the marriage bond is indissoluble. Christian Marriage (which some have degraded to the level of a civil union) being a Sacrament, no religious or civil authority can annul it. The Scheme does not give this teaching.

5. **Holy Orders.** For thirty years Ordinations will be episcopal. Episcopacy is not accepted as an Order which has divine sanction. The Episcopal Synod (India) "regrets that the Joint Committee was unable to insert at this point in the Basis of Union an express statement that the uniting Churches believe Episcopacy to be the will of Our Lord for the Churches." (Episcopal Synod Minutes 1942.) Episcopacy is accepted by the non-episcopal bodies because it is considered expedient and economical to prevent overlapping. It is not accepted for its divine sanction and spiritual value. For nineteen centuries the Holy Spirit has worked in the Church Universal in the Episcopal Order. We are now asked to regard Episcopacy as an open question.

After thirty years the validity of Anglican Episcopal Orders, which is now being slowly recognised by Catholic Churches, will be re-opened and much controversy will ensue.

V.

1. **Celebration of the Holy Communion by Laymen.** It shall be a "rule of order" of the United Church that the celebration of the Holy Communion shall be entrusted only to those who by Ordination received authority thereto. So then the celebration of the Holy Communion by a duly ordained Priest is in the South India Church only a "rule of order." This being so, the same Church can make it a rule of order for laymen to celebrate the Holy Communion. This is allowed as a principle in the Scheme and may be acted upon at any time. A sub-Committee of the Negotiating Churches reported (Sept. 1940):—"The Committee is of opinion that the emphasis laid on lay celebration at the present time by some of the Negotiating Churches is due, not so much to any urgent need for practical action to provide sacramental ministrations to the congregations, as a deep-rooted fear that the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers is not adequately safeguarded." The vague

language of the Scheme does not show whether the laity have a priesthood in their corporate capacity or in their individual capacity. The former doctrine is true, the latter is false. S. Peter quoted from the O.T. that all Israel was a priestly body. But every man in Israel did not perform priestly functions. There was a duly appointed body of priests taken from the nation. So also in the Christian Church, at any time Israel. There is no evidence whatever that in any Church at any time the celebration of the Holy Communion was entrusted to laymen. It is an impressive fact which should guide us that the Churches of the East and the Church of the West, though they are separated from each other for centuries and differ in many things, yet have not swerved from the rule that the Celebrant of the Holy Eucharist should be a Bishop or a Priest.

The Anglican Church follows the same rule: "No one shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest or Deacon in the Church of England or suffered to execute any of the said functions, except he be called, tried, examined and admitted thereunto according to the Form hereafter following or hath had formerly Episcopal Consecration or Ordination." No local Church has a right to reduce a law of the Church Universal to a mere "rule of order," and enunciate a principle that a layman can lawfully preside at the Eucharist. Persistence in any opinion contrary to the teaching of the Church Universal is heresy and might lead to schism. To choose some doctrine of the Church and emphasise it unduly without any regard to the balance of truth, or to refuse to accept the plain teaching of the Church and prefer one's own opinion or to define intentionally a doctrine of the Church inaccurately and persist in it is the essence of heresy.

2. Relation of the United Church to other Churches and the Diocese of Colombo. (a) **The Anglican Communion** The decision of the Bishops of the whole Anglican Communion assembled at Lambeth in 1930 is described briefly by the Indian Episcopate (1942): "The four Dioceses after Union will cease to be a part of the Anglican Communion." The Bishop of Dornakal writes: "The United Church will not be an integral part of the Anglican Communion." Is this due to a fear that if the Anglican Communion does not separate itself from the United Church which is making an "experiment" with Catholic Truth and Order, it would compromise its claim to be Catholic and Apostolic? If such was the view taken in 1930 how much stronger will be the decision to exclude the United Church, when its Bishops are deprived of what has always belonged to the Historic Episcopate?

(b) **The Ancient Syrian Churches in India** numbering 600,000 members declined to be one of the Negotiating Bodies. The present Scheme will take away any possibility of the United Church coming into communion with them, with Old Catholics and with the Greek Orthodox Churches some of which are in communion with the Anglican Communion. The negotiating non-episcopal bodies number 560,000 adherents.

(c) **The United Church and the Diocese of Colombo.** The Indian Episcopal Synod (1942) states :—"This Union will cause certain complications in the Diocese of Colombo. The Diocese will be geographically isolated from the rest of the Province. In the Jaffna District which is included in this area of Union the Anglican Tamils will be strongly attracted to transfer their allegiance to the United Church, since their S.I.U.C. brethren will be members of that Church. Complications might arise owing to the extensive immigration of South India Tamils to all parts of the Island." The equal spiritual efficacy of Episcopal and non-episcopal ministrations is strongly asserted in the Scheme. Anglican Tamils will pass to and fro without hesitation between these two Ministries. Will they not in the end throw in their lot with those with whom they have national affinities and seek admission to the United Church? Starting from Jaffna it will extend to other parts of Ceylon. Congregations separated from the Church of Ceylon will spring up in many provinces. The unification of the Diocese of Colombo which is now advancing happily though slowly will be hindered. It will lose a large portion of Tamil Christians and with them many Tamil Clergy both of whom are now a strength to it. Tamil Clergy will find their congregations have melted away, and if they return to India, there will be no option for them except to join the United Church. Our own small Church will be maimed. That is the fear expressed in the above statement of the Indian Episcopal Synod.

(d) **Complications with the Church in England.** After 1930 the following was added to the Scheme :—"Any minister of the United Church will be at liberty to minister and celebrate the Holy Communion in any Church with any of the Uniting Churches enjoying relationships of fellowships, if he is invited thereto." This will happen not only during 30 years, but visitors from non-episcopal Bodies will be given this privilege (p. 14). Even after 30 years there will be two ministries in the United Church. Under this provision one of two things will happen. The non-episcopal minister will minister without the sanction of the Diocesan Bishop. This will be an infringement of the jurisdiction of a Diocesan Bishop. Or, if a Bishop agrees to it, he will not while in India discriminate between Episcopal and non-episcopal ministries. But while in England obeying the verdict of the Preface to the Anglican Ordinal, he will have to insist on discrimination.

VI.

The Character of the Doctrine underlying the Scheme. The doctrine is a revival of English Puritanism of the 16th and 17th centuries. The Puritans claimed the right to interpret the Bible apart from the guidance of the Church. They disliked set forms like Liturgies and Creeds. They did not accept the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. They rejected Confirmation. They denied the Sacramental character of Matrimony, objecting to the wearing of a wedding ring, one of the outward signs of the sacramental rite. They did not believe that the Eucharist has a sacrificial God-ward aspect. They therefore would not

use the terms Priest or Altar. They tried by a system of presbyteral committees, called *Classis*, to deprive Bishops of their authority. This Puritan teaching was rejected by the *Ecclesia Anglicana* in 1662 by insisting on her Catholic and Apostolic heritage. Puritan opinions found a home in societies which seceded from the Church of England. The Puritans succeeded only in giving a Crown of Martyrdom to a crowned King of England, who saved Episcopacy for the Anglican Communion. Puritanism has disappeared from the main stream of Anglican Church life. Anglicans in the Joint Committee of the Negotiating Bodies have surrendered part of their Catholic heritage, while the others have conceded nothing, except accepting Episcopacy emptied of some powers belonging to it through all the centuries of the history of the Church. As pointed out above the value and character of Episcopacy are treated as an open question and it is accepted merely as expedient, convenient and economical. When this Scheme is presented to us, to accept it would be a denial of our full Catholic heritage and an acceptance of a Puritan tradition, which does not lawfully belong to the Anglican Communion, though it may lurk in the minds of individuals who are a law unto themselves.

A "growing into each other" is an expression used in the Scheme. Some persons hope that non-sacramental religion will become sacramental. This will happen if Bishops are given authority in governing and teaching without the limitations imposed on them by the Synod of the United Church. The possibility of catholicising the United Church is taken away from them.

Can we wholeheartedly commend such a Scheme to our fellow-believers in the four Dioceses in India?

PART THREE

1
PART THREE

TUBERCULOSIS*

I

IN a country where people live much in the open air as in Ceylon and there is no cold season, it might reasonably be expected that the incidence of tuberculosis would be negligible. But the fact that our tuberculosis hospital and the sanatoria are full to overflowing, that many tuberculosis patients are admitted, through sheer necessity, to the General Hospital in Colombo and that many are turned away to their homes for lack of room in these public institutions, proves that like malaria, hookworm, and parangi, tuberculosis has become one of the chief scourges which have found a lodging in this country.

There are several causes contributing to this sad state of affairs. It is impossible to say which of these causes is primary. All over the country malaria is prevalent, the only difference being that in some provinces malaria is endemic, in others epidemic. Where means of transport were meagre, people did not move about freely from one district to another. But now railway and bus services have made the population mobile and every district is exposed to the invasion of malaria. At stated seasons malaria breaks out in virulent form. It disappears, but it leaves behind a population which has not sufficient stamina to resist the tuberculosis germ. The germ is everywhere. But when a man or woman is in normal health and strength the infection is not disastrous. The same person after an attack of malaria is susceptible to disastrous infection. Thus one of the causes at work now to increase the number of victims is the widespread condition of malaria.

Add to this the fact that there are hundreds of persons, young and old, underfed through lack of proper food on account of unemployment. Like the malaria patients they also are too weak to resist the tubercular germs.

In towns the danger of infection is even greater. The rabbit warrens called tenements in the slums of our large towns where the underfed poor huddle together in damp, ill-ventilated and over-crowded rooms are a fertile breeding ground for tuberculosis. It was thought that this evil was confined to Colombo. Complaints come from Galle that it is wide-spread there. Kandy will follow soon if it has not already realised that it is an evil which has to be fought against on a large scale. And so the dread catalogue of infected towns lengthens out. This might sound alarmist. But it is a fact, which only an incurable optimism will deny.

Note also should be taken of the fact that those engaged in manual labour in towns are drawn largely from rural areas. Such people may defy the laws of hygiene with impunity in sparsely populated villages.

* *Social Justice*, November, 1939.

But a breach of sanitary laws in a town is visited with dire penalty. It is absurd to imagine that tuberculous patients remaining in their poor crowded hovels in the slums will not infect all the inmates.

The attack on tuberculosis should be both direct and indirect. Direct action is carried on in hospitals and sanatoria. Treatment of patients even in such institutions is not curative. Any doctor who has studied the disease will say that a tuberculosis patient can never be cured. The disease may be arrested if taken in hand early, and a patient might live the normal span of life. But sooner or later, more often sooner, the victim succumbs to the infection. It is therefore absolutely necessary that indirect methods of attack should be adopted vigorously. Fight the malaria germ; create colonies for the unemployed; wipe out the slums; segregate the infected; go on with health propaganda. These are indeed counsels of perfection. What is lamentable is that hitherto with this menace at our very doors, the authorities who should attend to these matters seem to be paralysed. The cure for that paralysis is co-ordination of efforts. Town and country should work together. Municipal and local authorities should have the whole-hearted support of the Central Government. Curative and preventive work should go together. The pessimist will ask who is going to foot the bill for all this, when the country is on the brink of bankruptcy. He will also say perhaps that this writer is only an alarmist because the population, even in spite of abnormal infantile mortality, is ever increasing. That contention of increase of population is granted. But what an increase is it? A poor, feeble undersized people, who cannot do any hard work—an increase through sturdier people coming into this country displacing the weaklings. As for expense, fight disease at the root and the colossal expenditure in curative work, when reduced, will leave enough to carry on preventive work.

II.

A census of reported cases of phthisis in Colombo during 1933-1943 shows that the disease claims victims as follows:—

Vagrants and untraced ..	1,551	Maradana South ..	137
New Bazaar ..	406	Kollupitiya ..	109
Slave Island ..	348	Wellawatte ..	92
Mutwal ..	334	Timbirigasyaya ..	83
Kotahena ..	299	Pettah ..	60
Maradana North ..	260	Bambalapitiya ..	53
St. Paul's ..	246	Cinnamon Gardens ..	40
San Sebastian ..	197	Fort ..	1
Demetagoda ..	176		

If there be anyone who doubts that there are destitute workless and homeless people in the City of Colombo, with its stately buildings and garden-suburbs, parks and playgrounds, broad streets and numerous places of amusement, the figures which appear against "vagrants and untraced" should convince them in what a sad and pitiful way hundreds live and die year after year.

The miserable story which these figures reveal is that they are the victims of unemployment, low wages, underfeeding, homelessness and destitution. Of course, in every great city such a class is found, victims of crime, poverty and thriftlessness. Unless men and women are cynics who maintain that in this beautiful world such a class will always be, the question may yet be asked what is being done to reduce unemployment? What agencies are there to tackle the problem of unemployment? Is this country never to have standard wages enforced so that honest labour will be rewarded with adequate wages and heartless sweating of the poor will be prevented? Is there adequate housing and housing at reasonable rates of rent, which the poor can pay? To these questions the only answer is that there is no such provision to be found. Institutions, societies and charity organisations are trying to grapple with a grim problem, which at present ends in death, such as is not the lot of even animals. What tears, pain, sorrow and agony lie behind these cold figures!

New Bazaar, Slave Island, Mutwal, Kotahena, Maradana North and St. Paul's are the greater part of the slum areas, in which the density of population is largest. Is it not better to take vigorous action to clear the slums than pour out thousands of rupees on the maintenance of hospitals and sanatoria while scores of persons are allowed to die lingering deaths? That we might say is beyond question. But our complaint is that relief is given when the proper course is to follow a plan where such relief can be reduced to a minimum. In a country where people live much in the open air and are not confined to houses closed to light and air the incidence of phthisis should be negligible. This is proved by the fact that in Kollupitiya, Wellawatte, Timbirigasyaya, Bambalapitiya and Cinnamon Gardens the number of victims to phthisis is comparatively low. The Pettah and Fort which are business centres come off best in the rate of mortality.

While our civic authorities are beautifying those parts of Colombo in which the best residences are found, the older parts of Colombo are degenerating. It is true that some slums have been cleared and the poor who occupied them have been compelled to migrate into areas which were already congested. Yet slum clearance and proper housing have not yet been put in the forefront of civic activity. Our hospitals are overflowing, our asylums are overcrowded, our charitable institutions with inadequate means are trying palliative measures. The poor have yet only but a meagre portion of the municipal revenue spent on them, expenditure being reckoned per head of the population. There is thus on one side, waste of lives; on the other, preventable waste of money on institutions which never really get at the root of the evil—a trinity of evils, unemployment inadequate wages and bad housing where the poor are allowed to pig, rot and die.



HOUSING THE UNDERFED UNDERDOG AND

BLEEDING HIM*

I

IT IS OF course a truism that poverty is immediately responsible for the acceptance of bad housing. But it may not be so readily realised that on the other hand one of the roots of the problem of poverty in Colombo and in other large towns of this country is precisely the existence of expensive, insanitary and altogether disgraceful housing.

Residence in slums may be described as a *facilis descensus Averno*. The underdog decides to marry and bring up a family—a laudable ambition. He chooses a dwelling place within reach of his income. He has to surrender at least one third of his earnings as rent for a single-roomed tenement with a bit of verandah in the forepart of the building where cooking might be done. In seventy five cases out of hundred, or even more, the inner sanctum has no window at the back, because slum dwellings are built back to back. The only window and the only door open into the bit of front verandah. The foul air of the inner room has no chance of escape, because there is no current of air passing through the house—very soon both the inner room and the front verandah become begrimed with smoke and dirt. Not only is the air in the tenement full of foul air as it is used as a living room, but more often than not an evil-smelling open drain runs in front of the house spreading harmful and poisonous odours.

It is a well-known law of Nature that Nature itself tries to preserve the species where living conditions are harmful. Children increase among slum dwellers more than in families in which infant life is not endangered. In a slum dwelling babies are born frequently. They fall ill. They are taken to a Municipal Dispensary—a bottled medicine is given. Suitable nourishing foods are ordered. The parents who are unable to procure sufficiently nourishing food at ordinary times find it quite impossible to buy expensive patent foods, and the child who is already underfed either grows up a weakling who will never be able to earn a decent wage or he goes to the place where the weary are at rest. (It is also a curious fact that a child brought up in a slum can resist infection far more than his delicately nurtured brother or sister. The poisons the slum child breathes in become an anti-toxin which can resist most disease germs.) Thus a C 3 population grows up in slum areas. While the children grow up, the mother of the family through underfeeding, frequent child-bearing and domestic drudgery wastes away and death comes as an angel of mercy.

* *Social Justice*, April, 1939.

The husband fares a little better. In the place where he works he breathes, not as his wife and children do, the evil-smelling air of the slum, but air at least somewhat purer. When there is no rain he manages to sleep in the open air, while his wife and children are huddled in a room in which there is no ventilation. But even he becomes prematurely old or unfit for work. He loses his job. A younger man steps into it and the man whom he supplants wanders about asking for alms.

What of the children? They enrol themselves in the great army of boys who make some kind of living in the streets, as basket carriers, errand boys, ganja sellers, petty thieves, till in spite of the plentiful canings administered to them in the Police Courts they become habitual criminals. The girls are taken by some kindly female relative and are cared for, the poor being always ready to help the poor. And it would be lucky if the girls do not fall into the clutches of a woman, who makes her living by pandering to the passions of those loathsome creatures who call themselves men but are a disgrace to humanity.

Far be it from me to say that what I have said is the life history of all slum parents and slum children. Death intervenes mercifully at various stages of the descent downwards. And of the rest not fifty per cent grow to be an able-bodied class of persons. Proof of this may be found in any slum area in which may be seen any day undersized men and women and children who look like sparrows for thinness. The robust chubby and smiling child of four or five years is unknown in slum areas.

Bad housing inflicts untold suffering on the poor. From beginning to end, their life is really not worth living. From the first day they open their eyes on what ought to be a beautiful and lovely world till the day of their death, there is only misery—and the shame of it is that it is preventable misery—and therefore the neglect is criminal.

But apart from the suffering which bad housing inflicts there is a vast expenditure of money to fight its consequences.

Municipal Dispensaries, the Out-Patients Department of the General Hospital and our hospitals are crowded and over-crowded—their largest clientele are slum dwellers. What the City Corporation and the Government are doing is the application of palliatives, without attacking stoutly the root of the evil, and that is the filthy conditions under which the poor are compelled to live, while capitalists who own slum areas batten on the money and squalor in which their fellow creatures are wallowing.

I should also mention that slum conditions hardly favour the practice of morality. Under such circumstances of terrible over-crowding, there can be little question of privacy which modesty so urgently demands. Not being able to live in the home, the boys are thrown necessarily into the street where bad companions finally rob them of any virtue that they may have ever possessed.

I wonder how many of the so-called respectable people who pride themselves on their righteousness would have emerged unscathed if they had been subjected to the ordeal which is the daily portion in the slums.

The only bright spot in the life of the slum dweller is the consolations of religion. Moreover, when he attends a place of worship or a procession, at least for a brief space of time he escapes from the unlovely surroundings in which his lot is cast.

But in spite of the assistance afforded by religion, the fight he has to put up for morality is a hard one.

II

I have drawn above a picture of what life is like in Slum Land. Anyone who visits the slums in Colombo will know that I have not put the paint on too thickly. In fact I feel that I have not said enough of the bad sanitation, dirt, evil smells, and ill-clad men, women and children in the slums.

I now venture to point a way out. Put in the simplest form, employers of labour should be compelled to provide housing—not necessarily free housing—for their employees. In principle this is recognised by Government. But it began at the wrong end. It provided bungalows for members of the Civil Service first. Civil Service bungalows are an ornament to Colombo, and may they remain so, since some landowners are now destroying the beauty of Colombo as a garden city. They are creating slums for the well-to-do. Large houses stand cheek by jowl with the thinnest strips of land between them.

When Civil Servants were provided with bungalows, a clamour arose for houses for members of the Clerical Service. There is no body of clerks who are so well treated as Government Clerks. It is true that, in a fit of parsimony the initial salary of a Government Clerk has been cut down and this has prompted mercantile firms to cut down the salary of a commencing clerk to the barest bone. The Government Clerk, if he is efficient, obtains regular increases of salary, a loan for building a house for himself, a large sum as a commuted pension and a pension to the end of his life. No one grudges him the housing provided for which he pays according to a scale which is not exorbitant. These two classes of highly paid or better paid servants of Government have been cared for admirably.

Why does not Government recognise the necessity of providing housing for its large army of peons, messengers, care-takers, sweepers, etc., who are working on starveling salaries year in and year out? Why do the topdogs get all the fat things and the underdogs have hardly a bone to gnaw at? The fact is that the former are vociferous while the latter are voiceless. Civil Servants complained very justly that they could not obtain housing at reasonable rates. Clerks made themselves heard in high places. Their cries did not go unheeded. But as we come down the scale there was no cry and Government is

living in a fool's paradise, imagining that its poorly paid servants have no grievance. Silence does often mean despair. This country has been run too long for the benefit of the upper classes who can make themselves heard. That is why the well-paid body of Government Servants have been provided for, and its humbler servants are neglected.

The morale of the army of workers who are doing humble and lowly service in Government Departments will improve if they are properly housed. This is proved by the fact that since housing was provided for the Police, they have become a reliable and self-respecting body of men. Mr. Dowbiggin saw that, if policemen were allowed to find housing in the slums, they became companions of criminals of every class. They consorted with thieves, burglars, ganja sellers, etc., and they failed to render any assistance in the detection of law-breakers. Though some foolish men thought that when barracks were provided for policemen, Government was intending to militarize the Police Force to cow the civil population, it is proper housing which has raised the Force to its present status. House your employees and you get better service and better value for your money.

The City Corporation has in this done better than Government. It has built houses for some of its poorest workers and scantily-paid employees. It has thus wisely guarded the health of the City, for it is from that class of employees epidemic diseases begin to attack the City population. However clean and sanitary your premises are, if your neighbour lives in filth and squalor your cleanliness will not save you.

If Government will take its cue from the City Corporation it can bring legislation to compel employers of labour to house their servants. It is a fact that every merchant who practises thrift retires with a good private income earned in this country. The majority of them are really generous to their poor clerks and accountants. But for other employees in lower grades, they have no thought that these men should not be left to the tender mercies of rack-renters.

If employers of large labour forces are persuaded or compelled to house them, most of the slum dwellings could be pulled down without leading to more congestion of the population. Greedy landlords will be compelled to put their property in order and be satisfied with reasonable rates of rent. Every one knows that land in the slums is now sold at higher rates perch for perch than land in the better parts of the City. This is clearly an indication of the way in which slum landlords grind the faces of the poor. The picture Colombo presents is that of rich men leading lives of luxury in their mansions. Government Servants are housed decently, but thousands of the humble class of workers are ill-housed, ill-fed and ill-clothed, condemned to life-long penury. I have shown that the root of the evil is bad housing. Government should take the lead in attacking it and Colombo might some day become the most beautiful city in the East.

The cost of Government Establishments and of recurring expenditure is constantly soaring. To those who have to deal with Public Finances, this has probably begun to be a nightmare, they do not know how to escape from commitments entered into. The public stand amazed and wonder whether there will be any money in the Government till to undertake necessary public works.

There is really no money now to spend on these and they are therefore constructed out of loan funds. There was a time when it was recognised as an axiom that no public works except those which would be remunerative should be spent for out of loan funds, for interest has to be paid on loans. This axiom of safety is now thrust aside, not because it is unwise to observe it, but through sheer necessity. Public works must be constructed, but the Treasury has its bottom fallen out. What else could be done except to spend out of loans? But when interest has to be paid, a day of reckoning will come and it will be a day of consternation.

Where does the underdog come into this picture of apparent prosperity but of real public bankruptcy? This public revenue is raised mainly through indirect taxes. Direct taxes are few. Only a negligible number of persons is liable to pay income tax. What is collected under that head is paid out, not all of it but a substantial part of it, for carrying on the Income Tax Department. No one really grumbles at this, because the Department gives work and an income to many intelligent and deserving young men and that is really admirable in these days when it is so difficult to obtain any kind of work. It is futile to appeal to young people to go back to the land. In healthy districts, the land cannot maintain more than the present population. To open up new land, capital is required and that capital is not available, and in most places there has to be a mortal fight with the anopheles and the latter is generally left in possession of the field. The Income Tax Department is not an enemy but a public benefactor. But we are digressing.

The greater part of the revenue is raised from indirect taxes on rice, currystuffs, oil, dryfish, salt, cotton cloth—which are used by ninety-nine per cent. of the population. The revenue derived from taxes on luxuries is small. Indirect taxation is a way of bleeding the tax-payer without his being aware of it. Who ever inquires what is the price of any commodity apart from the tax on it? The commodity is necessary and it is paid for without a protest. The poorer part of the population is 99 per cent. of the whole population and it is on this 99 per cent. that the burden of indirect taxation falls mainly.

When the revenue is collected how is the money divided? What has been paid out for imaginary loss of career? Thousands of rupees. What does a Civil Servant draw in the way of salary, allowances, holiday grants for jaunts in Europe and what does the clerk or typist in the lowest rung of the Clerical Service draw? What is the ratio between the salaries of Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents

in the Police Department and of Policemen? What will be revealed if the emoluments of Judges or Magistrates are compared with what is paid to peons under them. This list can be prolonged. It is not necessary, for the question is whether there is not a terrible disproportion between the salaries of men at the top and the underdogs? The one live in luxury, comfort and affluence, the other make a brave show with the aid of the money-lender who bleeds them. And the benevolent Government also bleeds them to pay princely salaries to those for whom they slave. Dives still fares sumptuously, is clothed in linen and tweeds, while the Lazarus who works for him does not fare so well as the dogs his master imports to make a splash at the Kennel Club Show. This miserable underdog with his poor pittance pays to maintain the grandeur of the few at the top. Unhappy is the country in which there is a great gulf fixed between rich and poor. In this country the gulf is created by Government which pampers the high and mighty and starves the underling. Private employers take their cue from Government. When the gulf cannot be bridged, then revolution raises its head, because breaking-point has been reached.

What do we suggest as a remedy? Do we want the man at the bottom to be paid more? We do. What then is the remedy? A wise, drastic and fearless reduction of the magnificent salaries of grandees, when posts fall vacant, and the increase of the underdog's present pittance. This underdog is now bled white. Is that mere rhetoric and invective? Walk in the poorer parts of Colombo, in the main streets of our provincial towns, and you will see swarms of under-sized, underfed and sad-eyed men, women, and children, underdogs who give their blood to maintain a few favoured individuals.

SLUMS, AND SLUMS AGAIN*

I.

BOTH SLUM landlords, who squeeze out every possible cent, through their agents, from miserable men and women as payment for the honour and the joy of occupying hovels not fit to be used as dog kennels, and slum dwellers are on the tip-toe of expectation. For they have heard that the Municipal Corporation of Colombo is going to clear the slums. While then the former are calculating how much they can squeeze out of municipal funds for parting with their precious property through which they have sucked for many years the life-blood of their victims, the latter are hoping that at last, they will be delivered from the rapacity of landlords and their agents or that they will now find beautiful homes surrounded by gardens into which it will be a joy to enter when the day's toils and disasters are brought to a close.

But at the rate at which the slum clearing projects seem to progress, it would appear that the work will hardly have a chance of benefiting the present generation of slum landlords and the unfortunates who find themselves in their grip. But hope springs eternal in the human breast, and landlords, slum dwellers, and those who deplore the apathy of public bodies, hope against hope that the foulness of the older parts of Colombo will at last be blotted out.

It is not only the dilatoriness of the Corporation which will act as a brake on the enthusiasm of those members of the City Council who are really eager to abolish the slums. For the Kochchikade slum clearance has turned out to be a blunder which makes people hesitate about the wisdom of other slum clearance schemes. To begin with, high prices were paid for acquisition of the rookeries and their sites, we will not say exorbitant prices, for the sites were really valuable being situated in one of the populous quarters of the city. It was, however, a mistake to acquire expensive sites, instead of going in search of sites on which there were few or no buildings. Then the second error was the building of houses which would last for a century or more. Then it was well known, except to those who sponsored the Kochchikade Scheme, that the poor in this land do not care to live in houses, except those which have only a ground floor. It was thought that as the sites acquired were expensive as many tenements as possible should be erected on them. The total result of the scheme was that the very men who should have lived in the new buildings, workers in the harbour, were driven out of the locality as they were unable to pay the rent demanded and even if they could pay it they did not fancy living caged up in an upper storey. The City Council has suffered loss through its magnani-

* *Social Justice*, March, 1940.

mous and magnificent scheme. The poor have fled before the Municipal rent collector. Where they now lodge is not known, because they have scattered to places where the rent is not ruinously heavy.

The present writer is only an amateur in the formulation of slum clearing schemes, but it is possible even for an amateur, who has no grandiose and Utopian schemes, to venture on making suggestions based on commonsense. There is vacant land on the western end of Skinner's Road not far from the harbour area. There is vacant land extending on Korteboam Street. These sites being vacant can be acquired for sums less than those required for income-producing sites. It is absolutely unnecessary to use first class material for buildings. These new buildings need not be built to last a century for they will be considered obsolete long before the end of that period. Inexpensive buildings which last for thirty or forty years should be erected. They can then be rented out for sums which the unskilled labourers can pay.

When this has been accomplished slum landlords will find that they must keep their houses in order and make them habitable for human beings. They will be ground down between two millstones; on the one side, Municipal Officers will condemn ramshackle and rat-infested hovels as unfit to be occupied; and on the other, the poor themselves will prefer to go into buildings erected by the City Corporation and bow out the slum landlord who has tyrannised over them generation after generation. And who will be sorry to see his extinction, a person who has made Colombo the foulest city in this fair land of ours?

II.

Time and time again the present writer has tried to focus public attention on the filthy slums in Colombo and the woes of those who are compelled through poverty to live in them. For four walls and a roof over their heads they have to part with more than one fourth of their monthly incomes and battle with diseases whose origin can be traced to the filth in which they are compelled to live.

But there is filth and there is dirt also in dwellings which need not be classed as slum dwellings. They are situated in rural surroundings in the middle of garden plots, in which flowers will bloom if the tenants would only take a very little trouble.

I have on many occasions visited some of these rural dwellings, expecting to find light, air and sweetness in these cottages situated as they were in gardens. But the disappointment was in proportion to the expectation. It is true that the compound in front of the cottage is usually kept swept and free from weeds. That is all one can praise. The land round the cottage is covered with weeds, which could be cleared by a half-hour's work. The leaves fallen from jak and bread-fruit trees are not swept up and burned. The back premises are in an alarmingly insanitary condition. Even if a latrine is built on the orders of Sanitary Inspectors it is not used and it is the cleanest place in the whole establishment.

We enter the house. In the front verandah there are one or two beds, strung with coconut fibre. There might be also a chair or two. The mats on the beds are black with dirt, and as for the pillows they are so caked with dirt, that it would be difficult to burn them. We next enter the common living room. There is a bare table from which the dirt can be scraped. Plates, cups and tumblers have not evidently suffered from over-washing and there is in them a kind of misty appearance. There will be two or three mats on the floor, and woe be to the visitor who dares to sit on them or any of the chairs. If he does he will find before long that his person has become a breeding-place for insects born and bred in dirt.

Let us enter a bedroom. A new horror presents itself. The bed has a mattress which has not been turned for weeks nor aired. The coverlets are heavy with dust and dirt. The pillows have no pillow-cases and their surfaces are hard and black with dirt. Now let us look at the inmates. It must be said to their credit that they do not neglect bathing. The men look clean and their single garment worn round their waist will not be condemned by any sanitary authority. The women's clothes are not so clean. But it is the poor children who are lousy, unkempt, unwashed and uncombed. They seem to suffer from colds all the year round. They are therefore not bathed. These children might be bright-looking if they could be made acquainted with soap and water daily.

We see these men, women, and children on gala days : a transformation has taken place. How radiant they look in their white or coloured garments! Their faces shine, with cleanliness. But every day is not a gala day and the usual picture is such as I have described above. It is no wonder that these people suffer from skin diseases and sores, that their bodies are undermined by hook-worm, their homes devastated by malaria and following that by the tubercle bacillus. Dysentery and parangi are not infrequent. Enteric fever stalks them. Measles, mumps and chicken-pox claim their annual victims. To treat these people medically is an unending business—for it is a case of one devil being cast out and half a dozen others entering in and finding lodgment.

What is at the root of this trouble? Is it that they are idle? That they are unaware of sanitary laws? Is it that weakened by disease they have not energy when they are free from work, except to fill spittoons with saliva red with chewed betel? These do not go to the root of the evil. Strange and passing strange is the reason—it is nothing but pride. They will not stoop to what they call menial work which is relegated to certain castes. Gardens are used as lavatories because such conveniences should be attended to by a special community. The minimum of sweeping is done and the rest left undone because it is supposed to be the work of sweepers and it is difficult to find them in villages. Better be attacked by insects than do sweepers' work. And as for clothes, washing clothes belongs to a particular

caste. Why soil their genteel hands by touching soiled garments ? Besides, they are not trained to do laundry work. Thus it happens that their superior bodies are covered with filthy garments, till it pleases the dhoby to arrive on the scene. A few men and women defy custom by washing their clothes when they bathe. But it is a crude laundering and never cleans the soiled garments thoroughly. So it comes about that they would rather stew in filth than soil their hands with menial work. Dirt and Pride go hand in hand.

What is the remedy ? Government interference ? Sanitary Department activities ? Fines to compel cleanliness ? All these have been tried but the dirt remains. But there is a remedy, for are there not in almost every village educated women and girls, who will have pity on these dirty aristocrats, make friends with them, and teach them the mysteries of soap and water and sunlight ? Here is an extensive field for true social service.

DISTRIBUTIVISM IN ANCIENT CEYLON*

“Distributism believes in treating each man as a unit, making sure that he has within his own control the means of his livelihood and that of his dependents and that he has the fullest possible liberty consonant with public order.” Fergus MacRanall.

SUCH WAS the ideal in Ancient Ceylon; and it was also the real i reference to workers who are now called “hands,” as if they have neither reason, nor affection nor will, or are called “coolies,” hirelings, the assumption being that they do not work because they love it, but are compelled to work for a hire to prevent body and soul parting asunder through starvation.

Distributism was the system on which rural life was built in days of old in Ceylon, before capitalists, large landowners, dividend-paying companies, mass production, etc. stepped in. The agricultural labourer had his paddy field and a few acres of high land and he was also allowed to gather forest produce in what is now called “Crown Land.” He and his family had a roof over their heads and enough to eat and to give to the poor whose harvests might have been destroyed by drought or flood. To quote a Biblical phrase with a variation proper to this country, every man sat under his coconut or breadfruit tree while his fields were whitening unto harvest. That was the picture of old rural life, remnants of which exist to this day.

Then came another picture,—families grew and increased. The abominations of birth control were unknown and large families were considered an honour to a household. When families increased, if rural life was to be maintained, new land was necessary for new families. But it had been alienated to foreign capitalist companies and local capitalists. Back to the land became a futile cry. Capitalist companies bought thousands of acres. The local capitalist bought his hundreds. The growth of the local capitalist is an interesting story. Money was scarce. The only persons who received it regularly were persons employed by Government. This can be verified from the Report of the First Census taken in Ceylon. Living was cheap and the Government official saved some money every month and lent it on interest to the peasant proprietor, who wanted money for lavish expenditure on weddings and funerals. A man whose homestead came under the Fiscal’s hammer said to the present writer: “Our parents feasted and we are starved out of house and home.” This is a local version of the saying that the fathers ate sour grapes and the children’s teeth are set on edge.

* *Social Justice*, July, 1938.

Wealth begets wealth. The lender of money annexed lands and houses mortgaged to him or he bought land from Government which was a drug in the market. There are records that land in the Cinnamon Gardens was sold at Rs. 2-50 per acre with a surveyor's fee of Rs. 10 per acre. Land in the country districts was cheaper. The peasant proprietor could not buy as he had no money or would not buy because he had no forethought. Arrack renters then joined in the game and they bought large tracts. Increasing families of the peasantry had to be provided for. This was done in two ways. The intelligent lads learnt English and migrated into towns, as Government or mercantile clerks. Their sisters married such persons in due course. The illiterate members of a family drifted into towns and found work as they do now, as domestic servants or factory workers.

Factory workers live in slums. They are not long-lived as they are physically unfit to fight dirt, squalor, semi-starvation, and diseases arising therefrom. The coated and trousered gentry—their condition is pitiful. Scores of them are well-educated—hundreds of them are persons who have failed in the public examinations. Whether they obtain any kind of work is a gamble—a gamble because money in the form of bribes has often to be staked. In many offices there is the undisputed legend, "All hope abandon ye that would enter here unless ye are willing to pay the entrance fee."

I have traced the career of the rural family, which once supported itself by agriculture. We will now turn to the story of the skilled worker, carpenter, smith, potter, brass-worker, gold-or silver-smith, weaver, etc. In past centuries such workers had the joy of seeing a work of art grow under their eyes as a result of their skill. The soul-killing process of a worker attending to the manufacture of only some part of an article was unknown. Each article was a work of art of which the artist was proud. He loved his work. How is it that this class of worker is diminishing? The carpenter is crushed by the middleman who comes between him and the furniture dealing firms. The firms flourish, the middleman grows opulent, the carpenter on whom their prosperity depends decays.

There is another way in which the skilled-workman is crushed. Except carpenters, all other skilled-workers mentioned above are relegated by a monstrous, senseless and idiotic social custom to what are called the inferior castes. It is then no wonder that when a man can support himself in some other way than by the work which belongs to his caste he abandons it. The artist is killed by caste prejudice and the insolence of his so-called superiors. His art does not improve from decade to decade because the wealthier and more intelligent workers renounce it. The articles produced are clumsy, unfinished and unattractive. Only Kandyan art workers have survived. All other art workers have been driven out of the field by those who can produce more attractive goods, and these come from the West and the Oriental

buyer prefers them, though he might call himself a nationalist and is garbed accordingly.

What then is the remedy? Land should be available for peasant proprietors and their growing families. Capitalist companies should be given no land. The art workers in town and country should be cared for, and improved methods should be taught them. Communism, Capitalism, Fascism will never do this. They are based on the doctrine that the many live for the sake of the few. The remedy lies in Distributism—the ancient system under which the Sinhalese and the Tamils flourished in days of old.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN THE LOW COUNTRY*

I WELCOME this opportunity of bringing to your consideration a subject very dear to my heart—the unsatisfactory social condition of the majority of persons living in the Sinhalese Low-country districts. I refer to these districts because I know them better than any other part of Ceylon.

What is the condition of the people in these districts? Though I do not speak as an authority on statistics, I will say that roughly speaking 10 per cent. of the people could be called wealthy: of the remaining 90 per cent. about 50 per cent. are poor but not indigent. As for the remaining 40 per cent. they are a C 3 population and live below the poverty line, especially in the towns.

Our Crime Record. The real strength of the people of any country lies not in urban but in rural populations, living under conditions of independence, healthy surroundings and leisure, which create a population with the stamina to stand hard work. A writer whom I read with no little pleasure states that if in any country the lawyer and the doctor thrive, then all is not well with that country. As for lawyers—they work hard, they are honourable and reliable. They work to promote justice in the land. But what is their largest field of work? Is it not among the criminal population of the country? I read somewhere that this country stands third in the list of countries as regards serious crime against persons. Another statement I have read is that every day in the year there is murder in some part or other of this country. Government has tried various methods of checking this criminality. Villagers were forbidden to carry knives, but they continued to carry knives and when roused used them against their fellows. Then it was enacted that in every case a man convicted of using a knife in an assault should receive lashes as part of the punishment. It was found that the complainant often inflicted knife wounds on himself. Preventive police were quartered in every village where serious crime was prevalent. It was not effective. Then a cry was raised that land disputes led to serious crime, and a Commissioner was appointed to go into every case, before the dispute took a serious turn. That also failed. Education it was thought would reduce criminality. Our educational system has advanced but crime also has increased. Some wise person said that villagers should be taught boxing. But they did not take to it. So far as I know everything has been tried, but our crime record continues to rise. I spent some years in an English village of 3,000 inhabitants. The only guardian was one policeman. During seven years there was no murder at all committed in that village. Our towns

* *Social Justice*, September, 1940.

with less than 3,000 inhabitants have many guardians of the peace, and as for murders, open your newspapers and you will find the daily tale of blood. We must face these facts. It is not unpatriotic to do so. We should not create a fool's paradise for ourselves. We shall do what we can to stem this tide of bloodshed. Of course, lawyers are wanted for civil work and it is their work which prevents injustice. I live right in the midst of our Courts of Law. Surely the hundreds who throng Hulftsdorp do not come there only on civil work.

Boys' Clubs. My house is next door to the Colombo Police Court. Twice a day I hear yells and screams of juvenile offenders who receive corporal punishment. On an average about six are caned daily, *i.e.* about 180 a month. They are lads who have no proper homes. They live in the streets. They are many of them ganja sellers. I had a Club for them in Price Park from 6 p.m. to 8 p.m. daily. But it had to be given up as the Government building we were using was taken by Government and we could find no club room. The club activities were boxing and indoor games. These lads who are caned are not reformed. They fall very soon into the ranks of habitual criminals. They have most of them a good physique and intelligent minds. Under training they will become useful men. The Borstal Institution will take charge of some of them for training.

Boys' Clubs carried on by Public School boys might accomplish what the Police and Magistrates cannot do—the redemption of the street boy. Some good has been done by the Playground Movement in Colombo. But what we really want is Boys' Camps held from time to time in some pleasant spots—like the Camps on which our King, when he was Duke of York, was a worker. Get the lads even for a time from their drab surroundings and turn their minds away from crime and many a boy will take the right road and keep to it.

Health Problem. Now I pass on to the doctors—they are the guardians of our health and I am greatly indebted to them personally. But what is wanted in this country is not only curative but even more preventive work. All our hospitals are over-crowded and the expenditure is colossal. The reason is that our town and rural populations are victims of several scourges and our underfed population have not the strength to resist disease. A disease prevalent on a large scale in every part of the country is Malaria, which, in spite of Malariologists and Malaria preventive work, is raging now in almost every part of the country, new districts which had no Malaria being now affected. Malaria drains the vitality of the people and they become too feeble for any continuous effort. Next to Malaria there is the enfeeblement caused by hookworm disease. In one of the thickly-populated seaside towns it was reported sometime back that 98 per cent. of the people were infected. When I was in charge of a parochial district in the North of Colombo, I had to obtain hookworm treatment for every child in the school. Hookworm is entirely due to the insanitary habits of the people. Then in the wake of these debilitated persons comes

tuberculosis claiming victims. Last year 3,500 persons died of tuberculosis in the whole Island. Of them about 650 were from the municipality of Colombo. And each of these patients must have infected at least five persons. Leprosy is endemic in some districts. Venereal disease in virulent form is spreading in some villages.

A Remedy. Now after this ghastly description of the condition of the people, I would suggest a remedy. One of the most observant judges in Colombo asked me recently whether I could explain why he and others like him who received a Public School education and graduated at an English University seem to be as it were of a different nationality from the Sinhalese-villagers who appear before him, himself a Sinhalese. Their outlook on life is quite different from his outlook. There seems to be nothing in common between him and them. The only answer I can give is that though Public School Education is excellent, brings us into touch with what is best in Western Culture, opens to us the wonderful literature, both ancient and modern, of the West, we live apart, aloof, and separated from persons who have not had the same education as ourselves. A visitor to Russia said forty years ago that Russian royalty and nobility were like a steam engine which had forged ahead, leaving a trainful of peasants, who had not emerged from savagery. Now the Russian nobles have disappeared, and the hammer and the sickle have taken charge of the country. This aloofness of ours will some day have its nemesis. What remedy would I suggest? Let there be settlements for Public School boys in villages, to which they can go during holidays, play with village lads, teach them what to do with their leisure—for it is not work only which helps to create personality, but the way in which we use our leisure. Some years ago it was found that in the East End of London there were populations in a degraded state, and Public School and University Settlements were planted in those districts. They have done good work. A worker in such districts once told me that she tried to make the lads under her care truthful and unselfish. But she failed till she made them play football. Fair play became a guiding principle in their drab lives. Go into village settlements and try the experiment of making village lads get the best value out of life.

Rural Poverty. Then there is the question of the poverty of the villager. Why is the villager poor? He has land on which food crops can be raised. He has unlimited leisure. His wants are few. But go to any village and speak to the villagers. About 80 or 90 per cent. of them will tell you how poor they are. Not long ago I went with a friend to inquire into this poverty. He told the people that they were poor because they steal from each other. No stealing can be done in paddy fields. But if a man has a few coconut trees, a patch of vegetables or some poultry it is the village idler and thief who will reap the benefit of his neighbour's toil. For this there is no remedy, except hounding the idler and the thief out of a village as a vagabond. The law is there to deal with such persons, but it is not in force. Bribe-

giving and bribe-taking enable the worthless fellow to escape the clutches of the law.

I have drawn a sombre picture of life in Ceylon. There are enough persons who will tell you of the glorious history of this country, its charming scenery and the easy life of the people. All that is true. But let us look at the other side of the picture. If once we face the facts, we are on the right road to reform. Socialism, Communism, Trade Unionism, strikes, agitations are intended to rouse us. What is needed is to rouse the intelligence of the country.





