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Five Points from Barclay

HENRY W. WILBUR



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FIVE POINTS

FROM

BARCLAY

EDITED BY

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PREFACE.

The matters dealt with in the following pages constitute an attempt to state and interpret certain positions taken by Robert Barclay, in his great work entitled "An Apology for the True Christian Divinity; Being an Explanation and Vindication of the Principles and Doctrines of the People Called Quakers." The quotations are all made from the edition of the Apology published by Friends' Book Store, (Orthodox) 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia, in 1877.

We have not attempted to deal with the various "Propositions" of Barclay by number or in the order which he placed them. In the "Apology" "Immediate Revelation" is the Second Proposition; "The Universal and Saving Light," is classed as Proposition Five and Six; "the Ministry" is Proposition Ten. "Worship" is Proposition Eleven; and "Justification" is Proposition Seven.

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The "Apology" was published in 1675, and was printed in both Latin and English. Its main points were first used in a debate with some students who opposed the Friendly position. The debate was so successful, and the treatment of the points so confessedly telling, that they were elaborated into the Fifteen Propositions which made the full "Apology.

INTRODUCTION.

David Barclay, called by Whittier the "Laird of Ury," was a soldier with what the military men call an honorable war record. But his whole life was changed from harshness to gentleness when in 1666 he became a convinced Friend. He was a Scotchman to the manor born, and had fought under Gustavus Adolphus in the continental wars. His wife was Katherine Gordon, a descendant of a Scotch duke.

The conversion of the old soldier was of itself important, but was of still greater meaning to the Society of Friends because of the effect this religious experience had on his son Robert, who was born at Edinburg in 1648. Robert was eighteen when his father became a Friend, and in the following year the young man united with the Society, at that time the youngest in the family of Protestant organizations.

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Very soon after his convincement Robert began his active labors in behalf of the Truth, his first literary venture being an essay entitled "Truth Cleared of Calumnies," which appeared in 1670. From that time to the end of his life he was either writing or speaking in behalf of Friends' Principles, many different books and pamphlets having been written and circulated by him. He was also a famous debater, and on not a few occasions met the defenders of the Established Church or Non-conformist sects in open verbal combat. His greatest literary work was undoubtedly the "Apology," mentioned in detail in the Preface. It is still the most attractive store-house in which to find a scholarly presentation of seventeenth century Quaker ideas.

Thomas Hodgkin, the English Friend, in his interesting book, "George Fox," published in 1896, tells us that Barclay's "Apology" was really a veiled attack upon the Westminster Confession of Faith, the creed

of the Presbyterian Church, which was adopted by the Westminster Assembly, in 1646, just before George Fox began his active ministry. In proof of this Dr. Hodgkin says that the order of Barclay's Propositions follows almost the same line as the questions in the Shorter Catechism, another important production of the famous seventeenth century Assembly. That the early Friends had more controversy touching doctrine with the Presbyterians and Baptists than with the Established Church, is abundantly attested in the literature of the time. In fact, Fox and his followers were the most energetic opponents of Calvinism to be found in contemporaneous England.

Robert Barclay was a regular attender of meeting, and generally spoke in the religious assemblies which he attended. He really died before the system of recording ministers had become very general, but to all the Quaker intents and purposes he was a minister in the Society. In the short memorial

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issued by George Fox after Barclay's death, he says of his young disciple: "He was a wise and faithful minister of Christ, and wrote many precious books in the defense of the truth, both in English and Latin." William Penn called him a "worthy young man of God," which was high praise, indeed.

In 1690, a year before the death of George Fox, Barclay passed away. His going was a very severe loss to the Society, not only of that period, but for all time. He was only forty-two at the time of his death, and had he lived, it is quite likely he would have enriched the Friendly literature of the period by other productions of light and leading. If we may believe the Friends who knew him, and they included a large number of the leaders and members of the Society in general, he was a man of most exalted and consistent life, of gentle spirit and lovable character.

IMMEDIATE REVELATION.

Barclay's Second Proposition dealt with the affirmation that there is such a thing as immediate revelation. Probably the whole Protestant world would make such an affirmation to-day, although there might be a good deal of controversy over the definition as to what revelation is. In the seventeenth century, however, the opinion was pretty general, that revelation in the sense of God's direct revealing to the soul of man, ceased with the close of the New Testament canon.

Over against the authority of the Scriptures, which Protestantism had set up as a dogma in opposition to the Catholic claim for the authority if not the infallibility of the Church, Barclay affirmed the authority of the Spirit, as the court of last resort in spiritual things. He tells us that those in his time who denied the revelation of God by his spirit, but said that it is not immediate and

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inward, but in the Scriptures, were wrong. He claimed "that the Scriptures are not sufficient, neither were ever appointed to be the adequate and only rule for Christians."¹ On the other hand it was held that "Christians now are to be led inwardly and immediately by the Spirit of God, even in the same manner, though it befall not many to be led in the same measure, as the saints were of old."²

While Barclay formulated a separate Proposition dealing with the Scriptures, (III) the treatment of immediate revelation in the soul, and remote revelation in the Scriptures really belongs together. In this connection, new and startling admissions regarding the accuracy and inerrancy of the Bible were made by Barclay. He admitted that errors in the course of time had crept into the originally pure text, but such as they were did not dim or diminish the clear testimony left to all of the essentials of the Christian faith.³ An unusually clear statement is made by Barclay

¹The Apology, p. 47. ²The same, 48. ³The same, 89.

as to the real character of the Scriptures, and their relation to the direct light and leading of the soul: He says:

“Nevertheless, because they are only a declaration of the fountain, and not the fountain itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the adequate primary rule of faith and manners. Yet because they give a true and faithful testimony of the first foundation, they are and may be esteemed a secondary rule, subordinate to the Spirit, from which they have all their excellency and certainty: for as by the inward testimony of the Spirit we do alone truly know them, so they testify, that the Spirit is that Guide by which the saints are led into all Truth; therefore, according to the Scriptures, the Spirit is the first and principal leader.”⁴

This doctrine does not sound so startling in our time as it did to the seventeenth century Presbyterians, to whom it was the rank-est kind of heresy.

Having established the relationship be-

⁴The Apology, p. 73.

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tween recorded and immediate and original inspiration, it is in order to briefly, and as impartially as possible try and find out what Barclay really meant by "Immediate Revelation." The task is not so easy as it might seem, principally for the reason that in dealing with the question our seventeenth century Quaker theologian was not able to cut loose from current stock beliefs, and common Scripture proof texts, regarding most religious matters, some of them but little if at all related to his main contention.

The first question that suggests itself is, from whence does the revelation come? Barclay talks about the knowledge of God, and intimates that there are two kinds of knowledge relating to the subject, one spiritual and the other literal; one is "saving heart knowledge, and the other soaring head knowledge." The first is internal and essential; the second external, bookish and unvital. While distinctly and repeatedly asserting that revelation is from the Spirit, Barclay

proceeds to use different terms to define what he means. Those are only Christians he says, or ever have been, who have the spirit of Christ. Knowledge of Christ "which is not by the revelation of his own spirit in the heart, is no more properly the knowledge of Christ, than the prattling of a parrot, which has been taught a few words, may be said to be the voice of man."⁵

Barclay brings out the individual manifestation of revelation in a clear and comprehensive way, and anticipates Herbert Spencer's study by comparison by two centuries. He is dealing with the "inward, immediate, objective revelation by the Spirit." After affirming that such a spiritual revelation in some form has been the main-stay of all Christians, he cites the Papists, the butt of much theological illustration, to prove his case. He says when pressed for a statement as to why they believe as the church does, they answer, "Because the church is

⁵The Apology, p. 36.

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always led by the infallible Spirit." If asked again why they trust tradition, they answer, "Because the traditions were delivered us by the doctors and fathers of the church, which doctors and fathers by the revelation of the holy ghost commanded the church to observe them. Here again all ends in the revelation of the Spirit."

Passing to the pet position of the seventeenth century Protestants, touching the rule and foundation of faith, which held that it was in the Scriptures, Barclay gives us their own expressed reason for this trust, "Because we have in them the mind of God, delivered unto us by those to whom these things were inwardly, immediately and objectively revealed by the spirit of God ; and not because this or that man wrote them, but because the spirit of God dictated them."⁶ As the early Friends saw the situation, it was neither logical nor reasonable, nor was it

⁶This quotation and the matters connected with it, may be found on pages 70 and 71 of the "Apology."

spiritually healthy to make the church or the Scriptures the sole repositories of inspiration, while denying it to men, who really made churches and scriptures possible.

In this presentation the bed-rock of the whole contention between the Friends and the theologians of the seventeenth century may be found. By the theologians the emphasis was placed on the vehicle of revelation, while the Friends placed it on the source; the one insisted on the shadow of the manifestation, the other the substance from which it came. What is still more, the Friendly position vindicated the divine origin of revelation from the implication of partiality, and made God potentially and practically no respecter of persons, and without favoritism as to the ways and means by which he deals with his children.

Because they insisted on present revelation Friends were charged with either denying or being indifferent to the revelation of the past. This was of course a misconception.

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As a matter of fact, the revelation to-day becomes the vindicator of the revelation of yesterday. It would seem that the rational position which made revelation continuous and not intermittent, must appeal to the hearts of men. This clear distinction of the Friendly position may well close the consideration of this Point from Barclay.

THE UNIVERSAL AND SAVING LIGHT.

Barclay repudiates the popular notion of the consequences of the fall of man in his Fourth Proposition. While he held that Adam suffered a great spiritual loss as the result of his disobedience, and could not transmit to his posterity any good thing which he did not himself possess ; he seems to have held that the first man "did not retain in his nature any will or light capable to give him knowledge of spiritual things." Hence the conclusion is that man "naturally," whatever may be meant by that word, inherits no good thing. Still this negative assumption in Barclay's mind did not impart personal guilt to any who were not willingly guilty. This being the case we have this inquiry : From whence proceedeth the good in men ? Here is Barclay's answer to his own question : "Whatever real good any man doth, it proceedeth not from his nature, as he is man, or the son of Adam ; but from the seed of God in him,

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as a new visitation of life, in order to bring him out of this natural condition." It would seem that the position here stated amounts to a claim that men inherit evil propensities from both their immediate and remote ancestors, but do not inherit actual guilt. This view seems to be quite consistent with the theory of certain modern physical scientists, to the effect that tendencies to specific diseases are transmitted from parents to children, but not the diseases themselves. Guilt, therefore, as Barclay considered it, is lodged against no man, until by positive willing acts on his part he becomes actually guilty.

It is therefore manifest that men do not need salvation from the guilt of Adam. The function of the "saving light" is to bring men from a condition of proneness to evil in the natural man, to a condition of positive, purposeful good, by the operation of the seed of God in him, amounting to the leading of the "saving light."

We are not interested in considering under

what bondage to traditional theology Barclay rested touching the beginning of the race, as told in Genesis, but rather in trying to understand the nature and operation of the "saving light," as a resident influence for present-day application.

From the foregoing it is quite easy to understand Barclay's opposition to the theory of predestination. From his view-point the Calvinistic position was unjust to God, for it made him practically endorse sin. The theory was also considered unscriptural, something in the nature of a "novelty."

Possibly his opposition to the theory of Predestination, was for the reason that it closed the door to universal salvation. It would be claiming altogether too much to consider that our Quaker theologian was a Universalist, especially in the modern sense of the term, but he did claim that the opportunity for salvation was universal. At any rate the door of hope was not slammed in the face of the wicked and indifferent by the Al-

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mighty. The "saving light" came to all men, and the "divine motion" in them was towards salvation. If it did not perform its office work, the fault was with man and not with God.

The "saving light" in the soul is the day of man's visitation, and is God's way of providing the means for his deliverance. At certain points Barclay seems to infer that salvation is based on man partaking of the fruits of Christ's death. Nevertheless it is the "measure of the light of his own son" which calls, exhorts and strives with man, and by an inward process makes men "partakers of the resurrection, in becoming holy, pure and righteous, and recovered out of their sins." It is therefore held that the salvation of man depends wholly on God, while his condemnation is self-invited, as is the suffering a responsible act of the individual.

Like most theologians Barclay was not able to free himself from what seems incon-

sistency. While he talks about the fruits of Christ's death, he speaks confidently of the light which antedated the birth of Jesus. Barclay was not particular as to the name given to this saving internal influence. He does not object to the Holy Spirit described by Seneca; nor the "seed of salvation" of Clement; nor yet the various names given to it by his fellow Quakers. Whatever the sign, the substance was the same in effect, the Divine working in the soul of man. It was a work not only for next-world safety, but for this world betterment, amounting in its fullness to the conscious spiritual life. This internal light was the one manifestation necessary to a real knowledge of God.

Barclay's citations from the "heathen" philosophers to fortify his case are many. His purpose in the quotations, is, in the main, to prove that they too could be, or were led by the universal light. He says, "They knew this wisdom was nigh unto them and that the best knowledge of God, and of di-

vine mysteries, was by the inspiration of the wisdom of God." The matter may be made more plain by quoting this paragraph:

"And much more of this kind might be instanced, by which it appears they (the heathen) knew Christ; and by his working in them were brought from unrighteousness to righteousness, and to love that power by which they felt themselves redeemed; so sayeth the apostle, 'They show the work of the law written in their hearts,' and did the things contained in the law; and therefore, as all doers of the law are, were no doubt justified, and saved thus by the power of Christ in them. And as this was the judgment of the apostle, so was it of the primitive Christians. Hence Justin Martyr stuck not to call Socrates a Christian, saying, that 'all such as lived according to the divine word in them, which was in all men, were Christians, such as Socrates and Heraclitus, and others among the Greeks,' etc. That such as live with the word, are Christians without fear or anxiety."¹

Other Christian Fathers are also quoted to

¹The Apology, page 185.

sustain the position regarding the universal character of the light, and its operation in the hearts of men in pre-Christian times. Augustine, says Barclay, declared that "the Jew dared not affirm that none belonged to God but the Israelites." Clement's saying that the philosophy of the Greeks "was their schoolmaster to lead them unto Christ, by which of old they were justified," is quoted with approval. Ludovicus Vives² declared "that the Gentiles, not having a law, were a law unto themselves; and the light of so living is the gift of God, and proceeds from the Son, of whom it is written, that he 'enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world.'" George Buchanan, a cotemporary of Barclay, said in a famous work written in Latin. "Truly, I understand no other thing at present than that light which is divinely infused into every soul."

²Vives was a Spanish humanist, who lived during the fifteenth century. He spent some time in England, and was imprisoned there for opposing the divorce of Henry VIII.

The question may be asked, considering the universal and continuous character of the saving light, how is it that Barclay and the rest made any matter hinge upon the death of Jesus? The question is not for us to answer. Neither are the details of belief vastly important. If we accept the clear statement that all men possess the light, and always have, we have caught the important present-day message, and may well hold as immaterial the aberrations of doctrine which have often characterized the experiences of men in their search for truth.

To prove his contention of the universality of the saving light and power, Barclay takes the experience of Peter with Cornelius as a sample. We quote :

“Peter was before liable to that mistake that the rest of the Jews were in ; judging that all were unclean. except themselves, and that no man could be saved, except they were proselyted to their religion and circumcised. But God showed Peter otherwise in a vision, and taught him to call nothing

common or unclean ; and therefore, seeing that God regarded the prayers of Cornelius, who was a stranger to the law and to Jesus Christ as to the outward, yet Peter saw that God had accepted him ; and he is said to fear God before he had this outward knowledge ; therefore Peter concludes that every one in every station, without respect of persons, that feareth God and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him. So he makes the fear of God and the workings of righteousness, and not an outward historical knowledge, the qualification ; then they that have this, wherever they be, they are saved.''³

This belittlement of rite and dogma, is followed by an examination as to church relationship. The visible church is no refuge, according to Barclay, for those who do not follow the light. It is argued that if outward knowledge and literal conformity are the way to salvation, then absence of such knowledge must be a valid excuse, so that a premium is offered on ignorance or an inability to receive such knowledge, as all such persons may be

³The Apology, page 180.

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saved in spite of themselves. In Barclay's time the deaf and the deaf and blind had no way of receiving historical or doctrinal knowledge, and were therefore virtually exempt from the plan of salvation, unless the monstrous assumption is made that men were responsible for what they could not possibly know. He was equally insistent that under the commonly accepted plan, the heathen, having been deprived of the outward knowledge, upon which salvation was supposed to be based, were entitled to all the benefits of the plan, as a matter of justice. But no such easy exit from difficulty by way of ignorance was open to any under the theory advocated by our author. Assuming the existence of the universal and saving light, the whole matter of salvation was removed from the domain of the mechanical to the region of the spiritual. Having the universal light all men were placed, according to Barclay, on a basis of spiritual equality, and had a common responsibility for their own safety,

both here and hereafter. Not by performance of rite, or acceptance of dogma are men saved, but by the operation of the light, and obedience to it.

The claim of the equality of saving opportunity may call up suggestive questions, which involve the fundamental matter of spiritual consciousness. Do all men possess the consciousness of the light which is in them? In some way, and at some time, probably yes! Still the variety of gifts, and the apparent accident of fortune and misfortune, together with difference of apprehension, are indisputable in the field of human life and experience. But at this point the great spiritual value of the recognition of brotherhood, and the need of mutual helpfulness occupy large places in the way of life. In these lie the real meaning of a vital ministry, its value being to call men to spiritual consciousness of the light, which directs them to the divine teacher within themselves. These are matters which will be dealt with more fully in the next chapter.

THE MINISTRY.

Barclay's Tenth Proposition deals with the Ministry, but is also made the occasion for defining and describing the Church, with its distinct characteristics, and the qualifications for membership therein. He considered that the Church should be treated under two heads. First, the Church is that entire body of spiritually led and endowed men and women, both inside and outside the distinct religious organizations. Second, the Church comprises those societies or organizations of individuals gathered about particular principles or distinct forms of church polity.

Under the first head Barclay makes a broad gauge characterization, which has not yet been fully reached by the great mass of the Christian world. It is held that this Church universal is made up of all those whom God has "called out of the world, and worldly spirit, to walk in His Life and

Light." This comprehensive Church is the real Catholic Church. This Church may have members both "among Heathen, Turks, Jews, and all of the several sorts of Christians, men and women of integrity and simplicity of heart, who, though blinded in some things in their understanding, and perhaps burdened with the superstition and formality of the several sects in which they are engrossed, yet being upright in their hearts before the Lord, chiefly aiming and laboring to be delivered from iniquity, and loving to follow righteousness, are by the secret touches of this holy light in their souls, enlivened and quickened, thereby secretly united to God, and there-through become true members of this Catholic Church."¹ But the widely represented membership in this Church universal has as its complement the continuous character of the spirit itself. It has, in fact, existed in all generations, and

¹The Apology, p. 259.

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was God's witness in the earth in pre-Christian as well as post-Christian times.

The particular Church Barclay considered an ingathering of certain persons by God's spirit. This Church could have a definite organization, and was considered a fellowship of men and women informed in the same truths, who assemble together to wait upon God, to worship him and bear testimony to the truth against error. If need be these persons were to suffer for the cause, and by virtue of the joint fellowship to become welded into one spiritual household. While an outward confession of faith may be desirable or necessary in a member of a particularly gathered Church, such a requirement is not essential for one to become a member of the truly Catholic, or Church universal. In short, members of the larger Church need not be members of any special communion, and those who have definite church connection may be counted

as part of the broader fellowship, although such connection gave them no right to be so classified, merely by itself. Barclay had little use for a purely ceremonial church membership, and was equally opposed to a type of assumed ceremonial righteousness.

Not at all mindful of the part to be played by a system of birthright membership in his own religious society, he vigorously condemned a religious condition or connection largely based on inheritance, or the accident of birth. In his estimation the fundamental Christian virtues, such as "meekness, gentleness, love, long-suffering, goodness and temperance," began to wane when persecution for conscience sake declined. This was augmented, in the opinion of Barclay, when the "teachers and pastors of the Church became the companions of princes." The enjoyment of state privileges and perquisites puffed up and intoxicated with vanity the men whose real concern should have been

the preaching of the word and the presentation of the gospel message. When men became Christians by birth, he says, "and not by conversion and renovation of spirit, then there was none so vile, none so wicked, none so profane, who became not a member of the Church."² However correct or incorrect Barclay's contention may be as a conclusion, it is quite likely that this feeling, as stated by him, had much to do with the later withdrawal of Friends from participation in civil government, and led to the disciplinary exhortation against the holding of public office.³ It should be remembered that Barclay's position does not claim that one born into the Church special, could not have the spiritual insight and leading which must characterize those counted as compos-

²The Apology, p. 261.

³The New York Discipline, revision of 1878, contained this statement: "Friends are tenderly and earnestly advised not to accept offices of profit and honor in the government."

ing the church universal. It was his feeling that the Protestant sects had not repudiated all of what he considered the hurtful heresies which had been promulgated by the historic Church, which insisted upon calling itself the "Apostolic Mother Church," but which was contemptuously called by Protestants the Romish hierarchy.

Having treated the spirit, purpose and composition of the Church, Barclay proceeds to deal directly with the ministry. While he seems to recognize a distinct type or class, by belonging to which one is differentiated from the mere member, he states clearly the fundamental Friendly position regarding the function and manifestation of vocal ministry in our religious body.

"What maketh, or how cometh a man to be a minister, pastor or teacher in the Church of Christ?" he queries. The answer is brief, and almost axiomatic: "By the universal power and virtue of the spirit of

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God.”⁴ There is a rational presentation of what the minister can do, which is worth considering. “Having received the true knowledge of things spiritual by the spirit of God, without which they cannot be known, and being by the same in measure purified and sanctified, he comes thereby to be called and moved to minister to others; being able to speak from a living experience of what he himself is a witness.”⁴ In short, he being a witness to truth himself, he can make that truth meet the witness in the hearts of other men, and persuade them to heed the witness. Under these conditions “his words and ministry proceeding from the inward power and virtue, reach to the heart of his hearers, and make them approve of him, and be subject unto him.”⁵ It is probably the last clause in this statement, which being misunderstood and misinter-

⁴The Apology, v. 264.

⁵The Apology, p. 264.

preted, caused the abuses which at some points have characterized our ministry. As a matter of fact, the object of ministry under our system is not to secure human approval, nor to make the hearers subject to the minister. It is quite likely that Barclay never intended his words to be taken literally. The preacher is not the real teacher. In fact it is the divine inward teacher to whom men should look for leading. Barclay is eminently safe and sound in his claim that the same spiritual influences which make men Christians can alone make them ministers.

At the center of Barclay's conception was a disposition to ignore titles and the distinctions which they were supposed to bring. It was what a servant of Christ did which was worth considering, and not the titles which he assumed or which men gave him. Nevertheless, he held that there was a distinct difference in what might be called spir-

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itual ability. Some, he thought, were more particularly called to the work of the ministry than others. Such persons would be more effective ministers than those less completely endowed. Consequently, the responsibility resting on these uncommonly endowed persons is greater than that of the "common believer." Barclay, however, was careful not to encourage either ministerial or spiritual egotism. In his estimation the special gift called for extraordinary service, and in no sense warranted an exaggerated claim to special favor and consideration.

Barclay's position concerning the ministry of women is of interest. Male and female being one in Christ Jesus, it is very certain that the Spirit is given as freely and graciously to the one as to the other. Therefore, when a woman is moved by the Spirit of God, she must obey the call, and give her message to the assembled worshippers. Paul's reproof of "inconsiderate

and talkative women," who "trouble the Church of Christ with their unprofitable questions," or the apostolic injunction that "women ought to learn silence, not usurping authority over the men," was considered no embargo on the exercise of their spiritual gifts, by qualified women. That many souls were converted by the preaching of the commonly proscribed sex; and that not a few children were comforted by the preaching of women, seemed to Barclay to put the practical seal of divine approval on their ministry.

There is no more interesting feature in the Tenth Proposition than the treatment of that phase of the subject involved in the material and monetary assistance to the minister. Ministry being based on the gift and grace of God, manifestly it should be freely exercised; costing nothing, the service which flowed from the gift should be freely dispensed. Barclay insists, and bases a large

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part of his contention on the claim that in the Apostolic Church there were no employed or salaried preachers. That is, no man ministered in the early Church because he had made a bargain to preach for a stipulated salary.

Considerable attention is given to the reasons assigned in the seventeenth century and before for the existence of a professional ministry. Nicolaus Arnoldus is quoted as having denied that the qualification to preach had been freely received, and he therefore claimed that there was no obligation to freely exercise the same. The seventeenth century disputants claimed that the educational and other preparation for the ministry had cost much time, and involved a considerable cash expenditure. This was simply a roundabout way of asserting the professional character of the ministry. In other words, preaching was considered a calling: the labor a man did as a means of

earning a livelihood. Barclay vigorously opposed this contention. He said that, admitting the ingenuous statement of Arnoldus, it proved too much, being in effect an admission that the professional minister was not generally, if ever, divinely called. Hence his preaching did not proceed from the gift and grace of God. He therefore objected to calling men who preached for salaries real ministers of Christ.

There may be an element of the censorious and a passing of the snap judgment in Barclay's position. He claimed that the type of ministry contended for by the Established Church and by the Protestant sects was open to grave objection. The system provided for ministers that "have no immediate call from Christ, to whom the leading and motion of the spirit" are not reckoned necessary. On the other hand Barclay intimates that under the popular interpretation such ministers were "called,

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sent forth and ordained by wicked and ungodly men; and such were of old the false prophets and teachers." Whatever may have been the case in the seventeenth century, it certainly would not be fair to claim in our time that any branch of the Protestant Church would base the qualification to preach entirely on the outward ordination, or even the theological preparation for the ministry.

Barclay's positive claim for the ministry, however, is the one that has the most vital meaning for us. That involves the assistance and influence of the Spirit, and an equal insistence that ministers do not labor in their own natural strength and ability. These, having received the divine qualification, must freely give their ministry without being hampered by a stipulated monetary consideration.

It should not be inferred from anything that has been said that Barclay was unmin-

ful of the material needs of ministers. Neither was he opposed to their being educated. In fact, he was an educated minister himself. If we rightly understand him, he believed that men should be educated, but not specially for the ministry. The education should come in the round of development and experience. Education for the profession of the ministry had no place in Barclay's system, and has had none in the Society of Friends at any time. If the divine call comes to an educated man or woman, well and good, but if it comes to the uneducated it, and not the intellectual preparation, make the minister.

It would hardly be a proper representation of Barclay to claim that he utterly ignored the material needs of the ministry, or a material provision to meet them. What he objected to was the stipulated salary, the bargaining in advance as to what the minister should receive, and the consequent re-

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fusal to serve unless the promise to pay was made, and properly redeemed.

The author of the "Apology" was not unmindful of the embarrassment likely to arise when the called preacher gave himself to the service, and thereby imperiled his own living and that of those dependent upon him. Upon this point he thus expressed himself:

"Also they who have received this holy and unspotted gift, as they have freely received it, so are they freely to give it, without hire or bargaining, far less to use it as a trade to get money by; yet if God hath called any one from their employment or trades, by which they acquire their livelihood, it may be lawful for such, according to their liberty which they feel given them in the Lord, to receive such temporals (to wit, what may be needful for them for meat and clothing) as are given them freely and cordially by those to whom they have communicated spirituals."⁶

⁶The Apology, p. 256.

This might make the living of the specified type of preacher uncertain, if not precarious, assuming that he gives all of his time to this sort of service. But neither in the mind of Barclay, nor in the condition in his time or since, has it been generally necessary that such continuous service in the ministry should be given in our Society. The whole theory of the free ministry is that like the great Apostle, the necessities of the minister should be supplied by his own hands. Barclay simply provides for the unusual kind that might arise in case of a missionary propaganda, such as was evidently carried on quite extensively by the Friends of the seventeenth century.

WORSHIP.

True and acceptable worship of God proceeds from the "inward and immediate moving and drawing of his own Spirit," says Barclay. This worship is limitless; that is, it is not confined to persons, times or places. Whatever is tolerable in outward worship, such as "prayers, praises or preachings," must be by the "secret inspiration of the Spirit of God" in the heart. All of the forms or manifestations of worship, which man "sets about in his own will, and at his own appointment; which he can both begin and end at his pleasure, do or leave undone as himself seeth meet," was considered "abominable idolatry," by the author of the "Apology." In this connection it was asserted that extemporaneous prayer and preaching were no better than that to be found in the rituals, if they proceeded from man's will.

Notwithstanding the broad definition of

worship given above, Barclay should not be taken too literally, nor should he be counted a complete individualist. He claimed that worship is an act and an obligation, due to God, men owing him "reverence, honor and adoration." But the result, if not the forerunner of worship should be "holy conformity to the pure law and light of God, leading to a forsaking of evil, and the practice of the perpetual moral precepts of righteousness and equity." Still, Barclay believed thoroughly in the collective side of worship. "To meet together we think necessary for the people of God," he says. This is desirable in order to build a joint and visible fellowship, and a unity of spirit among believers.

One of Barclay's objections to the popular forms of worship was because it was more spectacular than spontaneous. Meeting together to listen to a regulation amount of preaching, prayer and singing, from his standpoint was not worship. In

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a properly conditioned meeting, those gathered must wait for the Spirit to prepare their hearts to worship and the preacher to fully minister to their needs. Besides those who worship must listen to and obey the Spirit in them, rather than feast on the verbal utterances of the preacher.

While insisting upon the public assemblies of the people, our author did not attach any special sanctity to the first day of the week, nor to the place where the meeting gathered. He was quite clear that personal and public worship was desirable, if not incumbent upon Christians on weekdays. The general observance of First-day as a fit time for public meetings, in no way committed Friends to ultra sabbatarian ideas or practices. They did not consider the Jewish Sabbath a living and valid institution, nor the so-called Christian Sabbath a continued type of the older institution. A common day for rest and worship was considered desirable from every stand-

point. Such a day was observed by primitive Christians, and so they chose the first day, without, as Barclay says, "superstitiously straining the Scriptures for another reason." After all this, and much more in condemnation of what he considered the "abominable idolatry" involved in the public worship of both Catholics and Protestants, Barclay was sure that "upright-hearted men, though zealous in these abominations, have been heard of God, and accepted by Him."¹

The part which silence should play in a really spiritual worship, is quite elaborately set forth. To start with, it is affirmed that the great work of those assembled is to "wait upon God; and returning out of their own thoughts and imaginations, to feel the Lord's presence."² Thus assembled "inwardly in their spirits, as well as outward-

¹The Apology, p. 328.

²The same, p. 329.

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ly in their persons," spiritual refreshing is the result. Under these conditions "no man limits the Spirit of God, nor bringeth forth his own conned and gathered stuff; but every one puts that forth which the Lord puts into their hearts."³ Though no word is spoken, true spiritual worship has been performed. As has already been suggested, the silence counts for preparation for the deliverance and acceptance of a vocal ministry. Thus during this period of waiting, the truth may be inwardly tested before being outwardly expressed, is an experience warranted from Barclay's presentation. On this point, he says:

"Now as many thus gathered together grow up in the strength, power and virtue of truth, and as truth comes thus to have victory and dominion in their souls, then they receive an utterance, and speak steadily to the edification of their brethren, and the pure life hath a free passage through

³The same. p

them, and what is thus spoken edifieth the body indeed.”⁴

After asserting the uplift of a properly conditioned silent meeting, and testifying to the fact that often the rude and the wicked, who come to disturb are subdued by the silence, Barclay says:

“Yet I do not so much commend and speak of silence as if we had bound ourselves by any law to exclude praying or preaching, or tied ourselves thereunto; not at all; for as our worship consisteth not in words, so neither in silence, as silence; but in a holy dependence of the mind upon God; from which dependence silence necessarily follows in the first place, and words can be brought forth, which are from God’s Spirit.”⁵

There is no evidence that Barclay considered worship as a propitiatory act; that is, as a performance in offset for sin. Wor-

⁴The Apology, p. 332.

⁵The same, p. 336.

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ship, as he understood it, is for spiritual uplift, and is not a performance undertaken to placate the Infinite.

The "Christian religion consisteth not in a mere belief of true doctrines, or a mere performance of acts good in themselves, or else the bare letter of Scripture, though spoken by a drunkard, or devil, might be said to be spirit and life, which I judge none will be so absurd as to affirm; and also it would follow, that where the form of Godliness is, there the power is also, which is contrary to the express words of the Apostle."⁶

It is affirmed by the author of the "Apology" that Jesus Christ, the author of the Christian religion, prescribed "no set form of worship to his children under the more pure administration of the new covenant, save that he only tells them that the worship now to be performed is spiritual."

"And it is especially to be observed, that

⁶The Apology, p. 339.

in the whole New Testament there is no order nor command given in this thing, but to follow the revelation of the Spirit, save only the general one of meeting together; a thing dearly owned and diligently practiced by us, as shall hereafter more appear. True, it is, mention is made of the duties of praying, preaching and singing; but what order or method should be kept in so doing, or what presently they should be set about as soon as the saints are gathered, there is not one word to be found; yes, these duties, as shall afterwards be made appear, are always annexed to the assistance, leadings and motions of God's Spirit."⁷

It is consequently inferred that a spiritual worship, in which the Spirit moves, if it does not direct, cannot provide a set program, or any form of pre-arranged service. "Preaching by the hour glass," is considered out of order by Barclay.

"Curious speculations of religion," ac-

⁷The Apology, p. 340.

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accompanied by conformity to custom, our author thought had no place in worship. He was equally sure that troubling thoughts, such as the fear of "death, hell and the judgment," or imaginary conceptions of the happiness and joy of heaven"; or a multiplicity of "prayers and other religious performances," do not deliver from iniquity, and are not necessary adjuncts of worship. Unless these conceptions are accompanied by the "secret and inward power of God's Spirit and grace, would signify no more than the fig - leaves wherewith Adam thought to cover his nakedness."⁸

Considerable attention is given by Barclay to a review of the exercises that might happen in a meeting held for spiritual worship. He placed preaching at the top of the allowed gospel order, but he differentiates between real preaching and mere speaking, however logical and eloquent. The dem-

⁸The same, p. 343.

onstration of spirit and power he considered an evidence of inspired preaching. He opposed preaching from texts taken in advance, and used as the basis for extended pre-arranged discourse. While Christ and the Apostles may have quoted or read from the Old Testament, they did so without premeditation. But whether they did or did not make resort to Scripture texts, it is affirmed, and probably with reason, that the occasional practice was not presented as a settled custom or form. Just how Barclay knew that when the Apostles or the Great Teacher quoted from the Hebrew writings, they did so without any premeditation, raises a question which no one can answer. But while considering these not altogether profitable details, it is well to keep clearly in mind that Barclay's main contention was that it is the Spirit of God that should be the "chief instructor and teacher of God's people." This truth is more important than an attempt to arbi-

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trarily and dogmatically determine how the teaching is to be received or applied.

In considering the value of prayer, Barclay assumes that whether read from a ritual or extemporaneously uttered, as employed by both Catholics and Protestants, neither considered that the "motions and influence of the Spirit of God are necessary to be previous thereto." There is a free acknowledgment that prayer is necessary, and is commanded by the fathers of the Church. It is of two kinds, inward and outward. The former is the "secret turning of the mind towards God." Outward prayer must be based on the inward kind. It seeks outward expression in various manifestations. Much outward prayer may be purely man-made. All acceptable prayer must be the result of inward retirement, and like preaching must be spontaneous and not pre-arranged. Prayer, which was part of a program, and to which men passed by announcement, was not the kind

which met the Quaker witness to truth. Taking part in this form of prayer lacked sincerity, and for this reason the early Friends when attending church service, refrained from bowing the head, or in any way seeming to acknowledge the validity of the outward devotion. Whether a Friend by getting in the right spiritual attitude, could make a period of formal prayer sincere and helpful, raised a question which called for a more elastic frame of mind than the staid Quakers of the seventeenth century possessed.

That a primitive Friend should make any account of singing as an adjunct of worship, may seem strange to the modern man who has been taught to believe that the practice and tradition of the Society of Friends have always been against music. Nevertheless, Barclay places what he calls the "singing of psalms" on exactly the same basis as preaching and prayer. Such singing he confesses is "a part of God's wor-

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ship, when it proceeds from a sense of God's love in the heart."⁹ The whole matter is summed up in the following conclusion:

"So that to conclude, the worship, preaching, praying and singing, which we plead for, is such as proceedeth from the Spirit of God, and is always accompanied with its influence, being begun by its motion and carried on by the power and strength thereof; and so is a worship purely spiritual."¹⁰

It may be well to inquire whether the Society has not overworked its claim regarding "immediateness" and "spontaneity." Is any violence done to a rational theory of inspiration, or the moving of the Spirit, should the moving come one day, or one week, and not seek expression for another day or another week? It apparently narrows the scope of inspiration to limit it to

⁹The Apology, p. 378.

¹⁰The same, p. 380.

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any time or any place. May it not be suppressing the spirit as much to hold back stored-up and tested inspiration, as it is to quench the immediate internal movings of the Spirit?"¹¹

¹¹A further view of the writer regarding inspiration, and the matter of infallibility, may be found in a booklet entitled 'A Study in Doctrine and Discipline,' second edition, pages 13, and 50, 51 and 52.

JUSTIFICATION.

The doctrine of Justification by Faith, constructed out of the theology of Paul, was a particularly live issue in the time of Barclay, because of its latest statement in the Westminster Confession of Faith, which was just fresh from the theological anvil of the great Presbyterian Assembly. To be sure, Luther's reconstruction of the dogma was part of the reformer's contribution to Christian doctrine. The Catholic conception of the doctrine disturbed the Protestant reformers from the beginning; but it was undoubtedly the current position regarding the matter which chiefly concerned Barclay. He quotes the Confession's literal statement, and proceeds to demolish it, as a position no less pernicious than the Catholic dogma touching the same matter. There is both a distinction and a difference between the Catholic and Protestant theory of Justification. As quoted by Barclay, the Westminster Assembly declared:

“That they obtain remission of sins, and
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stand justified in the sight of God by virtue of the merits and sufferings of Christ, not by infusing righteousness into them, but by pardoning their sins, and by accounting and accepting their persons as righteous, they resting on Him and His righteousness by faith; which faith, the act of believing, is not imputed unto them for righteousness."

Freely interpreted, this means that by faith men are justified as righteous, though in fact sinful, the righteousness of Christ being imputed to the sinner. In effect it amounts to the acquittal of the guilty party by the clemency of the judge, and "in consideration of the merits of another who has paid the penalty which was justly the offender's due."

The Catholic theologians carried the theory a point further, passing from the forensic to the practical sense of the act of justification. Under this view there was an "infusion of personal righteousness" into the sinner by imputation. In this sense justification and sanctification mean nearly the same thing.

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The opposition to the Catholic theory of Justification was two-fold. To assume that righteousness could be imposed arbitrarily from the outside outraged Barclay's conception of the internal and spiritual character of the process of salvation. The place of sacraments and outward observances in the Catholic plan was vigorously condemned. To in this way secure a remission of sins was too mechanical to commend itself to the author of the "Apology."

The Lutheran theory was considered only a little less objectionable than that held by the Catholics. It did not provide for inward renewal, and held that men were justified by faith regardless of their works. Mere belief that Christ died for them, to Barclay's mind, did not provide an adequate means of salvation. In fact, he demanded that men should forsake their sins, and not simply be saved in them.

In reviewing both the Catholic and the Lutheran theory of Justification the objec-

tion was raised that neither system provided for "spiritual birth, or formation of Christ" in man. This birth our author considered vital, and without it "a bare application of the death and sufferings of Christ outwardly" was unavailing.

Barclay considered the matter of redemption under two heads, and Christ from his standpoint, performed two functions in the reconciliation and salvation of the race. First, by His life and sacrifice He provided men with a capacity of being reconciled. That is, through Christ's service we have forgiveness. The first function is a process of "redemption performed and accomplished by Christ for us in His crucified body without us." Apparently in his view of the case, this outward redemption closed a past account; it brought us "out of our lost and fallen condition and first nature." He evidently did not think that this outward redemption made a final provision for the race. That must be the result of the "redemption

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wrought by Christ in us." The nice distinction between the two kinds of redemption contains the substance of Barclay's theory, and represents the point of variance between the popular idea of Justification and that held by the seventeenth century Friends.

The author of the "Apology" objected to the use of the word Justification in its strained theological sense. To him the word scripturally and rationally meant "making one just," and not reputed that he is just when he is not. For this reason serious objection was made to the way many Protestants interpreted Scripture. These theologians, turning to Paul's statement: "For he hath made to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him," gave it this interpretation: "That as our sin is imputed to Christ, who had no sin, so Christ's righteousness is imputed to us without our being righteous." Barclay objected to the

assertion that Christ was reputed a sinner by God, and he was equally opposed to any arbitrary, mechanical transference of righteousness from Christ to men. Men cannot be made just in that way, and there was no room in the system laid down in the "Apology" for assuming that a man would be counted just by imputation, while in his life and conduct he remained unjust. Here is our author's summing up of his own case:

"And to conclude this proposition, let none be so bold as to mock God, supposing themselves justified and accepted in the sight of God, by virtue of Christ's death and sufferings, while they remain unsanctified and unjustified in their own hearts, and polluted in their sins, lest their hope prove that of the hypocrite that perished."⁸

The theological theory of Justification involved an indifference to good works in the plan of salvation. It was responsible for the oft-repeated assertion of the professional revivalists, heard almost universally a

⁸The Apology p. 228.

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generation ago, about the certain condemnation of the merely moral man. Barclay was also critical of self-developed morality; of a righteousness which was creaturely, and which did not proceed from the divine moving in the heart. It probably did not occur to him that a reasonably righteous life was fairly good evidence that the divine spirit, the source of all good, had been busy in the human heart. Still he was insistent that the true faith in Christ, which led to the guidance of his spirit, bore fruit in the right life, and without this visible evidence there was reason to be suspicious of the faith, and to doubt the act of justification.

Just how much of a bewildering claim to perfection this position involved is a matter of speculation and discussion. But in our time perfection itself is a progressive word, and the building of life a continuous process, so that much of the confusing theological contention of the past has little place in the thought of our time, and should not

be allowed to distract the spirit. To grow towards perfection sums up the mark of the high calling, while claiming to be perfect is simply an exhibition of a more or less mischievous spiritual egotism.

CONCLUSION.

Without being counted among the "Five Points" herein treated, it seems right and in order to give some attention to Barclay's position regarding peace and his opposition to war. Probably the Quaker attitude regarding this matter is due as much, if not more, to Barclay than to the founder of the Society of Friends. It should also be remembered that the "Apology" was written before William Penn formulated his peace program by suggesting the creation of a European Diet, or world court of arbitration.

As Barclay was not either a statesman or an economist, his contention regarding peace was purely religious. He claimed that war is not compatible with the teaching of Christ, on the contrary being a flagrant violation of the plain requirements of the Gospel. It is also held that the law of Christ is more perfect than the law of Moses, and really abrogated the code of the

Jewish law-giver. It is claimed with positiveness that the ancient fathers, and all of the leading men of the first three centuries of our era, took a position antagonistic to war, a long list of authors being given to prove the assertion.

With almost a grain of sarcasm Barclay shows how impossible it is to reconcile the precepts of Jesus with the theory and practice of the war advocates. What, indeed, is there in common between the injunction, "Resist not evil," and the command of the worldly warriors to "resist violence with force?" "Give also thy other cheek," is hardly consistent with the common practice to "Strike again." While Christ commanded, "Love thine enemies," the so-called Christian warriors say, "Spoil them, make prey of them, pursue them with fire and sword."¹ In very blunt fashion Barclay

¹These quotations are all arranged from Barclay, and may be found on page 517 of the "Apology."

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says that those who can reconcile these and other inconsistencies stated, "May be supposed to have found a way to reconcile God with the devil, Christ with anti-Christ, light with darkness and good with evil."

We are told that loving one's enemies as enjoined by Christ is contradicted by the theory and practice of war, which inspires men to hate and destroy their enemies. Whereas the weapons of the Christian warfare are not carnal, the weapons of war are "as carnal as cannon, muskets and spears." At more points than it seems necessary to cite, it is shown how utterly at variance is the spirit and purpose of war with the precepts of the Gospel. To bear one's cross, Barclay says is a Christian virtue, the exact opposite of the disposition to destroy and kill, putting the cross on one's enemy according to the game of war. The fundamental virtues of truth and simplicity are killed by the fraudulent stratagems of war; while "fleeing the glory of this world,"

and not to acquire it in the pride and circumstance of war is a plain duty. The conclusion is that war is altogether contrary to the law and spirit of Christ.

In the seventeenth, as in the twentieth century, the apologist for war took refuge in the Old Testament. "Abraham did war before the giving of the law, and the Israelites after the giving of the law," therefore war was to be lawful and permissible forever. Barclay was troubled by the Old Testament citations, as all must be who take literal scripture texts for authority, instead of the truth. His reply to these claims was first, that Abraham offered sacrifice and practiced circumcision, matters not lawful under the Gospel. The inference is that Christians are not bound by the practices of the Patriarch. In the second place, our author affirms that "neither offensive nor defensive wars were lawful to the Israelites of their own will." They must inquire of the oracle of God before

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going to war. Again the wars of the Jews against the wicked nations were simply "figures of the inward war of the true Christian against their spiritual enemies, in which we overcome the devil, the world and the flesh." Barclay, however, is happier when he opposes war with spiritual weapons, and rules it out of the Christian life for men or nations, as a monstrous perversion of the Gospel of Christ.

It is no part of the purpose of this little book to present Barclay as a source of infallible authority. On the other hand our hope is that it may help inspire Friends to a study of their fundamental principle; to see plainly that conformity to popular doctrine is none of their concern, and failure to conform need in no way disturb them. Their divine teacher is internal, and their test of truth the witness within their own hearts.

APPENDIX.

The various points emphasized in this little book seem to present topics for definite study and consideration, and possibly for well-planned discussion.¹

THE SOURCE OF AUTHORITY.

For instance: Is the spirit a better source of Authority than the church or Scriptures? (p. 9). This topic will afford a good opportunity for considering the difference in viewpoint between the Society of Friends and the Catholic and Protestant Churches. Other points will suggest themselves as topics for

¹In connection with the reading of this book, we suggest that attention be given the Thirty-nine Articles of the Episcopal Church, to be found in the Book of Common Prayer, and also to the Westminster Confession of Faith, to be had in pamphlet form at any Presbyterian book store.

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papers or discussion. Is revelation individual in its manifestation? Should precedence be given to present revelation over past revelation?

THE SAVING LIGHT.

In this connection the nature and effect of what is theologically called "original sin" comes to the front. (pp. 12, 13). The question of Predestination (pp. 19-20) may receive careful treatment. Barclay is full of suggestiveness in the entire chapter, which treats of the "Universal and Saving Light." The questions likely to be suggested are many. Is the light universal, and is it sufficient to salvation? Is salvation simply release from future punishment? Were there Christians before Christ? (p. 22). Do men have the light without knowing it? What is spiritual consciousness? Does the successful operation of the light involve obedience to it?

THE CHURCH.

Barclay's definition of what may be called

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the church universal and the church particular is worthy of consideration. (p. 28 to 33). Does the membership in the church universal have the wide range claimed? (p. 29). Consider the matter of church membership based on the accident of birth. (p. 31). Should birthright membership in the Society of Friends be continued? Is the holding of public office incompatible with concerned membership in the Society? (p. 32).

MINISTRY.

Under this head one of the most vital testimonies and practices of our Society is treated. The topic cannot be too thoroughly and thoughtfully considered at the present time. Does Barclay's statement as to the source of the minister's call and authority set up a standard likely to discourage Friends from engaging in vocal service in our meetings? (p. 33). Does the minister need, or should he look for the approval of his hearers? Should the hearer be subject to the minister?

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(p. 34). Is there a difference in spiritual ability, and if so are the specially endowed entitled to extra honor and consideration?

(p. 36).

In our time how much material assistance should those who travel and speak in meetings receive? (pp. 37-42). Can a salaried preacher have a spiritual call to the ministry? Is all equipment for the ministry freely received. Is it desirable that ministers be educated men and women?

WORSHIP.

Consider the broad definition of worship. (p. 44). Is there any point at which a person can absolutely tell that his act of worship is entirely independent of his own will? Is there any spiritual value in a prearranged form of worship? What is the real meaning and value of silence? (pp. 48-49). Are the conclusions of Barclay applicable to our time?

Is a mere belief in certain doctrines a test of Christianity? (p. 50). Admitting that

forms are unnecessary, can worship be entirely informal? Is all prearranged discourse in our meetings to be condemned?

Is it the function of prayer to change the attitude of God toward us, or our attitude towards Him? Would spontaneous singing in our meetings today be helpful? (pp. 55-56). Must inspired thoughts be delivered the moment they are received, or will they keep for future delivery?

JUSTIFICATION.

Assuming that Barclay's repudiation of Justification, as held by Luther and the Calvinists, is correct, what function does faith perform, if any, in making one just? Does faith have anything to do in producing the "birth of Christ" in men?

Is there a sense in which men need redemption from the stored-up sins of the past? (p. 61). Is it possible for men to be moral simply in their own wills? Is a reasonably right life an evidence of inward spiritual renewal?

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If a man's life is mainly in the right, need he be spiritually nervous touching the influences which have produced that result? What is perfection from the practical standpoint?

PEACE.

Should the desire for peace be based solely on religious grounds? Are Barclay's comparisons and conclusions (pp. 67-68) sound and correct?

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