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it except in fragments. Yet the confidence that it is there affords me motive and guidance in all my work on the New Testament.'

One of the chief impressions left on one's mind is that there is more to be said for the American Fundamentalist than one had supposed. Some of the theologians are conscious of owing something to their parents; at least one confesses he owes much to his wife; sometimes an unusual experience such as a serious illness is recognized as having played a part. Professor Douglas Clyde MACINTOSH finds the most fundamentally determinative event in his Christian life in what he is not afraid to describe as a conversion experience in his fourteenth year. But, speaking generally, the formative factors to which most weight is given are books and teachers. The fact that their influence is sometimes repellent rather than attractive reminds us that the mind is not a rudderless ship at the mercy of every wind that blows.

On the whole subject of the making of a theologian the wisest word has been spoken by Dr. E. F. SCOTT. He cannot tell how he himself has developed; still less can he tell how any one else has developed. Whatever may be the truth about the theologian, Dr. SCOTT suspects that, so far as scholarship is concerned, much of the sorting out of 'influences' is delusion. One does not require to be a Barthian to believe that the Bible and the Divine Spirit have something to say to a theologian. Possibly most of the writers felt themselves precluded by the terms of their reference from discussing this aspect of their subject.

Fortunately Professor Rufus M. JONES felt no such constraint, and the result is a paper of very great interest on 'Why I enroll with the Mystics.' Rejecting the historical emphasis on mysticism as negation, mental blank, the dark night, he is a mystic of an affirmative type that claims positive fellowship with God. He cares nothing about arguments to prove the reality of God; for he has passed through an experience like that of the lame man in the third chapter of Acts, and is as certain that his new freedom from anxiety and fear, his new vitality, came from God as that the visible comforts and care that surrounded him were the work of human love.

Leaders of the Ancient Church.

IV.

The Third Century and its Greatest Christian: Origen.

BY PROFESSOR W. EMERY BARNES, D.D., CAMBRIDGE.

THE end of the second and the first years of the third century of our era saw a remarkable expansion of Christianity. Two writers who wrote in the first quarter of the third dwell with special emphasis on this expansion. In the East, Clement of Alexandria writes: 'The word of our teacher did not remain in Judæa only, as philosophy remained in Greece (ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι), but was poured out over the whole world (ἐχύθη δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην), persuading whole households both of Greeks and of barbarians and converting not a few even of the philosophers' (*Strom.* VI. xviii. 167). In the West, the eager Tertullian of Carthage writes: 'We are of yesterday, and now we have filled both the world and all your haunts' (*vestra omnia: Apol.* cap. 37). Later, in the middle of the century, the African Cyprian declares: 'The devil sees the idols abandoned and his shrines and temples deserted because there are too many believers' (*De Unit.* 3).

If these statements are rhetorically exaggerated, yet there is much fact behind them. Harnack does indeed call attention to the importance of a passage of Origen (*c. Celsum*, viii. 69), in which the Christians are contrasted ὡς νῦν πάνυ ὀλίγοι ('as at present

quite a few') with the population of the whole Empire. But other passages attest the fact that Origen is fully aware of the great progress made by Christianity; in particular he speaks of the spread of the religion among people of good position and matrons (Harnack, *Die Mission*, ii. 549). Christ was gaining learned men like Clement and Origen to be His 'ambassadors.'

The political history of the Empire in the third century suggests that the Christians had grown greatly in numbers and influence. Christianity could not now be ignored; Christians were either persecuted or favoured by the attentions of the Imperial House.

The period was marked by instability in the government. After the vigorous reign of Septimius Severus (died Feb. 211) rival emperors succeeded one another in rapid succession, and the attitude of the central government to the Christians underwent rapid changes. Septimius forbade conversion to Christianity (A.D. 202), and Maximin (235–238) gave orders that the 'rulers' (τοὺς ἄρχοντας) of the churches should be slain (ἀναιρεῖσθαι; Eusebius, *H.E.* vi. 28). On the other hand, Severus Alexander (A.D. 222–235) was respectful to the new faith, and had statues of Christ and of Abraham in his private chapel. Philip the Arabian (A.D. 244–249) was friendly, while his successor Decius (249–251) was responsible for a general and vigorous persecution.

It was an age of interest in religion, an interest which manifested itself in strange forms. There was actually a Syrian Emperor, El Gabal (Heliogabalus), who is described as a monster of vice and luxurious living, yet he carried out a definite religious policy. His syncretic religion combined the worship of the Syrian Baal and the Carthaginian Ashtoreth with the old Roman worship. The world was looking for new gods and for a religion which had more life in it than the old Roman ceremonies. At Alexandria the Catechetical School was founded and manned by Christian scholars for the purpose of answering the questions of heathen inquirers.

During this period Christian thought was actively engaged on the subject of the Trinity and the Person of Christ. The challenge was given, 'If you confess Jesus as Divine, do you not acknowledge two gods?' Beryllus, Bishop of Bostra in Arabia, being determined at all costs to maintain Monotheism, taught a form of the doctrine of *monarchia*, *i.e.* that Christ had no personal existence before the Incarnation, and that the person incarnate was really the Father. So Beryllus claimed that he and those who agreed with him alone could hold that there was one ἀρχή only, one 'beginning' or 'source' of all things. The doctrine of three Persons and one God was not yet formulated, but Origen succeeded in persuading Beryllus to give up the views which had caused much dissension in the Church.

The middle of the third century was marked by two calamities, a great pestilence, and the defeat and death of a Roman Emperor. Decius (251) fell in battle with the Goths, and the persecution which he started was stayed even before his death. But the plague at Rome and Alexandria was a more terrible infliction, redeemed, however, by the courageous behaviour of the Christians in the latter city. They visited and nursed the sick, and buried the dead. One of the noblest pages of Christian history is found in the letter of Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, describing the ministrations of his people to the plague-stricken in his city (Eusebius, *H.E.* vii. 22). Christian charity, as manifested in care for the sick and poor and in love of the brotherhood (in spite of some sharp controversies), was well maintained in the third century.

On the subject of Christian stedfastness under persecution, Harnack calls attention to a remark of Origen (*c. Celsum*, III. viii.) to the effect that there were only a few martyrs: 'Few and very easy to count are the men who in the course of time have died for the Christian religion, since God would not have the whole nation of them slain' (ὀλίγοι κατὰ καιροὺς καὶ σφοδρὰ εὐαρίθμητοι . . . τεθνήκασι . . .). But stedfastness was shown in bearing other sufferings, sufferings which were comparable with death itself. Christians were tortured, were maimed, were banished, were 'sent to the mines,' but they did not 'accept deliverance' by denial of Christ. A multitude of such 'confessors' living on with broken health or broken bodies must be added to Origen's comparatively 'few' who laid down their lives as 'martyrs.'

In two points Christian morality stood in sharp contrast with the morality of the heathen, namely, in the attitude towards women and towards slaves. Women became saints and heroes under the gospel: slaves knelt with their masters at one Table before the Heavenly Master of both. Christian life as a whole kept on a noble level of moderation, without yielding to the attraction of a self-centred asceticism. 'It leaned,' writes Professor Gwatkin, 'more to Puritan fear of sin, refusing rather certain pleasures as dangerous than pleasure generally as mere temptation. Indeed, the picture drawn in Clement's

Pædagogus is in this respect very like the best English life among serious men of all parties in the seventeenth century. And this is a much truer view of Christ's teaching than the gloomy pietism of Tertullian, which counts it almost discreditable for a Christian to die otherwise than as a martyr' (*Early Church History*, i. 241).

Perhaps the noblest Christian of the third century was another Alexandrian, Origen, who became confessor, doctor, and ascetic, and was worthy to be called saint.

In his eighteenth year Origen (Origenes), the son of Leonides, was already a Christian philosopher and a teacher of Gentile inquirers. He had also shown his Christian mettle. When his father was arrested during the persecution of A.D. 202–203, Origen was eager to stand by him and to make the same confession. But his mother, Eusebius tells us, compelled him to remain at home by hiding 'all his clothes' (*τὴν πᾶσαν ἐσθῆτα*, *H.E.* VI. ii. 5). Leonides was martyred, the fear of persecution remained, and no qualified Christian ventured to take the vacant headship of the Catechetical School of Alexandria. The head had recently been no less a man than Clement of Alexandria. And now, writes Eusebius (*H.E.* VI. iii. 1), certain Gentiles approached Origen with the request that he would fill the gap (*προῆσαν αὐτῷ τινες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀκουσόμενοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ*). He accepted the post of danger and of usefulness, and was soon after confirmed in it by Demetrius, the Bishop of Alexandria. It was indeed the post of danger, for though Origen himself was mercifully protected, some of his pupils were martyred. Among these was a woman named Heraïs, who 'while still under instruction received the baptism which is by fire' (*ἔτι κατηχουμένη τὸ βάπτισμα τὸ διὰ πυρὸς λαβοῦσα τὸν βίον ἐξελήλυθεν*, *H.E.* VI. iv. 3).

Origen's activity was not confined to Alexandria; his merits became widely known, and calls for help came from cities round the Eastern Mediterranean. Unfortunately this fame abroad led to trouble for him at home. While staying at Cæsarea in Palestine he was officially requested to speak (*διαλέγεσθαι*) and to interpret the Divine Scriptures in the public services of the Church (*ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας*). But his action, which was approved at Cæsarea, was condemned at Alexandria, and Demetrius recalled Origen to his own city. The Bishop's objection was apparently that a layman preaching when bishops were present (*παρόντων ἐπισκόπων λαϊκοὺς ὁμιλεῖν*) was an unheard-of thing (*H.E.* VI. xix. 17). A second visit to Cæsarea became the cause of Origen's final separation from his work at Alexandria. The Palestinian Bishops ordained Origen a presbyter (without first obtaining the sanction of the Bishop of Alexandria, it is said). This act made a final breach between the scholar and the Bishop, and Origen abandoned Alexandria to settle in Cæsarea of Palestine.

Here, apparently, he executed his great Biblical work, the *Hexapla*. It was a gigantic task, for it contained all the canonical books of the Old Testament. In six columns he exhibited side by side in succession (1) the Hebrew text, (2) the same repeated in Greek letters, (3) the literal rendering into Greek of Aquila, (4) the elegant rendering of Symmachus, (5) the LXX with supplements from the later translators, where it was defective, and with the obelos against words not found in the Hebrew, and last of all (6) the edition of Theodotion. So the Christian scholar with the *Hexapla*, or even the fifth column of the *Hexapla*, before him could continue the discussion with his Jewish opponent, who was accustomed to appeal from the LXX to the 'Hebrew Verity.' Origen had himself learnt Hebrew.

Perhaps it was the presence of a large community of Jews in Alexandria that gave Origen his deep interest in the Old Testament. For its literal meaning he cared little, but he accepted heartily the maxim, *In veteri testamento Nova latet*. In Gn $26^{18ff.}$ it is recorded that Isaac reopened the wells which Abraham's servants had dug and the Philistines had stopped with earth, and, further, that when Isaac dug fresh wells the Philistines contended with him over them. Origen gives a spiritual interpretation to this narrative. 'Our Isaac' who re-opened the old wells and dug new ones is our Lord Jesus Christ. The servants of His Father, who dug the old wells, are Moses, David, and the Prophets, who wrote the books of the Old Testament. But the Philistines who fill these wells with earth are those men who put an earthly and carnal meaning upon the Law and the Prophets, and shut up the spiritual and mystical meaning, in order that neither they themselves nor others may drink of the living water. The servants of 'our Isaac' are Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John . . . Peter . . . and the Apostle Paul, who all dig the wells of the New Testament. . . . 'Let us become like that scribe of the gospel of whom our Lord said that he brings forth out of his treasury things new and old.' Thus does Origen exhort us (*Hom. in Gen.* xiii. 2).

This great textual critic accepted his own counsel, and became one of the greatest interpreters among the Fathers of both Testaments. His exegetical

work is now known to us mainly through fragments, considerable indeed, but still only fragments. Fortunately important passages on St. Matthew and on St. John are still preserved in the original Greek. But it is, perhaps, chiefly as a Christian philosopher that Origen is remembered. He shows himself as such, not only in his formal work, the *de Principiis*, περὶ ἀρχῶν, 'On first principles,' but also in his commentaries on Scripture.

The *de Principiis* was written when Origen was in the full course of his work at Alexandria. He was probably 'not much more than thirty years old and still a layman' at the time, but a comparison with his other works shows that he did not at a later time materially alter the views of the *de Principiis*. In judging the work we must remember that Origen was 'the theologian of an age of transition' (Westcott). His language has not the theological precision of later times, and so it came to pass later that theologians in controversy claimed the authority of Origen for opposing views. Thus, while some described Origen as the fountain-head of Arianism, his orthodoxy was defended by no less a champion than Athanasius.

Controversy has raged specially over the teachings contained in the *de Principiis*. It is unfortunate that we do not possess this work as Origen wrote it. But of the original Greek only fragments remain. We have mainly to depend on the translation executed by Rufinus, who makes no claim to accuracy in the modern sense. Rufinus 'mended' passages in the *de Principiis*, which seemed to be heretical, with the help of parallel passages in other writings of Origen. He makes, however, a claim to 'faithfulness': *Nihil tamen nostrum diximus, sed licet in aliis locis dicta, sua tamen sibi reddidimus.*

With caution, therefore, we proceed to use the *de Principiis*, ed. Rufinus. There Origen starts with the authority of the utterances of our Lord, not only those spoken when He was in the flesh, but also those spoken long before in the Old Testament: *prius namque Christus dei verbum in Moyse atque in prophetis erat.* He proceeds to give an outline of Christian doctrine on the usual lines of a *regula fidei*, but when he begins to speak of the Holy Spirit, we see that the clearness of definition of the later creeds was not for him. 'Next,' so he says, 'it has been delivered to us that the Holy Spirit is joined to the Father and the Son, in glory and worship. It is not now clearly seen whether He is born or unborn, or whether He also is to be held to be Son of God, but of these things inquiry is to be made of Holy Scripture, according to our powers, and diligent search is to be made.' Earlier in the same confession Origen's doctrine of the Godhead bears the marks of conflict with Gnosticism: 'One God who created and ordered all things . . . the God of all just men . . . of Moses and the prophets . . . a God just and good . . . the God of the Apostles and of the Old and New Testaments.' Here lies a rejection of Marcion's division of Deity into the 'just' God of the Old Testament and the 'good' God of the New.

As to Creation, Origen held views of his own. The word used for the foundation of the world (καταβολή)[1] suggests that this world was 'cast down' from some loftier state. It points to a fall in another order. But 'in the beginning' when God created those things which He willed to create, *i.e.* rational creatures, nothing moved Him to create except Himself, *i.e.* His own goodness. But since the creatures were rational they were dowered with the power of Free Will. Finite creatures once made either advanced in spiritual growth through imitation of God, or else fell away through neglect of Him (*per neglegentiam*), *de Princ.* II. ix. 6. 'Evil, it follows, is negative' (Westcott). God made matter also which might serve as a fitting expression of the character of rational creatures and become a medium under many conditions for their training.

Man, Origen teaches, is made for the spiritual and cannot find rest elsewhere. He combats earnestly the views of those who, adhering to the literal sense of Scripture, drew earthly pictures of the joys of a future heaven. He writes (*de Princ.* II. xi. 2): 'Certain men, therefore, renouncing the use of their intelligence and following the mere letter of the Law, suppose that the promises of future bliss will be realized in bodily indulgence, and so they desire to have such bodies after the resurrection as have not lost the capacity for eating and drinking (and so on). And they imagine for themselves an earthly Jerusalem to be rebuilt with precious stones for its foundations and jasper for its walls.'[2]

Origen, on the other hand, realized keenly the action of spiritual forces in our present life. Men have guardian angels, and angels are present in the assemblies of Christians to help their devotions. So he writes (*contra Celsum*, viii. 64) that 'when men choose and prefer, as they pray, the more excellent gifts, then ten thousand holy powers pray with them, though unsummoned.' Departed saints sympathize with the men who still struggle on earth with a sympathy larger than that of those that are clogged by the conditions of mortality.

[1] Mt 25^{34}, *al.*

[2] I have abbreviated this passage.

On this matter Origen appeals to 2 Mac 15^{12-16}, where Maccabæus dreams that the godly high priest Onias and the prophet Jeremiah are interceding for Israel, and that Jeremiah delivers to him a golden sword wherewith to smite the enemy and oppressor.

From Christian philosopher to Defender of the Faith the transition is natural. Origen was one of those who 'face the spectres of the mind and lav them.' His work in answer to the philosopher Celsus is certainly one of the noblest 'Apologies' for Christianity. Celsus was able, no doubt, to criticise Origen's use of the Old Testament on many points with success, but in general grasp of moral and religious problems he remains inferior to the Christian Apologist. This statement is well illustrated by the passage (*contra Celsum*, vi. 78) quoted in Dr. Hort's *Antenicene Fathers*, p. 132 ff. Celsus had scoffed at the lateness in time of the Incarnation and its limitation to an obscure corner of the world, 'a scoff in form, but covering a serious question.' The scoff must be given here, if only to show that Christianity defeated the ridicule of the ancient learned world—no slight achievement. 'If,' so Celsus wrote, 'God, like Zeus in the comedy, wished on awakening out of His long sleep to rescue the race of men, why ever did He send this "spirit" (πνεῦμα), as ye call him, into a lonely corner (μίαν γωνίαν) of the world, when it was necessary rather to breathe a similar inspiration into many bodies and to send them forth throughout the whole world? The comic poet did at least make Zeus send Hermes to the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians, but do you not think that you have excelled the poet in the comic part in imagining the Son of God being sent to the Jews?'

Gravely does Origen make his answer: 'Observe here Celsus' want of reverence when he, forgetting his philosophy (ἀφιλοσόφως), compares our God, the Creator of the Universe, with the god in his comedy who on awaking despatches Hermes. We have said above that when God sent Jesus to the human race, it was not as though He were at length awake from a long sleep, but Jesus, though He has for worthy reasons only as it were now been assigned the work that belongs to Incarnation, yet He has ever been the Benefactor of the human race. For no one of the good deeds wrought among men has ever happened apart from the visitation of the Divine Word, which visits the souls of those who are able (perchance only for a brief period) to receive such effective promptings to good. Nay, even the appearance of Jesus in a lonely corner of the world (as it seems) happened for a worthy reason, since it was surely necessary that He of whom the Prophets spoke should appear among those who have learnt that there is One God only, who read His prophets, and learn therefrom that He whose coming is predicted is indeed the Christ who is preached and that He came at a time when the Word (ὁ λόγος) was about to be poured forth from one lonely corner over the whole earth.

'Wherefore also there was no need that many bodies should be made everywhere, and many spirits like unto Jesus, in order that the whole world of men might be illumined by the Word of God. For it sufficed that the one Word rising like the Sun of Righteousness from Judæa should send forth rays that pierce into the soul of them that are willing to receive them. And if any one desire to see bodies filled with a Divine Spirit like to that One Christ ministering everywhere to the salvation of men, let him consider those who in every place do wholesomely and with an upright life teach the word of Jesus, who themselves also are called *Christs* by the Divine Scriptures in the words, *Touch not my Anointed Ones* (τῶν χριστῶν μου) *and do no harm to my prophets.*'[1]

In reading Origen we are constantly made aware of the fact that he knew persecution at first hand. In his boyhood his father had been a martyr (*c.* 202, 203), in his young manhood his class had contained half a dozen members who gave their lives 'for the testimony of Jesus.' It is not surprising, then, that Origen should write a work concerning persecution; nor perhaps that it has the daring title, Ὠριγένους εἰς μαρτύριον προτρεπτικός, 'Origen's Persuasive to submit to Martyrdom.' It is a living book addressed to two Christians, Ambrosius and Protoctetus, a presbyter of Cæsarea, who were in prison during the persecution of Maximinus (235–237). Their sufferings, Origen assures them, are a proof of their maturity: he begins with an appropriate quotation from Is $28^{9ff.}$, according to the text of the LXX: 'Ye that are weaned from milk, ye that are withdrawn from the breast, receive affliction upon affliction, receive hope upon hope.' Their endurance, Origen says, will be repaid with unspeakable joys. He refers to the words in which St. Paul relates his own experiences, 'We were made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men' (1 Co 4^{9}). Origen takes up the saying with exaltation for the men of his own generation: 'So the whole world (κόσμος) and all the angels on the right and on the left and all men, both those who are on the part of God and those who are of the rest, shall hear of us as we fight the

[1] Ps 105^{15}.

fight for the name of *Christian* (*περὶ χριστιανισμοῦ*).' And, finally, Origen comes near to saying that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church: *τάχα τῷ τιμίῳ αἵματι τῶν μαρτύρων ἀγορασθήσονταί τινες*,[1] 'Perhaps by the precious blood of the martyrs some shall be bought' (*i.e.* redeemed).[2]

I have left to the last the consideration of one of the shorter works of Origen, which is nevertheless second to none in spiritual value. The scholar and the able controversialist in Origen did not extinguish in him the saint, as his treatise *περὶ εὐχῆς* abundantly shows. Unless he had lived for many years in close communion with God, he could not have so written *On Prayer*. It is a living book written to meet the objections of men who maintained that there is no room for prayer in the general scheme of things. 'What need is there,' some asked, 'to offer prayer to Him who even before we pray, understands what things we have need of?' Others, again, asserted, 'If sinners were estranged from their birth (Ps 58[3]), and the righteous man is set apart even from the womb of his mother, in vain do we ask for forgiveness of sins, or for strength to receive the spirit.'

Origen in his study of prayer starts, as usual with him, with fundamentals. There are two points, he says, to consider: *first*, What to pray for; *secondly*, How to pray for it. He answers the question, *What may we pray for?* in words that have been attributed to our Lord Himself, *αἰτεῖτε τὰ μεγάλα, καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ὑμῖν προστεθήσεται—αἰτεῖτε τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια ὑμῖν προστεθήσεται*, 'Ask for the great things, and the small shall be added to you—ask for the heavenly things, and the earthly shall be added to you.' To this general direction Origen immediately adds special injunctions straight from the Gospels: 'Pray for them that despitefully use you'—'Pray ye the Lord of the harvest that he send forth labourers into his harvest'—'Pray that ye enter not into temptation'—'Pray that your flight be not in the winter.' Three of these enjoin petitions of a purely spiritual nature: 'Pray for enemies: Pray that spiritual workers may be raised up: Pray to be saved from temptation.' The one petition of a temporal nature which Origen allows here implies a deep resignation to the Divine Will: 'Pray that your flight be not in the winter.' The flight itself is to be accepted, but the fugitive is permitted to pray that the sufferings of the flight be not intensified.

A prayer to the mind of Origen is an act of submission and communion. It is not open to the objection urged against it as an attempt to change the Will of God. Prayer is, in fact, co-extensive with the higher life. The life of the saint is said by Origen to be 'one great continuous prayer' (*μίαν συναπτομένην μεγάλην εὐχήν*).[3]

The death of Origen was a martyrdom except in name. He was imprisoned, threatened, and tortured during the persecution of Decius (A.D. 249–251). He came out of prison after the death of the Emperor, but apparently only to die in 253. He was buried at Tyre.

After his death his orthodoxy was impugned on many counts, and the controversy between the assailants and defenders became very bitter. He was denounced as the fountain-head of Arianism, because he taught the subordination of the Son to the Father. On the other hand, he certainly maintained that the Son was co-eternal with the Father. The Father is always Father, He did not beget the Son by a finished act, but He is continually begetting him (*ἀλλ' ἀεὶ γεννᾷ αὐτόν*, *Hom. in Hieremiam*, ix. 4). Men's minds were moving towards Nicene orthodoxy, but the hour for it had not yet struck. On this whole matter it is well to allow the historian Socrates to speak the last word. Socrates, after quoting Athanasius as saying, 'The admirable Origen beareth witness to our opinion in declaring that the Son is co-eternal (*συναΐδιον*) with the Father,' adds, 'Those who revile Origen are unaware that they speak evil of Athanasius who praised him' (*H.E.* vi. 13).[4]

[1] L; cf. 'Semen est sanguis Christianorum,' Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, 1.

[2] Cf. 1 Co 6[20].

[3] Cf. W. Emery Barnes, *Early Christians at Prayer*, 136–139.

[4] *Authorities*. The works of Origen as far as published in the Berlin Corpus; B. F. Westcott, 'Origen' in W. Smith's *D.C.B.*; *Religious Thought in the West*; H. M. Gwatkin, *Church History*, II. xx.