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should dedicate to the dead, to all the dead of the Great War, the event which we are going to consecrate together by our signatures.'

On Tuesday, the 3rd of September this year, the Prime Minister took a further step in the organizing of peace when he announced to the Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva that the optional clause of the Hague Statute was to be signed by England. Referring to the Kellogg Peace Pact for the renunciation of war, the Prime Minister said that the British Government, and he was sure everybody else, was desirous that the Pact should not merely be a declaration on paper, but should be translated into constitutions and institutions that will work for the peace of the world.

But institutions, we know, are not enough. The League of Nations deserves the eager and prayerful support of all Christian people, because it aims at preventing a recurrence of war. It has already accomplished much, and has thereby placed the world in its debt. But the truth is, the League of Nations, in and of itself, is insufficient to guarantee the world's peace. Behind it, if it is to be effective, there must be a mind, a public mind, and it must be a new mind. Was it not Monsieur Briand who said that before disarmament could become a practical policy there would have to be a 'disarmament of the mind'? That is true! But we need something more radical even than a disarmament of the mind; we want the creation of a *new* mind. Men act as they think. If they think in terms of a nation's interests and supposed prestige, they will act as nations, and that is certain to mean antagonism and strife. Not until they think in terms of the race will the peace of the world be secure. Our Lord was always insisting upon the new mind, or the 'new heart' as He expressed it.

And how shall men get this 'new mind,' this 'new heart'? Well, the regular meeting of the representatives of the various nations in the

Assembly of the League is doing something to create it. But it is only Jesus Christ who can really give it. As men learn of Him, receive His Spirit, they get new outlooks, new ideals, new motives, new inspirations. They are literally 'born again.' When Christ is truly received, He gives men the new mind, He abolishes the enmities, and teaches men to love one another. This is not mere theorizing. History affirms the truth of it. There was no fiercer or more vehement nationalist than the Apostle Paul was in his early days. He was a Hebrew of the Hebrews. But, when Christ was born in him, he got a new mind. All his Jewish prejudices died, and he took the world to his heart. Jew and Gentile turned to one another and clasped hands, and said: 'Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another.'

'I attended,' says Dr. J. D. Jones, 'a great religious conference in Boston, U.S.A., many years ago. The platform of the hall in which we met was decorated with flags—the flags of the various nations represented in the conference. But in the middle were hung side by side, and interfolded, the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes. Above those two flags there was hung another flag—a small flag, which consisted of a Cross on a white ground. One day an American speaker explained to us strangers what that tiny flag with the Cross on it meant. It was the flag that floated at the mast-head of American warships during Divine Service. "It is the only flag," he added, "that ever floats above the Stars and Stripes." On that day it was floating above the Union Jack as well. The Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes were, so to speak, linked together by the flag with the Cross on it. But it is not the Union Jack and the Stars and Stripes alone which will float side by side, but the flags of all the nations will float in friendship and peace side by side when the flag with the Cross on it floats over them all.'

Books that have influenced our Epoch.

Carlyle's 'Sartor Resartus.'

BY PROFESSOR W. P. PATERSON, D.D., LL.D., THE UNIVERSITY, EDINBURGH.

CARLYLE'S *Sartor Resartus* ranks in English Literature as the work of a man of genius who had unique command of the resources of our composite language, blended glowing imagination with grim humour, and

in his impassioned prose often reached the sublime. And the substance is as remarkable as the literary form. It is primarily an investigation into the nature and the functions of clothes. From this it

passes to Philosophy, indicates a theory of knowledge, and outlines a metaphysical interpretation of man and the world in relation to God. Further, the philosophical message is illustrated, negatively and positively, by chapters of the spiritual autobiography of the author, who appears under the mask of the German Professor Teufelsdröckh. Finally, the writer being a lay-preacher, he seeks to make his doctrine profitable for correction, for reproof, and for instruction in righteousness.

I.

CLOTHES PROPER AND THEIR USES.

Reasons for wearing clothes must have been given ever since there was a language in which to express ideas. In later times much has been written about dress by the poet, the historian, and the novelist. In the *Tale of a Tub*, Dean Swift showed that it was an excellent subject for the satirist. Acknowledging a debt to Swift, Carlyle recognizes five uses which raiment has served in the economy of human life.

(a) Clothes serve for warmth and protection. As a babe, 'what hadst thou been without thy blankets, and bibs, and other nameless hulls? Dost thou not rejoice in them as in a warm movable House, a Body round thy Body, wherein that strange THEE of thine sat snug, defying all variations of Climate?' (Bk. i. ch. 9).

(b) They serve for adornment. 'The pains of Hunger and Revenge once satisfied, man's next care was Decoration. For Decoration he must have Clothes. Nay, among wild people, we find tattooing and painting even prior to Clothes' (i. 5).

(c) They serve to conceal. To them we owe decency, and also much more. 'Is not Shame the soil of all good manners and good morals? When we view the fair clustering flowers that overwreath, for example, the Marriage-bower, and encircle man's life with the fragrance and hues of Heaven, what hand will not smite the foul plunderer that grubs them up by the roots?' (iii. 3).

(d) They serve to reveal. They have symbolical significance, and it lies in the nature of a symbol that it reveals as well as conceals. To some extent a man is known by his clothes as well as by his friends. In particular there is one kind of man—'the dandiacal body'—who makes known through the excessive adornment of his person the absurd value which he sets on himself. For 'this Dandiacal Sect is but a new modification, adapted to the new time, of that primeval superstition, Self-worship' (iii. 10).

(e) They have a mystic efficacy in influencing human conduct. 'Is not the fair fabric of Society itself, with all its royal mantles and pontifical stoles, whereby we are organised into Politics, into Nations, and a whole co-operating Mankind, the creation of the Tailor alone?' (iii. 11). Consider, for example, the power which goes forth from the judge in virtue of the robes he wears. 'You see two individuals, one dressed in fine Red, the other in coarse threadbare Blue: Red says to Blue, "Be hanged and anatomised"; Blue hears with a shudder, and (O wonder of wonders!) marches sorrowfully to the gallows; is there noosed-up, vibrates his hour, and the surgeons dissect him, and fit his bones into a skeleton for medical purposes' (i. 9).

In view of these considerations, and chiefly because of the mystic efficacy, it was submitted that it was high time to revise the current estimate of the dignity of the tailor's craft. The patcher ought to be re-patched, the tailor re-tailored, by enlightened opinion. Still more evident was when it was realized—which is the next step in the argument—that there are spiritual forms of tailoring which have produced many of the most important things, both in the social sphere and in the realm of Nature, and that the Tailors' Guild might therefore include such craftsmen as the lawgiver, the poet, and the prophet.

II.

CLOTHES METAPHORICAL AND A PHILOSOPHY.

To the witty or poetical minds which are in the habit of comparing ideas, it has naturally occurred that there are other beings than the human biped which have wrappings that are similar to clothes, and that render similar service. The most obvious parallel is the case of the individual writ large—the collective personality of a society, of a nation, or of the race. A second object with its vestments of a sort is the universe. The third—with reverence be it spoken—is God. What is the nature of the raiment of these three, and what the significance of the interpretation for life and conduct, it is the chief purpose of *Sartor Resartus* to declare and illustrate.

1. *The Clothing of Nations*.—In the case of human societies the clothes consist of their equipment of institutions, laws, customs, and religious beliefs, along with 'the solemnities and paraphernalia of civilised life.' The analogy had been used by Burke to give point to his strictures on the vandalism of the French Revolution. It was, he

conceived, the attempt of a people, or at least of a mob, to strip itself of the garments of chivalry and loyalty which it requires for decency, not to speak of adornment and dignity. By this new conquering Empire of Reason all the decent drapery of life was to be rudely torn away. 'All the super-added ideas, furnished from the wardrobe of a moral imagination which the heart needs, and which the understanding ratifies as necessary to cover the defects of our naked shivering nature, and to raise it to dignity in our own estimation, are to be exploded as a ridiculous, absurd, and antiquated fashion' (*Works*, 1808, v. p. 151).

Carlyle agreed with this view of the value of national habiliments and gave additional reasons in its support. They not only imparted beauty and dignity: they served the purpose of protecting a people from injury and even of preserving its life. Not least was this true of the religious creed which might be called the Church-clothes. 'I remark that without such Vestures and sacred Tissues society has not existed, and will not exist. For if Government is the outward Skin of the Body Politic, holding the whole together and protecting it, then is Religion the inmost Pericardial and Nervous Tissue, which ministers Life and warm Circulation to the whole. Without which Pericardial Tissue the Bones and Muscles (of Industry) were inert, the Skin would become a shrivelled pelt, and Society itself a dead carcase' (iii. 2). He also found that state-vestment signally exercises the mystic power which was noted in clothes—as seen in the spell which is laid by national symbols upon the imagination and the heart. 'Have not I myself known five—hundred living soldiers sabred into crows'-meat for a piece of glazed cotton, which they called their Flag' (iii. 3).

On the other hand, Carlyle found it necessary to press an observation which Burke slurred over—viz. that clothes wax old, when they must either be repaired or thrown aside. The Church clothes, he conceived, had gone 'sorrowfully out at elbows.' Christianity was imperishable, as it was indispensable, but there were considerable Christian doctrines which he called Hebrew old-clothes, and deemed to be no longer fit for use. He was also of opinion that England's garb of aristocracy had become shabby in the latter days. 'Where now,' he exclaims, 'are the Hengsts and Alarics of our still-growing, still-expanding Europe who, when their home is grown too narrow, will enlist, and, like Fire-pillars, guide onwards those superfluous masses of indomitable living Valour; equipped, not now with the battle-axe and war-chariot, but

with the steam-engine and ploughshare? Where are they? Preserving their Game!' (iii. 4).

2. *The Vesture of the World*.—Dean Swift had described a sect of clothes-worshippers who construed the world in terms of tailoring. They held the universe, he says, 'to be a large suit of clothes which invests everything; that the earth is invested by the air, the air is invested by the stars, and the stars are invested by the *primum mobile*. What is that which some call land but a fine coat faced with green? or the sea but a waistcoat of water tabby?' (*Tale of a Tub*, ii.). He had added that many other applications could be made, and a student of Philosophy could readily give to the conceit a more profound turn. Since Locke, it was generally held that at least the secondary qualities are due to the perceiving subject, and these could therefore be thought of as a garment with which the mind decks and beautifies the realm of 'things in themselves.' A disciple of Berkeley could conceive of the apprehending mind not only as a tailor that clothed the world, but as a manufacturer that brought it into existence. As aptly could the idea be applied to the system of Kant, with its doctrine of the ideality of space and time, and of the all-important work done by the understanding in building up by its categories the world of experience. In 1823 Carlyle had written contemptuously of the results of the Kantian Philosophy as turning out to be 'but a helmet of rusty iron large as a kitchen-pot, and within it a head but little bigger than a nut' (Froude, *ibid.* p. 158). Three years later he went more deeply into the *Critique of Pure Reason*, when he seems to have accepted generally its theory of knowledge, and in particular to have been deeply impressed by its doctrine 'that Space and Time, the WHERE and WHEN, so mysteriously inseparable from all our thoughts, are but superficial, terrestrial adhesions to thought' (i. 8). And so the human mind, in another point of view the world, got their suit of clothes in the shape of the *a priori* elements of knowledge and especially of the forms of space and time. The uses ascribed to these clothes were mainly two. They served for adornment—so much so that in describing the work of the tailor, Carlyle often thinks of him as an artist. Space and time are 'the Canvas whereon all our Dreams and Life-visions are painted. So that this so solid-seeming World were but an air-image, our ME the only reality: and Nature, with its thousandfold production and destruction, but the reflex of our own inward Force, the "phantasy of our Dream"' (i. 8). The second use, which is rather a disservice, is that they veil the

essential nature of the world. 'Deepest of all illusory Appearances are your world-enveloping Appearances, SPACE and TIME. These, as spun and woven for us from before Birth itself, to clothe our celestial ME for dwelling here, and yet to blind it—lie all-embracing. In vain, while here on Earth, shall you endeavour to strip them off; you can, at best, but rend them asunder for moments, and look through' (iii. 8).

3. *The Garment of God.*—The youth may have heard a sermon on the God who covereth Himself with light as with a garment. The man was never tired of quoting the earth-spirit in Goethe's *Faust* :

'Tis thus at the roaring loom of time I ply,
And weave for God the garment thou seest Him by.'

And it is the idea of God and His raiment that is the culmination of the message of the book.

In applying the conception to the Divine Being, Carlyle again thought chiefly of the double use of the clothes metaphorical as concealing and revealing. The garment of God in the widest sense was Nature.—the realm of Creation and Providence. Specially was man, in his greatness and littleness, a garment symbol of God that revealed in part, and that concealed in part. 'The Universe is but one vast Symbol of God; what is man himself but a Symbol of God?' in which as symbols 'the Infinite is made to blend itself with the Finite, to stand visible, and, as it were, attainable there' (iii. 3). More specially is God revealed in the gifted souls who body forth the beautiful, and render the Divine visible, in true works of Art. Most specially has He lived and wrought in the persons and the deeds of heroic men, and in the greatest of them mankind has rightly recognized and worshipped a present God. 'If thou ask to what height man has carried it in this manner, look on our divinest Symbol: on Jesus of Nazareth, and his Life. Higher has the human Thought not yet reached: a Symbol of quite perennial, infinite character; whose significance will ever demand to be anew inquired into, and anew made manifest' (iii. 3). Christ, further, as highest manifestation of the Divine, exemplified in the most impressive fashion the power that lies in the adequate symbol of the Divine to set the human heart aflame, and to incline the will to heroic self-sacrifice. In all religions one indispensable element was 'some symbolic representation whereby the Divinity was sensibly manifested,' and those who proposed a new religion without this element as did St. Simon, knew neither the genius of religion nor the springs of human action (Wilson, *ibid.* p. 207).

Carlyle nowhere definitely expounded a doctrine of the being and attributes of God. He even objected to any label being attached to his theology. In a letter to Sterling in 1835 he said: 'I am neither Pantheist nor Pottheist, nor any Theist or Ist whatsoever, having the most decided contempt for all manner of System-builders, feeling well before-hand that all such are and even must be wrong' (*ibid.* p. 389). But after all a man either is or is not a theist. He either believes or he does not believe that God is a self-conscious Spirit, possessed of moral attributes, who knows and cares for His creatures. And Theism, there is good reason to hold, was Carlyle's personal creed, though he laid such stress on the Divine immanence that he could be misconceived as identifying God with Nature, or with Nature on its inner side. He used the name of God as a name whose meaning was generally understood in a Christian country, and if he had meant by it something so radically different as the impersonal spirit of the pantheist he was too honest not to have said so. He spoke of God as 'my Father'—which name is very inappropriate in the mouth of one who does not hold God to be a self-conscious Being. He prayed to God as a person addressing himself to a person, as in the petition recorded in his Note-book, 'Grant me, O Father, enough of wisdom to live well, prosperity to live happily—easily—grant me or not, as Thou seest best' (Wilson, *ibid.* ii. p. 136). 'My belief in a special Providence,' he wrote to Emerson, 'grows yearly stronger, unsubduable, inexpugnable' (p. 385). Though Mr. Wilson says he was not interested in the Jewish Jehovah (p. 222), his French Revolution is a solemn republication of the teaching of the Hebrew Prophets as to the retributive justice of God. The theistic interpretation of his utterances, it may be added, was supported by Froude on the ground of their private intercourse. 'It was not credible to him,' he said, 'that intellect and conscience could have been placed in him by a being which had none of its own. God was to him the fact of facts. He looked on this whole system of visible and spiritual phenomena as a manifestation of the will of God in constant forces, not mechanical but dynamic, interpenetrating and controlling all existing things' (*Thomas Carlyle*, ii. p. 5).

III.

THE ILLUSTRATIVE EXPERIENCE.

The philosophy of the metaphorical clothes was no mere *jeu d'esprit*, but the exposition in fantastic

form of beliefs which had had for Carlyle the character of a revelation and even the value of a gospel. This is brought out and illustrated by the portrait and biography of Professor Teufelsdröckh, who, though declared to be mythical in various particulars, and who in others was idealized, undoubtedly represented Carlyle in his birth, upbringing, and education, in his character, talents, interests, and behaviour, and, above all, in the stages of his spiritual history. The experience described in the story of the German professor is of a type which figures prominently in modern studies of the Psychology of Religion. It is the experience whose first stage is the 'primitive credulity' of the child of a Christian home; the second, a reaction of revolt and negation; the third, deliverance and a liberalized positive creed.

1. *The Faith of Childhood*.—Carlyle's inherited faith was the orthodoxy of the strictest sect of Scottish Evangelicalism. And this was commended to the boy by authorities before which he bowed in reverence. His father, James Carlyle, mason by trade, with powers of thought and speech comparable to those of the son, found a satisfying view of existence in the 'Shorter Catechism,' while he adorned his doctrine by a laborious and earnest life. His mother, also gifted, and making of her son a lifelong friend, was much in prayer for him in his intellectual pilgrimages, and saw to it that with all his learning he did not forget to read his Bible. On Sundays they worshipped in a Secession Chapel under the Rev. John Johnstone—'the priestliest man,' says Carlyle, 'I ever under any ecclesiastical guise was privileged to look upon, and in that poor temple, rude, rustic, and bare, were tongues of authentic flame which kindled what was best in me' (Froude, *op. cit.* i. 10).

With this theological training he proceeded in due course to the University of Edinburgh, intending the ministry, and on the conclusion of his Arts Course he took a partial session in the Divinity Hall. Had Chalmers filled the Chair of Divinity twenty years earlier Carlyle might have persevered in the career, but he did not come in contact with any such spiritual force, and so turned aside to school-mastering in Kirkcaldy. And now, and in the years of unemployment that followed, the doubts which had gathered in the academic period seem to have grown to a far-reaching unbelief as he made ever deeper acquaintance with the history of modern Europe and with its schools of thought.

2. *The Eclipse of Faith*.—The view of existence and life which made a temporary appeal was a

thoroughgoing religious and moral scepticism. The tempter suggested that God is a dream and the one solid reality the material world. And for a season it was the hour and the power of darkness in the form of Materialism. 'To me the Universe was all void of Life, of Purpose; it was one huge, dead, immeasurable Steam-engine, rolling on, in its dead indifference, to grind me limb from limb.' 'It is all a grim Desert, this once-fair world of his; wherein is heard only the howling of wild-beasts, or the shrieks of despairing, hate-filled men, and no Pillar of Cloud by day, and no Pillar of Fire by night, any longer guides the Pilgrim' (ii. 7). As to Morality, the tempter suggested that it was a convention whose authority had been much overstated. What we call duty 'was no divine Messenger and Guide, but a false earthly Fantasm made-up of Desire and Fear; Virtue some bubble of the blood, bubbling in the direction others profit by' (ii. 7). The 'Everlasting No,' the spirit of negation (Goethe's *Geist der stets verneint*), was felt to have the best of the argument. 'As he wanders wearisomely through this world, our friend has now lost all tidings of another and higher. He hides not that, in those days, he was wholly irreligious: "Doubt had darkened into Unbelief," till you have the fixed, starless, Tartarean black' (ii. 7). Yet in one point he did not give way. If he could not disbelieve the Spirit that denies, he could at least hate him. If he must accept the theory of a godless universe, at least he need not cower before the Juggernaut. 'The Everlasting No had said: "Behold, thou art fatherless, outcast, and the Universe is mine (the Devil's)"; to which my whole Me now made answer: "I am not thine, but Free, and forever hate thee!"' (ii. 7). The moral consciousness at least was unsubdued.

3. *The Deliverance*.—Upon this grim and prolonged struggle there followed the experience which he was not ashamed to call a conversion. He even gloried in the word as signifying 'a new-attained progress in the Moral Development of man: hereby has the Highest come home to the bosoms of the most Limited' (ii. 10). What had been hidden from Socrates and Plato had been revealed to your Zinzendorfs, your Wesleys, and the poorest of their Pietists and Methodists. It is true that the conversion reported in *Sartor Resartus* was lacking in features which were central in the evangelical type of religious experience. The writer showed little sense of his own sinfulness, said nothing about deliverance from the guilt of sin, and seemed to feel no need of any form of atonement. But it was still a conversion of a real kind, which coincided

with the traditional evangelical form in at least four important particulars.

(a) The conversion began with illumination. The theological treatment recognizes a first stage in which the mind is enlightened in the knowledge of Christ, and in Carlyle's version this was repeated in more general terms. 'It is with man's Soul as it was with Nature: the beginning of Creation is—Light. Divine moment, when over the tempest-tossed Soul, as once over the wild-weltering Chaos, it is spoken: Let there be Light!' (ii. 9). In his case the content of the revelation was that the fundamental reality is Spirit—not matter—and that the Supreme Being is the Infinite Spirit. With this view, with which one 'trode the old rags of Matter into the mire, and exalted Spirit above all earthly principalities and powers,' it seemed to him that a man with force of vision and heart might pierce into the mystery of the world (iii. 1).

(b) The gospel thus apprehended was appropriated by faith. Not by mere intellectual assent, but by a saving faith that was an act of will, he made it his personal possession. The object of this faith is the God who has Nature for His garment, but who is more than the garment. 'O Heavens, is it, in very deed, HE, then, that ever speaks through thee; that lives and loves in thee, that lives and loves in me?' 'The Universe is not dead and demoniacal, a charnel-house with spectres; but godlike, and my Father's!' (ii. 9).

(c) There was peace and joy in believing. 'Sweeter than Dayspring to the shipwrecked in Nova Zembla; ah, like the mother's voice to her little child that strays bewildered, weeping, in unknown tumults; like soft streamings of celestial music to my too-exasperated heart, came that Evangel' (ii. 9). Peace was, indeed, no constant possession of the later years, and he did not think that man was made for happiness, but he remembered that in the conversion he had at least a foretaste of rest and blessedness.

(d) There was a call and an impulse to a life of new obedience. In the evangelical scheme regeneration is followed by sanctification and good works, and the sequel to the Carlylean conversion was of the same character. He was conscious of a moral elevation which could be described in the rapt moments as annihilation of self. Above all, he felt inspired and constrained to bring forth the fruits of righteousness. The deliverance, for one thing, entailed on him the duty of devoting himself to a mission. 'I too could now say to myself: Produce! Produce! Were it but the pitifullest, infinitesimal fraction of a Product, produce it, in

God's name. Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy whole might.' It also imposed on him with new urgency the old commandment that thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. 'With other eyes could I now look upon my fellow man: with an infinite Love, an infinite Pity. O my brother, why cannot I shelter thee in my bosom, and wipe away all tears from thy eyes!' (ii. 9).

IV.

SIGNIFICANCE AND INFLUENCE.

Sartor Resartus met with a disappointing reception. One publisher after another declined it. When at last it appeared in instalments in *Fraser's Magazine*, subscribers used strong language, and the editor was warned that he was seriously damaging its circulation. The author sardonically reproduced the general opinion when he said to an acquaintance, 'Madam, it is a work born in darkness, and destined for oblivion' (Wilson, *ibid.* p. 73). On the other hand, there were a few who agreed with Mrs. Carlyle that it had the hall-mark of genius. We hear of a Scottish minister who considered it as 'fell preaching' in its way as that of Chalmers, and of a Scottish postman who excused his absence from church by the plea that he had to finish Carlyle's wonderful book. Americans discovered that it was a big thing, and admirers began to write him and to interview him. In due course it was valued as the most characteristic utterance of an accredited prophet, became a classic, and was elucidated by commentaries. It had thus considerable influence in the mighty ferment of thought—political, philosophical, and religious—that was to develop in the course of the nineteenth century.

The political philosophy of Carlyle is contained in germ in *Sartor Resartus*, but the doctrines were too slightly handled and were set forth in too bizarre a fashion, to make much impression. They only began to work as a leaven when they had been expounded and applied in *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, the *French Revolution*, and the *Latter-day Pamphlets*. At most it could be said that the serious student learned from the oracles to look with his own eyes at the actual facts of a political situation instead of borrowing a formula about them, and also was disposed to think that there are excellent reasons both for cherishing old institutions and for making very radical attempts to reform them.

On the philosophical side the book helped to popularise fundamental tenets of the idealistic

School. He professed, as we saw, to despise systems and to have no system, but at another time he could say that 'with a basis of experience speculation finds a centre to revolve about, and to fashion itself into system' (ii. 9). As a fact he had himself reached a definite and coherent view of existence based on the principle of the primacy of spirit. And so doubtless the book has made of many a docile reader something of an idealistic philosopher, and that without his knowing it.

The chief significance of *Sartor Resartus* lies in its contribution to a Philosophy of Religion. It was the product of an age of religious storm and stress, when many had found 'that the Mythos of the Christian Religion looked not in the eighteenth century as it did in the eighth,' but also had realized afresh that the world could not dispense with the gospel which it enshrined, and with the spiritual energy which it generated. It seemed accordingly to them that two things were necessary—to re-define the essential content of Christianity, and to commend and defend it by a more effective argument. One way was to fasten on religious experience, to extract from it the essence of Christianity, and to contend that this was self-authenticating. The other was to reduce Christianity to a meta-physical and ethical doctrine, and to claim for this the support of Reason. The latter was the way which was taken by Kant and Hegel, and followed up at a later date with full equipment, by the Anglo-Hegelian School of T. H. Green, and by the Scoto-Hegelian School of the Cairds. It is in this movement that Carlyle has his place—as a fragmentary

contributor, it is true, but also as a brilliant and influential British pioneer. This school of theological philosophy or philosophical theology has had to face two criticisms. It has been objected that it mutilated Christianity in defining it—as notably in the treatment by Carlyle, who only believed in miracles in the sense that everything is miracle, and who does not appear to have believed in personal immortality. But even so, it is better to believe in a fragmentary Christianity than in none. The second objection has been that Christianity was made dependent on a philosophical system, and was thus involved in the fortunes of a school whose doctrines might prove to be only a passing fashion. But while there is force in this, the spiritual philosophy to which Carlyle was a witness must be in principle as indestructible as Christianity. And certainly it was a beneficent factor in the religious life of our country during the nineteenth century. It enabled Carlyle to continue in spiritual communion with his saintly mother, and this with the honest conviction that, however they might differ in secondary matters, they were one by faith in God, and in the Son in whom He is revealed. And the friendship of Carlyle with his mother is a symbol of the effect produced in wide circles by the spiritual philosophy which has a witness in *Sartor Resartus*. For in the nineteenth century, when the everlasting No threatened to go from strength to strength, this spiritual philosophy had no small influence in keeping the highest intellectual culture of the age in friendly relations with Christianity, and in bespeaking reverence for the faith once delivered to the saints.

Incarnation versus Inspiration.

BY THE REVEREND NORMAN HOOK, M.A., NEWBURY, BERKS.

WHILST it is the task and duty of every age to interpret the significance of Christ in terms that will make Him a living reality, and a magnet of irresistible attraction, it must follow that this task can only be successfully done in so far as the significance of Christ is interpreted in the thought-forms which are the commonplace of the day.

To the earliest Christians, Christ was Messiah and the pre-existent Son of God. To a later generation, He was the Eternal Logos. These

were categories of thought commonplace and real to the people of the time, into which could be satisfactorily fitted the values for which Christ stood. In the course of the ages these thought-forms have changed, but the values for which Christ stands remain the same.

I do not think that any one could say that we have succeeded as yet in interpreting Christ in terms that would make Him irresistibly appeal. But if we have failed, it is due to no lack of vital interest and industry. Christ is still the dynamic