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THE

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1901.

DARWINIAN BOTANY.

1. *The Romance of the Wild Flowers.* By EDWARD STEP, F.L.S. (London: Fred. Warne & Co.)

2. *On the Modification of Organisms.* By DAVID SYME. (London: Kegan Paul & Co.)

3. *Chapters in Modern Botany.* By Professor P. GEDDES.

4. *In Nature's Workshop.* By GRANT ALLEN. ("Strand Magazine," 1899.)

WHAT of the system of the famous Charles Darwin will by-and-by remain? He himself in his lifetime made surrender of much; much have his most devoted disciples surrendered since his death; and the process proceeds so fast that there are but a handful even of his most bigoted devotees that now swear by him out and out. Natural selection, propped up by variation on all sides, has on one hand been assailed from the line of use and strain, and has yielded; on another hand, it has been threatened

by such facts as fixation of what is "neither useful nor injurious"—fixation persistent and not to be explained away; leaving natural selection here completely helpless and stranded. Sexual selection is dead, even Dr. Russel Wallace has abandoned it, and will not, though the very soul of chivalry and devoted to Darwin as to a brother, at this point of the field lead a forlorn hope; while he is firm—no man could be firmer—in opposing the position that variations at first are *very slight*, as Darwin held, because he sees that, for a period more or less long, they would also be "*neither useful nor injurious*," and his conclusion is that the various parts of organs vary from 5 to 25 per cent. under or over the average.[1] Survival of the fittest is not found to prevail anywhere, not to speak of everywhere; Mr. Darwin himself, in his last days, piteously bewailing the future of humanity because it does not and cannot prevail in human life and human society, as Dr. Russel Wallace has told us. Man's descent from the apes has been demonstrated by Professor Cope and others not to be the true line; but rather it is from the Phenæcodus *primevus* through the Lemuroids. Cross-fertilisation of plants has not prevailed against the tests of more thorough investigation; instead of that, it is now absolutely clear that, if insects actually do the work Mr. Darwin declared, Nature has a most remarkable way of dispensing with them when she pleases—a way, indeed, which justifies one in saying that Mr. Darwin was absolutely wrong when he declared so boldly that Nature abhors self-fertilisation and that crosses alone are strong and prevailing. All the *Darwinian* botany-books written during the past twenty years must now be thrown away, or else they must be completely rewritten and modified, not on mere minor points, but on the most radical principles. Professor Geddes, in his *Chapters of Modern Botany*, scoffs at the notion, ridden to death by Grant Allen and his following, that spines on plants are merely protections against herbaceous devourers; and Professor Henslow demon-

[1] *Darwinism*, chap. iii.

strates that, instead of processes of fertilisation being absolute for preservation of species, fertile plants can be developed from leaves, and even from galls, from oak galls—a thing Professor Cope again completely sustained by careful experiments.

One of the most extraordinary things is that writers of popular botany-books profess, in general, with the utmost deference to follow Darwin, and yet they are compelled, in an underhand kind of way, to admit so many lapses and present so many salient exceptions, as though they were but mere interesting qualifications on a system that yet remains intact and accepted, that to one who thinks and studies and will be independent and impartial their doings are little short of laughable. They give up all, yet are fain to cling to an old, empty, wornout watchword; they are like the good folk who go to church on Sundays, but tell you, whisperingly at home, that they agree with Mr. Matthew Arnold about "a stream of tendency that makes for righteousness"; they would fain be free from the ancient shibboleths, and yet they go on repeating and repeating them as though by mere repetition they had come to have a real hold upon them after all: they would rank themselves as progressives, yet hark back on discredited catchwords. Mr. Grant Allen was a *facile princeps* here, and to this moment misleads many. But to give definite point to our remarks in illustrating a tendency, let us take up one of the most recent books, that of Mr. Edward Step, F.L.S., *The Romance of the Wild Flowers*—the first of a series of such books issued and to be issued by Messrs. F. Warne & Co., as "The Library of Natural History Romance." Mr. Step writes attractively, if not always correctly: he has a happy knack of narrative, and is fain always to present his facts in the form of a story; and if he pays the penalty sometimes for overdoing this just a little, it only proves that he has in full the defects of his qualities. He has, we understand, been long active as a field naturalist, and is also a very skilled photographer—his samphire photographed *in situ*, as frontispiece to this book, is very excellent indeed,

though, oddly enough, we find no reference to samphire in the index or in the work itself (!)—which illustrates a tendency exactly like the overdone story-telling. Mr. Step's book would not, perhaps, in itself merely, justify the attention we mean to give it; but it is representative of a tendency: it shows, to one who can look at it disinterestedly, the trick by which the Darwinian tradition is kept alive—it actually repudiates it, on separate points, while affecting the utmost reverence for it generally: its significance really is not in what is written, but in what remains unsaid. We propose, therefore, to prove this step by step on every essential point, and will deal with this very readable, interesting, but all too typical work under these eight heads:

1. The manner in which it deals with cross-fertilisation and self-fertilisation in plants.

2. Its overdone Grant Allenism in tracing to influence and habits traits or changes which have in origin, at all events, nothing whatever to do with them.

3. The way in which it glides over the difficulties connected with conspicuous and inconspicuous flowers as correlated with insect cross-fertilisation or self-fertilisation.

4. Its contradictions with regard to insects as accepting and rejecting certain flowers or failing to do so, being deceived by colour, etc., etc.

5. Its utter incompetence in dealing with the facts of development or maintenance of *useless parts*.

6. Its unphilosophic attempts at explanation of modifications, which are all boldly stamped as degenerations.

7. Mr. Step's weakness in so absolutely following Darwin, and whenever he is in need of certain aids and explanations, to help himself out by working exactly on the idea of chance or accident as Darwin himself did.

8. The utter fallacy of his theory of degenerate forms.

Mr. Step tells us that his book is meant not for scientific men, but for "unscientific flower-lovers"; but surely he has hopes that some young flower-lovers even by his aid may become scientific, and surely he ought not on any point he can help to put on them the after-labour of unlearning.

I.

Mr. Step's confessions on individual cases so far are frank enough: his deficiency is in a true, not to say a bold, generalisation from the particulars. He cannot get rid of the facts: (1) that a vast number of the strongest, most persistent, and most useful of our plants are self-fertilised absolutely; nor (2) can he help telling us of the all-important and wonderful fact that even in the cases of plants that are cross-fertilised by insects, a power is reserved to them to dispense with it, or to ensure by other means what they need if it fails, and that they are always, so to speak, prepared for this. Even in cases where flowers are honeyed this is so—in some cases it is very expressly so, as though Nature was really not enamoured of cross-fertilisation or completely trusted it, and was prepared to get rid of it, and was, in fact, gradually doing so. This might be proved by a series of snippets from Mr. Step's book. From almost every other page we might cull them. Brambles, groundsels, cross-worts, shepherd's-purse, knapweeds, mousetails, violets, wood-anemones, horehounds, wound-worts, cow-wheats, lady-smocks, wood-sorrels, snapweeds, pinks, chickweeds, snow-drops, dead-nettles (more especially the henbit), are but a few either absolutely self-fertilised or with clear provision for self-fertilisation if insects fail them. Some insect-fertilised plants are running great risks of extermination through the specialisation Mr. Darwin said was development. Three at least of the Ranunculus family, says Mr. Step, have lost the power of fertilising themselves; and as they have laid themselves out so entirely for the patronage of the larger bees, they run the risk of becoming extinct.

Their carpels develop into open follicles, containing many seeds; but they are not yet common flowers in this country—certainly not nearly so plentiful as the simpler flowers that fertilise themselves, or as those which, while laying themselves out for insect-fertilisation, reserve the right, so to speak, to

fertilise themselves if the appropriate insects do not call in time.[1]

The inevitable penalty then that flowers pay for their specialisation in the direction of organs for insect-fertilisation is the risk of weakness and of extinction ultimately. Says Mr. Step:

Looked at from the human standpoint, such specialisation has produced finer flowers; for it is worthy of note that no member of the Ranunculus family develops blue colouring unless it is specially adapted for cross-fertilisation by bees.[2]

This is a fine commentary on Darwinism! From the human standpoint! It is from the standpoint of overdone science only—the human standpoint is like that of the flowers with Wordsworth—"to enjoy the air we breathe." Mr. Step says so sometimes; only at other times, like Darwin, he seems to say different. Broadly, at all events, Mr. Darwin's theory of cross-fertilisation and its results over vegetable nature will not stand water any more than many of his theories on other things. Mr. Step cannot help himself, and says so, but hardly in such decided terms as we might have expected of him.

Mr. Step writes:

I have already alluded to the risks run by plants whose flowers are so fitted to prevent self-fertilisation; but no doubt the species is always taken care of by *a few flowers varying from the prevailing conditions*. . . . There are a number of species among the pinks and chickweeds that bear indications of having once been cross-fertilised, but, evidently finding that such a condition was not the best suited to their particular mode of life, have abandoned it in favour of self-fertilisation.[3]

"A few flowers varying from the prevailing *conditions*," surely means strictly "varying from the prevailing forms," since identical conditions are assumed, *ex hypothesi*, to remain unvarying for all; but this throws a most remarkable light on Mr. Darwin's dogmatisms, showing how absolutely false,

[1] Page 76. [2] Page 77. [3] Page 111.

in view of facts, were all his deliverances on cross-fertilisation and self-fertilisation.

Speaking of certain members of the Ranunculus family, Mr. Step says :

> We must not make the mistake that many writers upon this subject have made, that plants specially adapting themselves to cross-fertilisation by insects are more greatly advantaged than the self-fertilised species.[1]

We have cases of bees which visit flowers for their colour, and, not getting what they want, pierce tender parts and suck juices; other cases where a vast inference is drawn that honey was once in the spur to make it "worth while for insects to visit the flower," while now they visit the flower though *it is not worth while*, since the spur is honeyless and the flower degenerate. But the bees stick to it though it is not worth while—alas! only too like many foolish human beings who stick to the flowers though there is not any honey, and are looked down on by the practical or worldly-wise ones who always look well to matters, and go only where honey is, following, in their own way, the prudent maxim of the northern farmer to his son :

> Doan't tha marry fur munney, but goa where munney is.

With the bee-orchis self-fertilisation is a certainty through the disposition of its parts, though from the colour of the lip one might suppose that it invited insects to fertilise it. What, then, is the *true* object of that lip-colour? since clearly the plant does not need insect visits.

While it has been laid down elsewhere that the great tendency is to pass from *anemophilous* to *entomophilous* in plants—from dependence on the wind to dependence on insects, because the production of such volumes of pollen lays a severe strain on the resources of the plant—at page 55 we read that the salad burnet (*Poterium sanguisorba*) in most cases keeps its stamens and pistils apart; the upper flowers in a head, or occasionally with a pistil among them.

[1] Page 77.

The plant has, so to speak, turned its back upon the insects and laid itself out for cross-fertilisation by wind agency—hence its long style branches at the summit into a perfect brush of stigmas to catch the flying pollen grain; hence also its twenty or thirty excessively long stamens, that its extravagant output of pollen may be caught by the wind and swept away.

But this really suggests a good deal more than Mr. Step sets before us, though at other parts of his book he cannot help glancing at it, and glancing with some oppressed sense of difficulty too. Great risks are run in insect-attendance. Here is one admission of it among many:

No doubt in some seasons adverse circumstances keep down the number of humble-bees, and many of these specialised plants fail to set any seeds at all. Such an accident (!) would, of course, seriously affect the number of such plants, so that we must not make the mistake that many writers upon this subject have made, that plants specially adapting themselves to cross-fertilisation by insects are more greatly advantaged than the self-fertilised species.[1]

Nature broadly declines to run all the risks or *accidents* (?) implied in insect-fertilisation, and, *pace* Darwin, is more busy at this moment in modifying towards wind or self-fertilisation than she is the other way. The whole question exactly shows what can be done by elasticity and resource on the part of men who have been boomed into an authority to which they do not have and never did have any real title, to buttress up error and sustain the vanity that will overreach itself to uphold an utterly foundationless theory.

But having once admitted this much, what is the good of such attempts as the following?—

Flowers fertilised by wind-agency (*anemophilous*), with bright-coloured congeners, may be generally regarded as degenerate, and this is probably the course of their downward career; they made a coloured calyx do instead of a corolla which completely vanished, and with the petals *probably* went the honey-glands; then the insects gave up their visits as unprofitable to them-

[1] Page 77.

selves, and only those flowers that *chanced* to fertilise themselves contrived to get seeds. Lacking the stimulus afforded by insect-irritation, less nutriment flowed to the sepals, and these dwindled and began to revert to the purplish-green or yellowish-green that is a sign of floral poverty. The essential organs would increase in length, the stamens producing much pollen and the stigmas maturing before the anthers. And so we find them to-day, *the yellow anthers the most striking feature of the flower.*[1]

On this passage two remarks may be made: (1) Why should the insects have deserted this plant while yet there were "brilliant yellow anthers" any more than other flowers towards which they are still attracted, as Mr. Step tells us, *solely by colour*? they could surely, failing honey and pollen, have found juices there too if they sought them as they do, as he declares, in other cases, where though they visit they do not fertilise. (2) What is really the meaning of the words above, "chanced to fertilise themselves"? How could that occur by chance? Does it mean effect without due natural cause, or what does it mean? There is no "chance" here any more than there is elsewhere, and we object to the use of this phrase as loose, misleading, and unjustified.

Now about the clovers: their case is absolutely decisive against Darwin. He undertook a long series of experiments, which, however, were robbed of all real value because he did not, as in some other cases, report *all* his results, but only such as he deemed upheld his theory. He laid it down that the fertilisation of the clovers was so dependent on the visits of bees that without these visits clover would without exception be infertile; and this was so absolute and unqualified, when he himself describes how he had seen whole fields of *Trifolium pratense* rendered infertile by the humble-bees cutting the calyx of the flowers in order to get at the nectar. The eating of the nectar with the bee is the primary purpose certainly, and not the fertilisation of the plant. But Mr. Darwin used the word purpose so strangely that we need not dwell on that. The purpose of the flower

[1] Page 71.

might yet be to use the visits of the bee for fertilisation. But clearly this purpose cannot be regarded as valid or supreme, in face of the fact that the clovers do get fertile seeds without the bees. Mr. David Syme, in his volume *On Modification of Organisms*, has this footnote :

Darwin says that *Trifolium pratense* will not produce seed unless it has been visited by humble-bees. The statement has been accepted without question, and some settlers in New Zealand have imported humble-bees into that colony in order to secure seed from the flowers, which bloom freely enough, but were believed, on Darwin's authority, to be infertile. But this is quite a mistake. Red clover seed had been grown and exported from New Zealand long before the humble-bee was introduced there; and I am informed by one of the leading Melbourne seedsmen that he has been supplied with this seed, grown in the Western District of Victoria, for the last seventeen years, although no humble-bees have ever been introduced into that colony.

Mr. Syme's book was published in 1891, so that seventeen years before that would carry us back to 1874, about the date of Mr. Darwin's *Domestication of Plants and Animals*.

The case of the sweet violet is to Mr. Step, as it has been to many others, a complete poser.

On all the hypotheses respecting cross-fertilisation this thing is a paradox. It can only be explained on the assumption that the insects which successfully fertilise it in the warmer parts of the Continent do not occur in Britain, though *they must have been indigenous until quite recent times or the flower would have degenerated.* But there are no signs of degeneration about our sweet violet (*Viola odorata*), though it has devised a very ingenious way of getting over the difficulty thus presented to the perpetuation of the species.[1]

Here is a case in our own country correspondent exactly to that of the clovers in New Zealand, but it is reduced to an easy case of exception ; the violet has not degenerated—it has not had long enough time yet to degenerate—that, like

[1] Page 96.

other Darwinian processes, is such a long process. *Dear* sweet violet, how much we owe to you!

Mr. Darwin's great argument "and overdone analogy" about the clovers, and old maids, and cats, and field-mice, which seems so ingenious and even funny, is therefore wholly false, and does not in the last result in the least favour his theory. For, even if the facts were as he holds, which they are not, as is here seen, the fertilisation and preservation of the clovers would be dependent on such easily affected conditions as would make their tenure of life very precarious indeed—as would be the case wherever and whenever such utter dependence on changeable conditions was found to exist. Mr. Step himself glances in this direction, but without following his principle here, as in so many other cases, to its final applications; he merely states generally that clovers had been self-fertilised in New Zealand.

With regard to Mr. Step's idea that cross-fertilisation specially produces "a floral aristocracy"—"splendid individuals,"—three things are to be said: (1) That the production of splendid individuals, unless checked and directly limited by other influences, is and always has been deleterious to the *whole*, rather than otherwise. Mr. Darwin's notion of cross-fertilisation as a vast advance because specially producing "splendid individuals," not only was an error, a generalising from too narrow a basis of particulars, but it was an elevating of an ignorant or common error to the very highest plane of science. Is it, or is it not, the fact, on examination, that for the work of making the common atmosphere fit for our breathing we are absolutely dependent in the final result on the common weeds, mainly self-fertilised? and just in the measure that we get "splendid individuals," in the exact proportion that they prevail this part of the business is less completely and less continuously performed for us. (2) Nature is most careful never to go too far on one side; if she did so she would run the risk of absolute failure on the merest changes of conditions. This is absolute. Mr. Darwin blindly set out by saying, in *Origin of Species*, first edition, that conditions were practically of

no account, of no influence, "of no more importance than the spark in determining the nature of the conflagration" (these are his own exact words!); and never, we venture to say, did a great man come nearer than Mr. Darwin there did to uttering nonsense. Man imitates Nature always on the side of overdoing where already she herself has overdone, and where conditions become *en revanche* absolute. He finds his chances, so to say, in her excess already, and could not find it otherwise. Mr. Darwin always said, here following Lamarck, that man could only influence Nature and gain his selective results because she was herself already looking to certain selective results there. But what does man do? He goes on getting "splendid individuals" till there is sterility absolute; Nature so far does the same, only she has, unlike man, unexpected and, *pace* Darwin, very sudden ways of counterchecking and saving herself; and this she does always, with a view to return on the common—on what men call weeds, which weeds and their prevalence and work are exactly his salvation and more for the whole than all the "splendid individuals" that ever appeared or will appear. Man's conceit here appears as it appears in a thousand other things. Nature leads him a certain way and permits him to flatter himself with, "How clever I am!" "What a wondrous fellow I am!" etc., etc., and then, lo and behold, he is in front of a dead stone wall, with a threatened desert behind him, while Nature seems to run off "shrieking with laughter" at his failure. Even if we admitted the propriety of the phrases "degeneration," "reversion," "going back," as appropriate in the individual case, they would be grossly wrong in view of the general order, since they revert to save the life of the world. (3) There is no proof of any case in which cross-fertilisation is absolute, that is, could not be dispensed with at Nature's hand, under changes of condition or other changes always possible. Mr. Step has to admit as much—nay, he has, not fully admitting it to himself or recognising its consequences, to grant this much. The assumption that Nature in keeping reserves of possibilities for other methods

is going back, is only degenerating, has no ground whatever in any fact presented ; nay, what is called loosely degeneracy is most often self-preservation, and what is more, preservation of human and other races outside and beyond the vegetable races altogether. So splendid are the generalising powers of our naturalists ; so far and fine is their insight. It is equal to their disability or disinclination to see things related that really cannot be at all understood apart from each other. (4) The whole idea that conspicuous flowers are due to insects, and that insects' presence is necessary to maintain them, is absolutely false. If it were true, conspicuous flowers should most abound where insects most abound. But conspicuous flowers are comparatively rare in the sub-tropics where insects abound, and are numerous in temperate zones where insects are more scarce. Dr. Wallace says, after fullest examination of this special point and thought upon it, that, in proportion to the whole number of species of plants, those having gaily coloured flowers are actually more abundant in the temperate zones than between the tropics[1]—that is, conspicuous flowers are not most abundant where insects are most abundant, which most certainly should be the case were Mr. Darwin's theory well based.

The general result on this head is, then, that Nature makes use of insects to aid her in flower production in certain ways, just, as we may say, to make sure ; but that she is in no way absolutely or at any point dependent upon them, and can dispense with them *at a moment's* notice, if need be : hence Mr. Darwin's whole reading of the matter was a false, one-sided, and utterly inefficient one ; and hence again his all too determined effort to manipulate and to make his facts and experiments, willy nilly, come to his aid. His view was narrow, mechanical, and untrue, after all.

Mr. Step is with us here and cannot help himself, only

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[1] *Tropical Nature*, p. 165

he systematically harks back from allowing too plain statements of it. Thus he writes:

> In spite of the *earlier* conclusions of Darwin, Lubbock, and others that self-fertilisation is an evil, the enormous number of species of composites, the abundance of individuals and their world-wide range, convince me that it is the happy mean between continual self-fertilisation and exclusive cross-fertilisation that "pays" best.[1]

Here notice he still holds by cross-fertilisation as essential to the process of nature in development, etc.

And so even with Mr. Step, who would fain be a Darwinian here, as he remains too much, alas! a Darwinian on some other points, the facts are too much and too strong to allow him to follow Darwin and Lubbock here. That is something surely to the good. Yet see how cunningly he harks back on a mixture, a kind of compromise, so delightful to certain minds (and those not only political minds either). As a matter of fact there is not and cannot be in Nature any "happy mean" such as Mr. Step supposes; the two processes are really opposed to each other, and what is actually meant is that change of conditions of any marked kind would very definitely disturb the one process, as Mr. Step himself so awkwardly confesses about the clovers in New Zealand (and he should have added Australia!) which most successfully fertilised themselves at once, and without apparent lapse or struggle, when no bees were there to do it. And if Mr. Step had known Mr. David Syme's facts, perhaps he would have been less inclined to a "happy mean" here, and would have agreed with us *in toto*. The clovers, you see, in New Zealand escaped absolutely from his daisy-chain of a "happy mean," and survived. If his "happy mean" had been the reality he fain would have it, they most certainly would not have survived.

The sweet violet testifies exactly the same thing, and yet more strongly. There is not the slightest ground in its case for saying that it underwent any kind of struggle to adjust

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[1] Page 182.

itself and fall into the wonderful "happy mean" of Mr. Step—there is no suggestion whatever of any lapse or period of intermittence, no note of any sudden change or effort to modify certain organs. Yet if, as Mr. Step says, insects once present in Britain that fertilised it have within a very short period of time ceased to exist there, we should, even on his own principles, have all the more and clearer note of that; indeed, the shorter the time that has elapsed since these insects deserted us the bolder, clearer, and more unmistakable note we should have of struggle, modification, and, as he should say, degeneration, else there is nothing either in evolution or in natural selection. "They (the insects) ***must have been*** indigenous until quite recent times ***or the flower would have degenerated.***" But, good Mr. Step, unless the sweet violet had had resources beyond what you credit it with it should have shown marked and sudden change; it should, more than any of the others, have presented you with proofs of degeneration, of struggle for existence, of adaptation to new conditions; it should have transformed certain of its organs or be in process very noticeably of doing so even now: if no sign of that can now be detected, is it reasonable or logical to suppose that such signs will become more assertive long ages afterwards? "***But there are no signs of degeneration about our sweet violet, though it has devised a very ingenious way of getting over the difficulty thus presented to the perpetuation of the species.***"[1] "Has devised" is good; but, put as Mr. Step puts it, he assumes what he has no right to assume, and what, in fact, he denies: it possessed powers; it did not *devise* in any true sense. And this case (along with that of the clovers) so definite, so complete, makes us doubtful, very doubtful, of Mr. Step's ingenious arguments from or to degeneracy in the mass of other cases, as our readers, we think, will admit, with good ground too. And for this surely we have some grounds more relative than Mr. Step's fancies.

[1] Page 96.

II.

About spines on plants, and the reason why Nature favours them in certain circumstances, Mr. Step's notion is of the simple, easy, and apparent order. Read, "*The blackthorn has learned to protect itself from cattle by growing spines.*"[1]

Again:

In the carline-thistle (*Carlina vulgaris*) we have an advance in thistliness—the leaves being furnished with spines, and some of the involucral bracts being spiny and rigid, *to dishearten browsing beasts.*[2]

And so, wherever spines turn up, as they have a habit of doing, and of turning in too! How these fellows follow each other in their fallacies! Mr. Grant Allen was great and greatly persistent on this same matter. On the contrary, we hold that spines on leaves have reference primarily to mitigating certain effects of heat—heat of sun and heat of soil—and also to throwing off of water which, in great heat, would aid the burning of leaves, etc. Mr. Lothelier found that by growing *Berberis vulgaris* in a moist atmosphere it bore no spinescent leaves, but in a perfectly arid atmosphere it bore spines only. Intensity of light on the plant also favoured their production. The late lamented Hon. David Carnegie in *Spinifex and Sand*—an account of his journeys across the desert of Western Australia—tells how in certain parts and in certain seasons the spinifex produces no grass blades at all, but only stools or compact bundles or clusters of spines. "Well was it named 'porcupine grass,'" he exclaims; and he soon goes on to add, in full confirmation of our theory: "As for animal life, one forgets that life exists, until occasionally reminded of it by a bounding spinifex rat." So that browsing animals are not very many there, and Nature in the West Australian desert produces

[1] Page 51. [2] Page 189.

spines when absolutely there is no call for her to do so. Mr. Carnegie, in a letter to us on this very point, says:

In reading an account of an advance up the Nile, I noticed that the mimosa in the desert proper is described as having sharp prickles only, which, farther south, where there is more rain, give place to leaves. It seems to me much the same with the spinifex. For, on the confines (north and south) of the West Australian desert, where rain is less uncommon than in the far interior, the spinifex has a top-growth. In the heart of the desert this top-growth does not exist, and there the rainfall is practically 0.

There is in the law we have laid down a primary and antecedent reason to browsing creatures—a law exhibited in extreme in the case of the Australian desert spinifex, as described by Mr. Carnegie. Commons, heaths, etc., where donkeys graze and rabbits flourish, are mostly sandy and poor. In the sun the sand powerfully radiates heat, and in the night dews sometimes fall heavily, and so Nature has armed plants there with power to meet and to adapt themselves to the conditions; they do not develop long stalks and many leaves, which would lay too heavy a tax upon the root, which needs to keep all its sap and moisture near to itself, stored in the root, often deriving aid from oily gums, etc., for the storing of sap in the root is not a matter of winter sleep merely. Mr. Grant Allen here, in a slight degree, puts the cart before the horse. His own drawings show it; for the open flower of the carline is flatter to the ground than the protected and closed flower-head, and thus from its erection it would run most risk of being trodden on, or destroyed and eaten by donkeys, etc. But the great enemy which this plant is thus primarily arrayed against is excessive moisture deposited upon it, which, remaining there in drops on the flower-head in the heat of summer on dry sandy heath, would convert its heart into a scorched or burned mass by strong sun's rays acting on the water drops as through burning glasses. This is the first thing it has to guard its flower against, as well as against having its pollen washed away; and it does so, and effectually does so;

though being raised up more above the ground, and just in the very measure that it is so raised, is it more exposed to being trodden on and eaten by animals.

The same argument exactly applies to the pink rest-harrow, which when it grows in well protected and rich-soiled meadows is quite unarmed; but in very dry, sandy places and heaths, etc., produces a specially prickly variety, which, Mr. Grant Allen says, is primarily meant for them to defend themselves from donkeys, rabbits, geese, etc., etc.

But rich-soiled meadows are not usually without cattle, horses, and sometimes donkeys grazing on them. The risk here of being eaten or destroyed is certainly quite as great as there. Besides all this, we are certain, if the soil is poor, sandy, and hot, the pink rest-harrow will produce its prickles and bristles, though no donkey, rabbit, or goose ever trod or will tread the ground. It produces the prickles or spines for other reasons primarily, though, in a secondary sense, it may be found an aid as against these animal enemies. And now, if it should be found true on verification that Nature does arm the rest-harrow on poor soils where donkeys are unknown, as in some cases they would surely be, is it not a waste of energy and resource to put on armour where there is literally no enemy to contend against?

And that we are in so far right here is proved by the following passage from that work of Professor Cope, which is to us the most valuable and interesting of all his many laborious, interesting, and valuable books. Professor Cope says:

> I have changed the spiny *Ononis spinosa* (the rest-harrow), both by cutting and by seed, into a spineless form, undistinguishable from the species *Ononis repens*, in two years; but it would, I doubt not, have at once reverted to the *Ononis spinosa* if I had replanted it on the poor dry soil from which I took it.[1]

Professor Henslow says:

> The spines originate, I maintain, as a mere accidental and

[1] *Factors in Evolution*, p. 227.

inevitable result of the arrest of the organ in question, such arrest being mainly due to drought.

Cope, again, replies to Wallace's argument from spinous plants in humid climates, when he cites the *Gleditschia* (honey-locust) as an example that there may be survivals of periods of drought in former ages.[1]

Thistles on rich meadows grow stalks two or even three feet high. Now, on rich meadows, if they are not nibbled by donkeys so often as on sandy heaths, still donkeys may be turned out there, and horses, which, with lips well turned back, will try to nibble the thistles to get the dainty morsels too; and it is nothing less than a clear disadvantage to them that on short grass the tall thistles can be seen from so great a distance.

Professor Geddes, in our idea, hits the nail on the head when he thus disposes of this fallacy and most egregious error:

To give snails credit for evolving plants with crystals, sourness, and poison; to make cattle and the like responsible for the thorns on plants, is like giving snakes the credit of evolving boots which protect our heels.[2]

III.

Mr. Step has an admirable and most available formula for getting rid of difficulties under this head: it is degeneration —"they have come down in the world." "Probable degeneration from a typical form," as at page 53, suffices; and Mr. Step announces this, and passes on. No more, according to him, is needed.

"The alchemilla have tiny inconspicuous flowers," writes Mr. Step, "the corolla being entirely absent; but it is *very probable that they have seen better days*, for they still produce honey. Most of the flowers are deficient either in stamens or pistil, one or the other being absorbed, and this condition of course brings about cross-fertilisation through the visits of short-lipped insects."[3]

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[1] *Factors in Evolution*, p. 228.

[2] *Chapters of Modern Botany*, p. 125. [3] Page 55.

Again, *per contra :*

There is not a great variety in the flower structure and adaptations of the cross-worts family, the majority being white or yellow or self-fertilising. Some of them show clearly that they have fallen back from a condition when they sought insect aid in the fertilisation of their seed-eggs.[1]

Still "harping on my daughter," you see. Mr. Step's basis is Darwin ; that, he holds, is the highest which deals with and depends on insects, notwithstanding that so many facts have been presented, even by him, proving that certain risks are inseparable from insect association, and are in most instances provided against. You cannot put new wine into old bottles ; nor can you face all the facts of later botany and anatomy of plants and hold by Darwin. The scaffolding is gone, and you cannot ascend there to put the last coping on your walls.

Listen again to Mr. Step :

The presence of these minute white petals in the shepherd's-purse, and in some cases honey-glands that no longer secrete honey, testifies to the fact that these plants *have come down in the world. Yet in spite of their lack of show or presence they are a standing rebuke to those writers who have so strongly asserted that cross-fertilisation produces a more vigorous and successful race.* What cross-fertilisation by insect agency does is to produce more brilliant individuals and to keep up large flowers of bright hue. In fact, it produces a kind of floral aristocracy.[2]

IV.

Another empty and weary formula is that insect cleverness is only equal to their stupidity. They know so much when it suits these gentlemen ; and again, when it suits them they know so little. They show intelligence of the highest in one action, and no intelligence at all in another action and even instincts—Mr. Darwin's "strange," "unaccount-

[1] Page 88. [2] Page 92.

able," or "mysterious" instincts—fail utterly to keep them straight. Here are cases :

None of the species of poppies, including the greater celandine, produce honey, insects being attracted by the showy petals and coming for pollen alone, alighting on the convenient stigmas, and *easily* reaching the anthers, they *easily* effect self-fertilisation, but no doubt crosses are very frequent. Flowers of this open character are not specialised for fertilisation by any particular species or family of insects ; they are visited by beetles, flies, and bees indiscriminately.

Which just means what Mr. Step does not exactly mean, that strict specialisation for special insects is not what Darwin said it was, but the very opposite—a weakness and a source of weakness.

Speaking of the alchemillas, Mr. Step says : "*Insects would soon find out the fraudulent pretence of perfuming the air, yet offering no refreshment to visitors.*"[1]

Yet when, at page 147, he speaks of the rest-harrow (*Ononis spinosa*), he tells us the exact opposite—that they do not ever discover the fraudulent pretence in that case, and are very stupid :

The rest-harrow does not produce honey, therefore there is no free stamen, for there is no necessity for leaving an opening to the staminal tube. Yet the flower is fertilised by bees, and by bees only. It would appear that though *they get no honey they have not yet learned to avoid so attractive a flower* ; there can be little doubt that in this case the rosy tint and large size of the flower lead them to expect more than they find. According to the observations of Müller, it appears that the male bees on finding they have been deceived go off in disgust, but more thrifty females, after assuring themselves there is no honey, start collecting pollen and so get something for their trouble.

How romantic ! We know it is the female insects in many classes that do all the biting and the stinging, and in this respect they are the more to be avoided ; so here the males show stupid and huffy and fussy, and the females

[1] Page 54.

by action set the balance straight. If our botany is weak our entomology shall help us out!

But even if the males act so stupidly, that is hardly consistent surely with the wonderful artfulness of the bee (not female *only* here) in the case cited of *Lathyrus sylvestris.*

V.

Mr. Step is very decided in saying that certain marks on flowers are nothing but guiding-lines to direct the insect to the honey. Wherever he meets with such marks he describes them thus, and takes for granted what lies behind his statement. But to this we must reply that such guiding-marks are found on many flowers that have no nectar at all. Are these marks then meant to guide to the pollen? If they are guiding-marks for insects, and if the flowers have no honey, then this must be what they guide the insects to. But Mr. Step, as well as the most bigoted Darwinian, surely will admit that the production of seed is the chief end of the act of fertilisation, that there can be no seed without pollen; so that pollen eaten by insects cannot but be lost in the most literal sense of the words. Mr. Darwin, to have been consistent, should have held that the purpose of pollen production was to attract insects as well as nectar production. Anyway, *many insects visit the flowers for the pollen alone*; but this fact would not surely justify Mr. Step or any other man in saying that the purpose Nature intended in producing pollen was that it should be eaten by bees and other insects. Throughout great areas of the globe—the Arctic and Antarctic regions, the temperate and Alpine regions—insects are very rare or are entirely absent, and Dr. Russel Wallace and others have had to confess how rare after all are conspicuous flowers in the sub-tropical regions.

VI.

Again, Mr. Step writes:

What is the purpose of the bladder-like calyx on the bladder-campion (*Silene cucubalus*) it is not easy to see; but an enemy of

the plant makes use of it for his own protection, and *unless it served some useful purpose to the plant we should expect natural selection to do away with it.*

A caterpillar, in fact, takes up its abode in it, and when it gets too large for the domicile it hangs its hinder parts out, glad to get head and shoulders protected, and by-and-by it hides in a hole at the root of the plant by day to escape birds, and goes up home again to its old quarters regularly at night.

Now, how is this to be accounted for? Clearly this bladder-like calyx must at first have been but a mere swelling and ranked as a fixation of what was "neither useful nor injurious"; but it developed, and grew—not towards *use* apparently, but to what was really injurious—a receptacle for the caterpillar. Well might Mr. Step have exclaimed here, as he exclaims in one or two other cases, "Natural selection should have done away with it"; but it did not! and this seems, so far as we can see, really to supply another case of many where parasitism comes in, in which certain modifications of habits or parts are absolutely in favour of another species altogether; precisely as alien birds nurse the young cuckoos to the destruction of their own brood, one and all, or as the *Sacculina* in the tail of the crab breeds there in safety, and the crab never breeds again —the parasite flourishing on the very defeat of the first aim of all creatures, the production of their kind and the perpetuation of their species. These are exactly cases, so far as we can see, which supply precisely what Mr. Darwin said, if found, would completely overturn his whole theory. Merely because natural selection has not done away with this bladder-like calyx on *Silene cucuballus*, Mr. Step assumes that it serves some useful purpose to the plant, just as we might assume that because the innocent little birds brood the young *Cuculus canorus*, to the death of their own nestlings, they have benefit in it through their satisfaction with the greedy monster; but no ingenuity can make out there a benefit to the species. And if the caterpillar on the

bladder-campion effects benefit to the plant or is useful to it, why does Mr. Step speak of it as an enemy of the plant?

VII.

One more word from Mr. Step:

There are, however, many things that help to make this planet habitable, but *whose* (!) utility the average man fails to see. The weeds that are apparently the most worthless and least ornamental are incessantly providing the enormous volumes of oxygen demanded by animal life, many of them working through that period of the year when the (so-called) useful and the ornamental are leafless.

But Mr. Step is really guilty, without quite intending it, of a little libel upon the average man here. Mr. Darwin's own declaration on cross-fertilisation and the essential value to the world of conspicuous flowers to ensure it by appealing to the insects are exactly on the same *venue* as that of the average man; and though Mr. Darwin made some efforts at qualifying it, he did not completely succeed, else Mr. Step would not and could not have written some of the most pretty and eloquent and striking paragraphs of this book.

VIII.

Now just see how Mr. Step seeks safety and escape from difficulties, exactly as his great master did, by chance and accident. He says:

Suppose that one like the barren strawberry, with white flowers and trefoil leaves, had ACCIDENTALLY varied in the direction of its receptacle growing large and spongy like the marsh cinquefoil, there would be a tendency in its offspring to repeat the, let us say, malformation. If its size and glowing colour attracted the birds that have a weakness for crimson or scarlet, and they ate its flesh with the attached nutlets, the contained seeds would pass through the birds' digestive organs

uninjured and be sown in richer soil. This would give the seedlings an advantage, and tend to fix the character by which they had benefited. Then, *if the production of a sweet fluid* (nectar) on the surface of the receptacle was extended to the interior of the spongy receptacle, so that it grew sweet and juicy, this would *no doubt* cause the plant to be still more sought out by birds "with a sweet tooth," and the seeds to be more effectually distributed. We all know how plentiful the wild strawberry is, and how plastic it has proved in the hands of the fruit-grower, who has got from it a very large number of cultivated varieties, differing in the size, colour, and peculiar flavours of the fruit.[1]

"*Accidentally* varied"! well, that is exact science.

We have at page 71 a clause, "only those flowers that chanced to fertilise themselves contrived to get seeds." That is good! If you cannot find a satisfactory reason or explanation, go for "chance," or "happening," or "accident," as did Darwin and Romanes, whose theory exactly was that there could be no such thing as "chance," or "accident," or "happening."

Even the so-called insect-fertilised plants are by no means numerous; comparatively, indeed, they are very rare. They are most numerous among the cultivated plants, so that we are very familiar with them; but they are far from abounding in a state of nature; and these facts suggest some considerations very directly opposed to the Darwinian idea. The first is, that man's cultivation of plants has much to do with the development of something in the plants that renders them liable to the visits and attentions of the insects. One great fact is that double flowers are almost invariably infertile. And this is only taking the matter at an extreme point of view, to press the doctrine that we have here indicated.

The truth is, that the farther a plant departs from its weedy nature the less is it demanded and the less really is it needed as a purifier of the atmosphere; so that on the broadest cosmic principles of use and necessity, those plants

[1] Page 43.

are the highest which, according to Darwinian botanists, are now the lowest, and *vice versâ*. The earth would be habitable and pleasant if we went back absolutely to what botanists please to call the simplest forms; but it would not and could not be so were they to disappear in favour of what by them are called and greatly exalted as the higher; so that all the Darwinian arguments in favour of cross-fertilisation as productive of stronger and more perfect plants are vitiated, and vitiated absolutely, by considerations of the highest use and benefit, not to the flowers alone, but to the world.

ALEXANDER H. JAPP.

THE RENAISSANCE OF CALVINISM.

1. *Calvinism: Six Stone Lectures.* By Dr. A. KUYPER. (Amsterdam: Hoveker & Wormser. 1899.)
2. *Essays by the late Mark Pattison.* Vol. II. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1889.)
3. *Short Studies on Great Subjects.* By J. A. FROUDE. Vol. II. (London: Longmans. 1898.)
4. *Proceedings of the Sixth General Council of the Alliance of the Reformed Churches held at Glasgow, 1896, and of the Seventh Council held at Washington, U.S.A., 1899.* (London: Office of the Alliance. 1896 and 1899.)
5. *Leaders of Christian and Anti-Christian Thought.* By ERNEST RENAN (Translation). (London: Mathieson & Co.)
6. *The Doctrines of Grace.* By JOHN WATSON, M.A., D.D. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1900.)

A DISTINGUISHED historical critic has assured us that the history of a party may be written on the theory of periodical occultation. This dictum is not unlikely to sustain itself in the history of Calvinism. For several generations the star of Calvinism has been in hiding. Disappearing behind bodies of divinity supposed to radiate a light more benign and human than the cold and distant gleam John Calvin's system shed upon the wayfaring steps of our fathers, it has suffered eclipse. But a star of such magnitude as that which rose on the horizon of the sixteenth century, and whose brilliance held the reverent gaze of those who studied the theological heavens during the mar-

vellous developments of the centuries that followed, must surely emerge again. It has not set. In many minds the prescient sense is quickening that the time of its reappearance draws near. This foreboding is strengthened by the disturbances discernible in other systems of ethical and theological thought that have since largely dominated the field of vision in the modern mind. To change the figure, the question is stirring in several quarters, uneasily in some, joyously in others, that we are on the eve of a renaissance of Calvinism. We may cast the interrogation into strangely different moods according to the idiosyncrasies of the questioner, but there is little doubt that it is there. Are there reasonable signs in the movement of thought and the drift of living amongst us that may fairly indicate a revival of Calvinistic influence? Are there needs religious, ethical, social, pressing specially upon our times that appear to favour a return to power of Calvinistic principles for their satisfaction? Is Calvinism a temporary phenomenon or a permanent principle in human thought? Calvinism, we are assured by competent historical authorities, was first a life, then a system. Can the life be restored without the system? For its history emphasises the fact that it is the system that has been condemned; the life Calvinism developed has a record of undisputed glory in the makings of modern civilisation. If Calvinism saved Europe from Rome in the sixteenth century, can it save the English-speaking peoples from the bondage and bitterness of materialism in the twentieth? What is the value of the fact that the mother-principle of Calvinism, the absolute supremacy of God in human life and in the affairs of the world, is finding a restatement, and this largely in teachings which decline to receive its logically elaborated system? Is it probable that such a revival in the centre will spread to the circumference? Can we detect indications that the cry of our generation "Back to Christ" is being succeeded by the cry "Back to God," back to the sovereignty of the divine Love and the absolute will of the Eternal of which Jesus was the manifestation and exponent in time? Is the passion

for the study of origins pushing us backwards to seek afresh the ultimates rather than the methods of Redemption, —"the Lamb slain before the foundation of the world," and that "eternal life which God that cannot lie promised before the world began"? These are some of the forms in which practically the same question may be asked. And we venture to think that an answer to the general question mainly in the affirmative will probably be returned more and more frequently as the earlier decades of the new century open out. For this opinion we wish in this article to suggest several reasons. The writer has no intention of appearing as either the apologist or the exponent of Calvinism; he desires simply to offer a slight survey of certain conditions of life and thought that seem to warrant the assumption, whether we personally enjoy the prospect or not, of a probable and early renaissance of Calvinism. The attitude of this article, therefore, might fitly be described as an elongated note of interrogation. It is a balancing of probabilities, a method no doubt proverbially elusive and illusive, but intensely interesting nevertheless, together with a suggestion as to the way the balance may turn.

It is necessary, perhaps, that we should at the outset indicate the quality of the Calvinism likely to find a fresh ascendency of influence in our generation. It is certainly not that falsetto of Calvinism known as "high" or "hyper." This we regard as an extreme, even if a logical, exaggeration of its true note. This has been the Nemesis of Calvinism, and would be such again. Its positions are far outposts of the system which its noblest defenders have nobly abandoned, even at the risk of failing always to save their logic. The really strategic position is still persistently held by those who, as they think, have consistently surrendered its far-pushed points of defence. We accept, as we believe the theologians who hold the creed would wish us to accept, in any honourable statement of their position, the Calvinism of the centre rather than of the circumference, that which revolves round the central sun of the system, the sovereignty of God, and that finds its ruling ideas in the omnipotence

of God and the impotence of man apart from God in every sphere and correspondence of their mutual relationship. The words of a wise but convinced exponent of the inner Calvinistic principle, Principal Salmond, in a lucid paper at the last Pan-Presbyterian Council at Washington in the autumn of 1899, may fairly state the type of the new Calvinism, which its defenders maintain to be truly the heart of the old also:

It is a mistake to speak as if predestination were in Calvinism for its own sake. The first thing in it is the doctrine of redemption by the grace of God and the merit of Christ. The doctrine of predestination is the fence of that. It is the expression of the entire dependence of man the sinner on God and His grace from the beginning to the end of his salvation. It is in this latter truth that the primary interest of Calvinism lay. It is there too that the primary interest of Calvinism continues to be. If we speak again of the root principle of Calvinism as distinguished from its primary interest, we must say that it is not what it is often asserted to be. Its peculiar principle may be said to be its doctrine of the Divine Sovereignty. But the sovereignty which it affirms is not one applying to a single attribute of God, such as His justice, but to all, and it is first and foremost the sovereignty of a God of grace. It means that the history of things is a great whole in which the divine Will fulfils itself in its wisdom and righteousness and goodness, all things coming from God and returning to Him in the majesty of an eternal plan. What it does is to assert God Himself as the one great Reality over against all that is creaturely in the world and in the Church, in creation, in providence, and in grace,—a great and ennobling conception which takes us behind all that is phenomenal, and bids us look at the eternities before and after our little day.

Modern Calvinism we consider is mainly a question of emphasis. We must not suppose this means little. It means much, and is vital in its incidence. The chief mark of differentiation between Calvinism and the Evangelical system generally is its intense and jealous demand for the supremacy of the divine: *Deo soli gloria*—God first and God last. The heart of its orthodoxy is the contention for

the glory of God as against the glory of human nature. This is the unvarying answer it gives to such questions as divide those otherwise united in a common faith. Is religion natural or supernatural? Is its starting-point God or man? Does God make man religious by divine interference and immediate grace, or does he rise to it by processes of natural development, does he earn its gifts of grace or only respond to the Spirit of the Giver? To all such alternatives Calvinism asserts that religion is not a discovery, nor an analysis of the contents of human consciousness, nor a product of progressive civilisation, but a direct revelation and a personal calling. Whether its doctrine of the Divine Sovereignty is defined in terms of righteousness and of glory as of old, or in terms of love and grace as most agreeable to its modern exponents, whether it moves in the severity of strictly judicial limitations or seeks its august sanctions in the sanctities of Fatherhood, it is still the setting forth in solemn and reverent cadence of the entire dependence of the human upon the divine, not only for the origin, but for the achievement of all spiritual endeavour. "Salvation is of the Lord." Though Luther and Calvin each contended for the conception of religion as a direct and personal fellowship of man with God, Luther laid the stress upon the subjective and human side, and his emphasis fell upon the principle of justifying faith, the human condition of salvation; whilst Calvin's solemn iterance decreed its objective dependence upon the divine, and only marked by faith the incidence of its effectual grace. Evangelical Christians of all types may doubtless hold to the great Protestant contention of salvation by grace through faith; but where they place the emphasis, on the grace or on the faith, determines chiefly whether they conform to the Calvinistic or to the Arminian type. Do we choose God, or are we chosen by Him? Do we find Him, or are we found of Him? are questions of emphasis; and the falling of it states our adherence to or rejection of the Calvinistic principle. It is an error in historical perspective to place predestination as the essential and first principle of Calvinism. Predestination was Augustinism,

and as Augustinism it is as much an element in the faith of Catholicism as of Calvinism. Delivered from the trammels of its formal logic, the master spirit of Calvinism is this profound assertion of the absolute supremacy of the divine. As Bancroft declares, "Calvinism has a theory of ontology, ethics, of social happiness and human liberty *all derived from God.*" It is this method of approaching religion and human life from the side of God with its consequent inferences that present processes of reaction appear in a fair way of restoring.

We must here recall the fact that it is this view of religion that has shared the unpopularity and worse that overtook the Calvinism of the decrees. For no one can doubt the intensity and bitterness of the recoil of both the theological and popular mind from its sternly elaborated creed.

"After being accepted," says Froude, "for two centuries in all Protestant countries as the final account of the relations between man and his Maker, it has come to be regarded by liberal thinkers as a system of belief incredible in itself, dishonouring to its object, and as intolerable as it has in itself been intolerant."

There is a fashion in doctrine, and Calvin and his creed have fallen on evil days. Rousseau, not Calvin, is the present-day hero of Geneva. Calvin is forgotten there, and even his grave is unrecognised. Everyone has had a flippant fling at his system.

> But yesterday the word of Cæsar might
> Have stood against the world; now lies he there,
> And none so poor to do him reverence.

The swing of the pendulum could hardly have gone farther, though Calvinism has never by any means been "dead," as some of its friends and foes have been almost ready to admit. A creed which is to-day the accepted confession of all the Presbyterian order of Churches, of many Independent and Baptist congregations, which finds still a place in that theological puzzle—the Thirty-nine Articles—cannot be

dead. Though we may doubt perhaps the statement, made on authority, that "the majority of American Protestants are Calvinists," and that in American Congregational Churches "Calvinism retains its old power," its creed still lives. Its period of dominance and prestige, however, has passed into that of apology. Even Hodge, its sturdy champion, "preferred the term Augustinism to Calvinism, because of the reproach of Calvinism." Its flag has been furled, but not hauled down.

It is an interesting psychological incident often observed that, directly the rigid obligations of a creed are loosened and unqualified submission to its tenets is no longer demanded, the living principle of the repellent creed, in virtue of inherent strength as an instrument of thought, reasserts itself, and quickly finds enthusiastic exponents or at least determined defenders. Thought runs in cycles. History repeats itself. No doctrine which has had regal sway over the reason and conscience of men or nations altogether slips away from spiritual consciousness. As Dr. Watson, the most recent apologist in our midst for the Calvinistic principle, says, "Such doctrines do not die, they only sleep." For a while Calvinism has gone into exile. Calvin himself was banished for a time from Geneva; but he was recalled, and returned to stay and to rule. Will this century witness the recall and restoration of his principle? Mr. Froude contends that Calvinism "has appeared and reappeared, and in due time will reappear again, unless God be a delusion and man be as the beasts that perish." Is that due time about to dawn? The answer will partly depend upon what we regard as the inherent strength of Calvinism—whether we consider it a living principle with a permanent place in the Christian view of God and the world, or a mere dogmatic and ecclesiastical anachronism lacking powers of self-adaptation. How much of Calvinism have we outgrown, its principle or only its petrifaction? We venture to think there is a subtle energy of persistence in Calvinism that marks its inherent vitality. Its keenest critics admit it has been the most dominant creed of

Christendom. Students of history with increasing unanimity recognise that it created a region of human life entirely its own. The highest stages of development in the modern world have been reached by Calvinistic peoples, and by Calvinistic peoples only. Strength and progress have marked its peculiar movements in society. It created Scotland; it liberated England; it gave an heroic nationality to the Netherlands; it is enshrined in the noble romance of the Huguenots; it sailed with the Pilgrim Fathers and became the impulse of the marvellous civilisation of the western world. Dr. Kuyper asks what would have become of Europe and America without the sixteenth-century Calvinism, and suggests that "Alva would have conquered the Netherlands, the Stuarts would have been supreme in England, and America would have remained a colony of Spain." This is probably extreme; but it was Calvinism undoubtedly that gave permanence and ordered stability to the principle of the Reformation. Without it Luther's revolt would have waned, and the Catholic reaction would probably have prevailed. Speaking of Geneva, Mark Pattison says, "In that narrow corner was concentrated a force which saved the Reformation." And to quote Mr. Froude again, "If Calvinism was a dream, it was at least a noble one."

Now, the singularity of these historical results is that they are frankly admitted by those who think the worst of Calvinism as a system, who do not hesitate to brand it as a paralysing error, and who prove by philosophical principles and irrefragible logical processes that the influence of Calvinism must be bad, cannot indeed be anything less than demoralising. Here is one statement of the paradox:

> In the suppression of the liberties of Geneva was sown the seed of the liberties of Europe. . . . By the demoralising tenet of fatalism was evoked a moral energy which had not been felt since the era of persecution.[1]

[1] Pattison's *Essays*, Vol. II., p. 7.

Mr. Froude states the same contradiction more at length:

How came it to pass that if Calvinism is the hard and unreasonable creed which modern enlightenment declares it to be, it has possessed such singular attractions in times past for some of the greatest men that have ever lived? And how, being as we are told fatal to morality, because it denies free will, was the first symptom of its operation, wherever it established itself, to obliterate the distinction between sins and crimes, and to make the moral law the rule for states as well as for persons? Why, if it be a creed of intellectual servitude, was it able to inspire and sustain the bravest efforts ever made by man to break the yoke of unjust authority, and how in one or other of its many forms has it ever borne an inflexible front to illusion and mendacity, and preferred to be ground to powder like flint rather than to bend before violence or melt under enervating temptation?

It may be a consequent of logic that Calvinism cuts the nerve of responsibility and hardens ethical endeavour into submission to fateful decrees, but it is not the verdict of history.

They attracted to their ranks almost every man in Western Europe who hated a lie. . . . Whatever exists at this moment in England or Scotland of conscientious fear of doing evil is the remnant of the convictions which were branded by the Calvinists into the people's hearts.[1]

Now, how are we to explain this phenomenon? The facts of history are not disposed of by forgetting them, nor are moral effects without adequate causes. Are we to persist in our paradox, and say with Renan that "history affords numerous examples where the doctrines of a party, and the secret tendencies which that party represents, have shown themselves to be in flat contradiction," and go on our way? Either Calvinism has been misunderstood and misrepresented in the popular mind, or the greatness and goodness of its influence have been in spite of its characteristic teaching, not in virtue of it. The latter explanation does not easily satisfy us; for "there is a law of continuity in

[1] Froude's *Short Studies*, Vol. II., p. 55.

the progress of theological thought, which, whatever one may wish, is never broken off." Neither may we forget that "in its rise Calvinism acted rather than argued." We think it must be admitted that there is a force in Calvinism, *per se*, which, having accomplished such results in the past, is not likely to remain quiescent, and that there is an antecedent probability of its revival as a formative force in the development of character and of peoples.

This probability is further strengthened by the results already displayed of the newer methods of historical study. The revolt against passion and party bias, the return to sources, the demand for research, and the critical and scientific study of the principles as well as of the facts of history now accepted as essential to true historic perspective, are already making for a reversion of popular judgment concerning some of the great leaders and movements of the past. A contemporary cannot write the history of his own times. It is

> from a better understanding of history that we derive the belief that great movements originate in the deeps. . . . In what terms to describe the motive which was developed with such energy in the century of the Reformation, is the problem which all the historians are endeavouring with more or less success to solve.[1]

Perhaps no two leaders will gain or lose more from fresh historic results than Cromwell and Calvin. The uncrowned king of Puritan England has already largely come to his own through the better reading of history, and there are distinct signs that the rehabilitation of the discrowned thinker of Geneva is approaching. "We condemn Calvin by antipathy," says Pattison. Antipathy is bound eventually to produce reaction.

"Lacking," writes Renan, "that vivid, deep, sympathetic ardour which was one of the secrets of Luther's success, lacking the charm, the peerless, languishing tenderness of Francis of

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[1] Pattison's *Essays*, Vol. II., p. 2.

Sales, Calvin succeeded in an age and in a country which called for the reaction towards Christianity simply because he was the most Christian man of his generation."

It is already becoming a critical commonplace to quote names of authority whose sober historic judgment easily passes into a discriminating eulogy of Calvinism. We have already quoted Pattison and Froude. To these might be added Green and Gardiner. Mark Pattison's well known dictum, "In the sixteenth century Calvinism saved Europe," may be paralleled with the saying of Von Ranke, "John Calvin was the virtual founder of America." This Bancroft, the American historian, confirms: "He that will not honour the memory and respect the influence of Calvin knows little of the history of American liberty." Mr. John Morley adds his critical note to the chorus: "To omit Calvin from the forces of western evolution is to read history with one eye shut." If these are examples of the permanent products of the new historical method as regards Calvinism, it is significant, and Calvinistic apologists will not be slow in taking advantage of the point of vantage they afford. Of such Dr. Kuyper is a vigorous forerunner. His keen eye has taken in the situation, and in his recent lectures delivered at Princeton he has shrewdly left the line of polemical defence and has developed the historical treatment with much ability and skill. We think it may be taken for granted, therefore, that historians will give to Calvinism a renaissance of interest, if not a renaissance of influence.

We may further ask whether the depreciation of materialism as a system of thought will lead to a fresh appreciation of Calvinism. This is not the place to discuss the signs of this approaching depreciation, but they are not wanting. Materialism was for a time dominant; at present the temper of the most thoughtful towards it as a system is at least that of grave dissatisfaction. Huxley himself admitted that the creed of materialism "involves grave philosophical error." We may hesitate to confirm Dr. Kuyper's diagnosis that "we are painfully aware how the hypertrophy of our external life results in serious atrophy of the spiritual,"

but we are moving towards that recognition. In the meantime we may safely say that most competent thinkers are touching a point in the career of materialism, that may be fairly termed its pathology. There is a distinct movement towards the ascendency of the spiritual, a strengthening of the demand for the *Uebermensch*, that ought not to be ignored in forecasts of the course of thought. Now, in the presence of a decadent authority in materialism, how are we to appraise the value of the claim of Calvinistic apologists that the only satisfactory antithesis to materialism is the doctrine of the sovereignty of God, that He is the starting-point of every physical force as well as of every spiritual motive; that this doctrine is "the most decisive and consistent defence for Protestant nations against overwhelming materialism"? It is acknowledged that all the forms of Reformed Christianity are antagonistic to the materialist position, but Calvinism is most radically so, uncompromising and vehement indeed in its repudiation of the principle. Calvin's system may be like himself defiant as well as definite, for as Pattison remarks, "For so profound and consecutive a reasoner no man was ever less reflective. He had no self-consciousness. No question to him had two sides"; but its great principle has the quality of being thorough, and its authority absolute. This possession may easily suggest a reaction in its favour from the system that supplanted it as an apologetic method. The rational school of Christianity of the eighteenth century, giving the supremacy to reason, and regarding it as a satisfactory *via media* between Atheism and Athanasianism, represented in its best form by Butler, has long revealed its weakness as an authoritative spiritual force. The great revivals of religion, whether evangelical or sacerdotal, are witnesses to its insufficiency. Its failure may fairly be attributed to its overemphasis of the human and the mediate in distinction from the direct authority of the divine: "the defect of the eighteenth-century theology was not in having too much common sense, but in having nothing besides." Is it likely to succeed any better in the twentieth century? The

historians of the former period tell us that the *Institutes* of Calvin depreciated as a standard in proportion to the rise in influence and popularity of Butler's *Analogy*. Will a revival of the appeal to the supernatural as a reaction from materialism be satisfied to accept probability as sufficient authority, or demand a return to the definite insistencies of Calvin's master principle? If the latter, a renaissance of Calvinism is not improbable.

Further, it is difficult, in judging of the probabilities and potentialities of theological thought, to dispossess our minds of the atmosphere in which the scientific doctrine of natural selection has become so vital a force. This atmosphere undoubtedly provides an intellectual environment that fosters the Calvinistic principle, and favours its renewed activities. Can an age that is enthusiastic to vehemence over the theory of natural selection in biology continue to turn a deaf ear to the doctrine of election as a corresponding method of the divine procedure in the sphere of religion? Dr. Kuyper reminds us that there is only the difference of a letter between these much-debated terms—election and selection. It may fairly be asked whether the problems whose solution they attempt to express may be as nearly identical as the symbols by which they are indicated. If not, it is natural to ask whence and why are the differences. There is no life in either of the spheres without differentiation. Differentiation involves inequality. In both spheres, physical and spiritual, it is recognised as a causative principle in development. In what sense can there be difference without preference in one sphere or the other? Such differences, moreover, are acknowledged to be original so far as the individual organism is concerned. Biology posits differences in the single cell. Scripture starts the race on its career with the assumption and statement of individual differences. If even tentatively selection is accepted as a satisfactory answer in one sphere, is it not probable that the common tendency of thinking in respect to the other will set its current in the direction of election? If science multiplies its illustrations of the principle of the survival

of the fittest, emphasising the statement that such distinctions are inherent and irresponsible differences, how are we to escape the popular inference that the difference between Cain and Abel or between Esau and Jacob is an illustration of the operation of the same principle that differentiates the hawk from the dove or the hart from the swine? Even if we object, as we may, that natural selection is in a true sense a conditional election, and that the analogy need not involve the Calvinistic position, for an organism must conform to its environment by its own effort or fail to survive, yet the habit of mind produced by constant familiarity with the principle operative in scientific methods, and reinforced by historical and personal examples easy to multiply, will probably lead the average man to conclude with Froude that "if Arminianism most commends itself to our feelings, Calvinism is nearer the facts, however harsh and forbidding the facts may seem." This opinion will probably strengthen as he notices that the stress laid by Calvinism upon the persistence of the divine supremacy disturbs less the cosmic idea of unity; that the scientific doctrine of heredity provides an easy way of access for the Calvinistic doctrine of Original Sin, the seed shut up in the individual constitution and involving the race in mysterious depreciation, and that the doctrine of conformity to type in nature has a curious kinship with the claim of "final perseverance" in grace.

Turning to another circle of influence, there are capable and kindly critics as well as censorious or flippant cynics amongst us who maintain that the condition of Christian ethics has become anæmic in Christian communities. A tonic is sorely needed. Certain morbid moral states require a vigorous antidote. Duty waits for a closer definition, and for a sanction deeper than the terms of a utilitarian philosophy or positivist ethic. To prove the coincidence of moral degradation and material wealth we are pointed to the signs of a decadent realism and an enervated and enervating pessimism to the atheism of force and to a liberty that is licence. In the presence of a deification of luxury and

humanism strong pleas are urged for the authority and discipline of a new Puritanism. Without assuming that this modern demand for severer ideals touches the intensity of the heroism of hunted Covenanters or of Pilgrim Fathers, of the men of the Mosshag or of the maiden martyrs of the Solway, it is significant to bear in mind that the strength of Puritanism in the past has been the Calvinistic principle. Though of course there were Puritans who were not Calvinists, it was the fundamental thought of Calvinism that the whole of a man's life is to be lived in the presence of God and in obedience to His sovereign will, that gave the seriousness of life to the generations it ruled which is lacking in our own. The ethical glory of the Reformation was the peculiar gift of the truth interpreted in the Calvinistic symbols rather than in those of the scholastic and metaphysical confessions of the German reformers.

"It is doubtful," says Pattison, "if all history can furnish another instance of such a victory of moral force. . . . The peculiar ethical temper of Calvinism is precisely that of primitive Christianity—of the catacombs and the desert, and was created under the same stimulants."

Whatever the faults of Calvinism, it has never allied itself with ease and self-indulgence. It has been the nurse of heroic souls, and has never played with the perilous expedients of compromise. Its coveted honour was to recognise the clear tones of duty, "stern daughter of the voice of God," in every walk of life. "The Puritan," as Dr. Watson says, "feared God with all his soul, and that exhausted his capacity for fear; the face of man he did not fear." Now, can we cultivate this temper that transfigures moral codes in the light of the eternities and of the presence of God without a return to the conception of the relations between the divine and the human out of which it grew? That others besides theologians suspect that a revival of the Calvinistic principle lies in the springs that issue in a revival of national righteousness is illustrated in a recent appreciation by Professor Dowden of the work and mission of Rudyard Kipling, in which the Calvinistic temper of Mr.

Kipling's spirit is definitely marked. We may reasonably express a presentiment, therefore, that a new Puritanism will spell for us and our children a new Calvinism.

Passing by an easy transition from the region of ethical interest to that of political development, we impinge again on a circle of life that reveals considerable affinities for the Calvinistic principle. Judging by its association with the growth and enterprise of modern civilisation in the last three centuries, this principle has the promise of fresh potencies of influence wherever the reign of the common people is established on sure foundations. If the dominant political creed of the future is to be democracy, it will afford an opportunity such as the enterprising exponent of Calvinism will not fail to capture for his principle and to exploit in its aggressive interests. It may be a matter of academic debate whether in its ultimate analysis Calvinism as a political force yields the aristocratic or the democratic principle. Much might be said for the former, especially with the high privileges of the elect before our mind; but it cannot be doubted that historically, throughout its whole career, Calvinism has been the strength of democracy. It originated not with the magistracies or universities of Western Europe, but in the hearts of the masses of the people, with weavers and farmers, craftsmen and labourers, and produced and set up the democratic principle in modern states. Romanism is essentially hierarchical; Lutheranism rigidly maintains the monarchical demand; Anglicanism, with its doctrine of divine right and royal supremacy, is distinctly aristocratic; Calvinism, based on the equality of all men before God, and of their indefeasible rights as citizens of a heavenly kingdom, is bound to find its utterance in democratic institutions. As Bancroft asserts, "the fanatic for Calvinism was the fanatic for liberty." Moreover, its democratic claims were so directly carried up to the immediacy and constancy of the sovereignty of God in the State that the revolutions it inspired never enthroned the human, and consequently never responded to the cry, "No God, no master." It was this reference of all human affairs to the

purpose and control of the living God that distinguished in fact the democracy of Calvinistic states from the sorrowful story of national decadence, social demoralisation, and ethical perversion told by the pathetic failures of democracies founded in states where the seat of authority was human, and where it happened, as it easily may, that liberalism was found on one side and liberty on the other. We may fairly ask, therefore, if a principle that has displayed a genius in dealing with epoch-making crises in national development, and which regards democracy as a soul and not merely as a majority, is likely to remain inert in communities which owe to it their strength, if not their beauty.

As we enter the region where Calvinism breathes its native air, the region of distinctly theological thought, the atmosphere appears to many observers to be charged with energies that seem likely to gather themselves more readily into the modes and movements of the Calvinistic principle rather than into those of any other system. From many indications we are impressed with the prescience of an approaching dogmatic revival. One of these that has direct relation to the Calvinistic position of the divine sovereignty we may venture to point out in three phases of its recognised manifestation. The dominant note of current theological thought is the human. By natural, and perhaps generous, reaction it has come to pass that the sphere of theological inquiry and analysis is almost entirely subjective. This is shown in the human basis of ethics, the human temper of theology, and in the human quality of preaching. Confessions are not wanting of the need of a more dogmatic basis of ethics than that afforded by utilitarianism, by the altruistic principle, or by a sensitive mysticism. Each of these has had its vogue. But ultimately it is evident that a religion that expresses itself only in subjective experience or practical will is insufficient, and readily resolves itself into an unacknowledged yet real agnosticism. A religion that withdraws itself from the precincts of the intellect, defines itself in spiritual instincts and in mystical and ethical enthusiasm, and regards the contents of consciousness as an

adequate authority, is construed by Calvinism into a religion without God. It is this tendency to be content with experience, to shun dogmatics, to suspect all precision of language, to evade the supernatural by concentrating religion too exclusively in its human subjects and products, that will give the opportunity to Calvinism, when the inevitable reaction strengthens towards a return to the immediate dependence on the divine. That this reaction will come the whole record of religion without the transcendental, and the history of the failure of the morality of consequences, bear witness. The historian becomes prophetic as he writes:

> A religion that resigns the transcendental that it may gain adherents, ignoring the need of special preparation of the human heart to receive and obey its gospel, divesting itself of that which is divine out of excess of accommodation to the recipient faculty, ceases to be a transforming thought and excludes all that is sublime in religious speculation. . . . Those periods when morals have been represented as the proper study of man, and his only business, have been periods of spiritual abasement and poverty. The denial of scientific theology, the keeping in the background of the transcendental objects of faith, and the restriction of our faculties to the regulation of our conduct, seem indeed to be placing man in the foreground of the picture, to make human nature the centre round which all things revolve. But this seeming effect is produced not by exalting the visible, but by materialising the invisible.[1]

It does not require extraordinary foresight to find in the submission of conduct to the secular impulse of "honesty is the best policy," the promise of a reaction towards the restatement and reinvigoration of the supernatural, and towards those direct sanctions of divine authority that Calvinism claims as its special contribution to the ethical inspirations of life. For the appeal to history proves that elaborated theories of conduct seldom usurp for long the

[1] Pattison's *Essays*, Vol. II., pp. 81, 82.

eternal simplicities of the divine decrees as motives for virtue.

The position is not materially altered when we turn to subjects of more purely theological discussion. The human temper of theology is not more permanent as a method than the human basis of morals. Starting from the assumption of human nature as normal, whence can we derive any consistent or scriptural doctrine of sin? To take no other example, recent discussions on this doctrine have made it apparent that the Pauline exposition elaborated in the Calvinistic system with the most logical completeness may shortly find definite confirmation in reliable statements of the principle of evolution from the side of science. A transition to the other term of the great Pauline antithesis, the doctrine of grace, shows that there is much in the unsatisfactory vagueness and hesitation with which we are familiar in the presentations of the fact of salvation that appears to warrant Dr. Watson's contention that "the greatest reinforcement which religion could have in our time would be a return to the ancient belief in the sovereignty of God." It has seemed imperative to those least disposed to the Calvinistic principle that the element of uncertainty which reference to the human begets should be dispossessed by that which is decisive and beyond appeal in religious authority. And there are only two complete interpretations of Christianity, one the Evangelical with its doctrine of the divine purpose and its supernatural process of conversion, and the other the Sacerdotal with its claim to the direct delegation of supernatural authority. There are many signs that the latter, whose revival was eagerly acclaimed as the former became decadent in its influence in the early decades of the century just closed, has passed its zenith, and is no longer capable of vitalising the religious consciousness afresh for the near future. Many careful observers predict that we are on the threshold of an Evangelical revival, both in theological thought and in spiritual influence. The critical school has so far done its work as to leave definite results for a reconstruction in the one sphere, and a liberating of

energies for direct application and appeal in the other. Does this prescience of theological revival presage a renaissance of Calvinism? Will the next Evangelical revival be expressed in the Calvinistic symbols? When the wind of God blows again, as blow it will, which harp will be most responsive to its breath, that of Calvinism with its full tones of the doctrines of grace and the divine supremacy, or the less high-strung notes of appeal to human volition and effort?

Mark Pattison assures us that sermons are the surest index of the religious feeling of the age, and that preachers of any particular period accustom themselves to its temper. In a period, therefore, in which the strength and sufficiency of the human have been in the ascendent, it is perhaps natural for us to look for the human quality of preaching to be strong. There can be little doubt that this is the characteristic of the present-day pulpit. We venture to regard Dr. Watson as a competent critic of this attitude, and, considering his intense human and literary interests, as by no means a prejudiced one. He says:

> It may be fairly contended that the intellectual and literary excellence of the pulpit product of to-day is the highest in the whole history of preaching. . . . Never has preaching shown such an intimate acquaintance with literature or such a sensitive appreciation of social movements. The sermons of our day are distinguished by their excellent style of speech, their unfailing freshness of thought, their hopeful breadth of vision, and also by a certain sweet reasonableness of tone, which is most attractive and persuasive. If anyone compares the sermon at the close of the century with the sermon at the middle of the century, he will discover that, by the standard of art, the sermon of to-day shows an immense advance, in both conception and execution. If one excepts certain splendid masterpieces, even the great preachers of bygone days appear to us rambling and tedious, with a perfect mania for pragmatical distinction, and fearfully in love with the commonplace. . . . It is, however, very disheartening to discover that in many cities thoughtful people, to whom the modern sermon, which is saturated with humanism, and is ready at every turn to make a

nervous compromise between faith and unbelief, absent themselves from church in increasing numbers, and are not present to hear what was prepared with immense pains, and perhaps with too many sacrifices of faith, for their acceptance. The average preacher of to-day is a better workman than his father; but fewer people come to hear him preach, and he has less power over those who come. Very much has been gained, and for the advance we ought to be thankful; there has indeed only been one loss, but we are beginning to find that it is very serious. One misses certain notes of the former preaching which were very impressive, and whose echoes still fall upon our ears with grave, sweet melody. . . . Pious preachers of the past, even when destitute of genius and learning, carried themselves in the pulpit with a certain grave authority, which sat well upon them, and did not offend their hearers. As barristers they were not so adroit, as ambassadors they were mighty. What we miss, with unexpressed regret, is the ancient and winsome sound of the everlasting gospel.[1]

We think the difference between the method of the barrister and the mission of the ambassador fairly represents the distinction between reliance upon the appeal to the human that has characterised the reaction in the pulpit from the Calvinistic principle, and the announcement of the royal and efficient grace of the divine that marks the sole dependence for spiritual achievement upon the strength of the supernatural, which has been the activity and glory of the Calvinistic principle in the past. It is the difference in the Evangelical system, probably a difference of emphasis chiefly, between the declaration that salvation is primarily in a man's hold on God, or in God's strong grip of him. We have long ago agreed that neither of these is exclusive of the other. It is the setting of the master influence in the divine Will rather than in human desire and purpose that will, we think, signalise the restoration to authority of the Calvinistic principle. For even where we cannot doubt the intensity and urgency of evangelistic zeal as expressed in modern methods of "Special Missions," there is discernible the tendency to

[1] *Murtle Lecture*, Aberdeen University, 1899.

exalt the human both in the reliance placed upon organisation and equipment, and in the typical definition made of qualities essential in the human agent such as are acknowledged to be solely temperamental. We arrange a revival of religion, and that is probably the reason why we so seldom experience a true one. It may be a subtle question whether we are right in locating the wish to save in God, and the will that saves in man, but the bias the answer suggests has a practical relation to the discussion in Church circles respecting the dearth of conversions with which we are too familiar. From these and other considerations it is probable that the principle which makes much of God, and that elects to abide by the sovereign will of His Spirit, has at least the promise of an early access of influence.

It is natural to ask what form the Calvinistic principle redivivus will assume in the intellectual conditions of our time. We venture to think it will be practical rather than philosophical. The ancient and exasperating controversy regarding the freedom of the will in its relation to the divine sovereignty may be fairly considered a drawn battle. The compromise may be logically inconsistent; but Scripture and the practical reason, and probably the truest psychology, admit the mystery of the co-existence of these as operative forces. The high Calvinist may sneer at the neo-Calvinism as an enervated and enervating survival; but divorced from the harshness of its despotic and irresponsible decrees, and compelled to a gracious tolerance by its association with the teaching of the divine Fatherhood, it may still insist in solemn and majestic iterance upon the sovereign grace of God as initial, executive, and persistent in human salvation. It is perhaps something of this conviction that as Browning suggests abides amidst all theological change as a permanent element of the religious consciousness:

> That one Face, far from vanish, rather grows,
> Or decompose, but to recompose,
> Become my universe that feels and knows.

If we might venture so far as to indicate a line that may mark the movement of a renaissance of Calvinism, we should say that it will cease to be the object of ignorant hostility and abuse as its results are historically set out and expounded; it will be a subject of careful study on the part of friendly and unfriendly critics from a theological standpoint; the results of such thorough biographical and biological investigation will probably be that its essential principles will be restated, and applied to the problems of the new century, not only in religion and theology, but also in most forms of scientific, ethical, and democratic endeavour, and also that the Churches that still recognise Calvinism in the arcana of their Confessions will cease to apologise for it, or to hold it in reserve in their teaching. Whether such a revival of interest and authority in the Calvinistic principle of thought and life would spell for our generation a re-birth of the gospel it is beyond the scope of this article to discuss, but there appears to be much in favour of the claims of those who make this contention.

We have abstained from the use of the term Arminian in this article because we doubt whether for our own time Calvinism and Arminianism state precise and correct antitheses. If it should be urged against the survey here attempted that, as Matthew Arnold affirms, Arminianism also "gives the first and almost sole place to what God does, with disregard of what man does," the reply is simple. In contending with the extreme demands of the Calvinistic development its opponents have so over-emphasised the authority of the appeal to the human in the economy of salvation, that the original, insistent, and persistent purpose of the will of God therein has been sensibly and seriously depreciated. If the only remedy for this false theological perspective is to be found in a restatement of the Calvinistic principle, we venture to think there are distinct indications of a renaissance of Calvinism already with us. If, however, Arminianism can state with equal or even sufficient stress this element in the Evangelical faith that "it

is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy," there is urgent need that it should do so. For by whichever school of religious thought this truth of the sovereign supremacy of the Most High in the affairs of men is reaffirmed, the signs are sure that for our generation at least it is "articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesiæ."

FREDERIC PLATT.

CAPITAL AND LABOUR.

1. *Seventh Annual Abstract of Labour Statistics of the United Kingdom, 1899-1900.* (Board of Trade—Labour Department.)

2. *Report by Mr. D. F. Schloss on Profit-Sharing, 1894, and Continuations thereof in the "Labour Gazette."* (Board of Trade—Labour Department.)

3. *A Dividend to Labour: A Study of Employers' Welfare Institutions.* By Dr. NICHOLAS PAINE GILMAN. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.)

4. *Lectures on Economic Science: Delivered under the Auspices of the Committee on Labour and Capital appointed by the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science.* (London: Longmans, Green, & Co.)

THE past five years have witnessed a remarkable rise in the rates of wages paid in many industries—especially in the building, mining, and engineering trades—consequent upon the revival of trade which began about the end of 1896, and reached its climax in the early months of last year. According to the statistics published by the Labour Department of the Board of Trade,[1] the changes that took place in rates of wages current during the five years 1896–1900 resulted in a net increase in weekly wages of about £433,000. In other words, at the end of last year the income of the working classes was greater than it was at the

[1] *Seventh Annual Abstract of Labour Statistics*, Board of Trade, 1901, p. 108.

end of 1895 to the extent of £22,500,000 per annum, by reason of higher rates of pay alone. The better state of employment must have increased their earnings by as much again.

These enhanced rates of wages were in the main obtained by the workpeople affected thereby without recourse to strikes, especially as regards the two years 1899 and 1900, in which the bulk of the increase was granted, and which were remarkably free from serious labour troubles. This has led some superficial observers to conclude that the relations between employer and employed are now so much more friendly than formerly that there is good reason to hope that in the future stoppages of work over wage disputes will be less frequent than hitherto. The hypothesis, unfortunately, rests upon false premisses.

Whilst granting that the spread of education among the working classes, and of a less arbitrary and tyrannical spirit among the employers of labour, have done something to lessen the number and much to mitigate the bitterness of strikes and lock-outs in this country, it would be foolish to delude oneself with the idea that, because there has been no industrial struggle of first magnitude since 1898—in which year the South Wales coal-miners were out on strike—while large increases in wages have been obtained in the meantime by peaceful means, we are any nearer the industrial millennium now than we were three years ago.

The fact of the matter is that trade was so extraordinarily good throughout 1899 and 1900 that many employers were well able, for the time being at all events, to grant higher rates of pay to their hands, and preferred doing so to risking the loss of business entailed by a strike—leaving the future to look after itself. The real test of the supposed improved relations between capital and labour will be afforded by the events of the next two or three years, when very considerable reductions in wages must, of necessity, be made. We shall then see whether the workman who obtained a rise in wages, not because he had earned it, but because his employer was exceptionally prosperous, and because the

demand for labour was unusually great, will relinquish that increase in as peaceful a manner as he gained it.

The point we wish to make is that the comparative calm that has prevailed for nearly three years in the labour world is accidental—due to special conditions—and must not therefore be allowed to blind us to the necessity of striving earnestly for a permanent improvement of the relationship subsisting between employer and employed. A time of such comparative calm as we are now enjoying—preceding, as there is only too good reason to believe it does, a period of trouble and difficulty—in the industrial world, is surely a fitting opportunity for considering the possibilities of reducing the risk of conflicts between capital and labour—conflicts which do material damage to the welfare of the nation, besides involving thousands of non-responsible persons in much misery and suffering.

This is a subject that has appealed to all thoughtful men for many years past, and numerous have been the solutions of the problem advanced—some of them of no practical value, some frankly revolutionary, others of great utility. The nationalisation of the means of production is often advocated—that is to say, the abolition of the individual capitalist as distinct from the labourer. But that would not prevent the labourer being dissatisfied with the proportion of the value of his toil allotted to him by the State. The wholesale employment of labour by the Government elected by the labourers would, moreover, obviously be attended by very grave difficulties. Sliding-scales, whereby the rate of wage varies with the market value of the product, have been adopted with a reasonable amount of success in certain industries, but could not be generally adopted ; while one has only to consider the past history and the present position of the labour question in the coal-fields of South Wales to discover that sliding-scales can of themselves be fruitful of much friction between the employer and the employed.

Arbitration is a favourite remedy with some people, and is occasionally successful in adjusting differences ; but the

difficulty of insuring the adherence of both sides to the award[1] is a serious drawback to its usefulness—as is also the scarcity of impartial, competent, and mutually acceptable arbitrators. The experience of New Zealand in the working of her Compulsory Arbitration Act has not been of a nature to render such a method of adjusting industrial disputes attractive to any but extreme and short-sighted labour politicians.

Conciliation boards, composed of representatives of employers and workmen, have in not a few cases proved of very great service in determining questions—both as to wages and as to matters of workshop routine—that otherwise might not have been settled without a stoppage of work. This method is, however, not adaptable to all classes of employment, and, moreover, fails to possess the element of certainty. Conciliation boards work more successfully in times of good than in times of bad trade. Adversity sometimes acts upon them as a solvent.

Whatever be their other merits or demerits, however, sliding-scales, arbitrations, conciliation boards, all fail in one vital matter. They do not create any real, obvious, and permanent bond between master and man; they leave those two on opposite sides of the table—more or less, but always at bottom, antagonistic. What is really essential to industrial peace and prosperity is a recognition and a realisation of the fact that the interests and welfare of man and master are parallel and not opposite—that the prosperity of both can and must be achieved together if the maximum of possible prosperity for either is to be reached. What we want is the prevention, not merely the settlement, of labour disputes.

How is this consummation to be achieved? Our

[1] This difficulty will perhaps be lessened by the decision of the House of Lords, in the case of the Taff Vale Railway Company against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants and Others, that Trade Unions can sue or be sued in their registered names. See *Times*, July 23, 1901.

answer is: By a rational system of profit-sharing and co-partnership.

Profit-sharing, we are well aware, is no new panacea for the ills of the labour world. Such schemes have been advocated and a few have been in operation in this country any time this past five and thirty years. Their utility was especially pointed out by the General Committee on Labour and Capital appointed at a large meeting of the Social Science Association in July, 1868 (Mr. Gladstone in the chair), "to promote the establishment of harmony between employers and workpeople, and, among other measures with this object, to diffuse a knowledge of the natural laws which regulate wages." Under the auspices of this committee about five lectures[1] were subsequently given on different branches of the general question, the last of which (delivered by Professor W. Stanley Jevons) was on "Industrial Partnerships"—the meeting before mentioned having declared itself of opinion

that great good would arise from the general adoption of the arrangement . . . of giving to workmen, in part, the position and direct interest of employers; by allowing them to invest some of their savings in the capital of the business in which they are engaged, and by paying part of their wages by a share of the profits.

From that lecture by Professor Jevons—the first serious attempt to urge the question upon the attention of the nation—one would like to make copious extracts, but we will try to put his principal points as shortly as possible. Every employer of labour, every trade-union official, every labour politician, every workman would be the wiser by a careful and thoughtful perusal of what Professor Jevons wrote. That he was animated solely by a desire to elevate the status and advance the welfare of the worker, as well as to promote the prosperity of the nation, will be clear from his conclusion[2]:

[1] See *Lectures on Economic Science.* (Longmans, Green, & Co. 1870.)

[2] *Lectures on Economic Science*, p. 144.

For my own part, I do think that the principle of unionism, so far as relates to the regulation of wages, is fundamentally and entirely wrong; but I see no reason why I should therefore be supposed to have less sympathy with working men. I believe that they are striving earnestly and honourably to raise their own condition, but that they take the wrong way to do it. From wrong they must inevitably come to right, and I have no doubt that they will achieve more than they look for. But this right road will not be in struggling vainly against capital, but in making capital their ally. If the masters do not take the initiative and adopt the partnership principle, the present evil state of affairs must be much prolonged; but I do not doubt that the hard, sharp line which now exists between capital and labour will ultimately vanish. Partnerships of industry are, no doubt, an innovation, having hitherto existed only in exceptional trades and rare experiments; but I assert confidently that *they are an innovation of which the utility is evident and the necessity urgent.* They are required, not by the restless desire of change, but as the natural sequel of great revolutions in our social condition. Our great factories and our great army of artisans have sprung up within one hundred years, and it is quite to be expected that so vast an innovation should lead to other innovations. The lives of ourselves and our fathers and our grandfathers have been passed in the midst of peaceful revolutions, such as society has not known before; and it is most legitimate and proper that the artisan should seek to work yet another revolution—in his own moral and material condition. Already the artisan is less below his wealthy employer than he is above the poor dependent labourer of former days. And I do believe that we only need to throw aside some old but groundless prejudices, in order to heal the discords of capital and labour, and to efface in some degree the line which now divides employer and employed.

Jevons was, we are firmly convinced, absolutely right in his declaration that it is only by the artisan becoming a sharer in the profits of his work and, thereby, the zealous friend of the capitalist, that the line dividing employer and employed can be effaced. Certainly no other method has succeeded in achieving that most desirable end—which, generally speaking, still remains to be sought; for unfortunately profit-sharing has made no great strides since Jevons

lectured, and his description[1] of the condition of affairs then is (as he foresaw, if employers did not adopt the principle, it would be) only too widely applicable at the present time:

> We see the working men of a trade usually banded together, endeavouring to restrict the number who can share in the work; often resisting more or less openly any considerable improvement that will yield more results in proportion to labour; in short, studying in some degree, but perhaps unconsciously, "how not to do it," instead of giving their whole thoughts and efforts "how to do most work with least time, trouble, and expense." We find them again labouring under the impression that their employers are a grasping set of monopolists, who contribute but little to the work, yet draw enormous profits from it. Every increase of wages they can secure is too often thought to be twice blessed; it is so much to their own advantage, it is so much from the profits of those who have no right to it. The ardent unionist looks to the raising of prices, the restriction of labour, the limitation of supply, for the improving of his own condition. He does not see that all these measures, though beneficial, apparently, to himself, are directly contrary to the good of the whole community, and that if others acted on the same principles it would simply amount to a general striving after scarcity and poverty.

The "ardent unionist" has unhappily learned little economic wisdom since the foregoing was written. He still imagines that the less work each man does for his money, the more men can obtain employment; he still believes in the policy of restricting output, as witness the action of the Welsh miners of late in keeping down the production of coal; he still thinks high prices are ultimately as well as immediately beneficial to him; he still thinks it detrimental to his interests that labour-saving machinery should be adopted. In short, he has not yet grasped the fact that his prosperity depends upon that of his employer.

The worst of it is, that the trade-union leader takes good care that his followers shall not, even if he himself does, appreciate the truth; for if men and masters were co-partners,

[1] *Lectures on Economic Science*, p. 120.

working together for their mutual profit, trade unions would fall into their proper place, and would direct their energies rather towards performing the functions of provident societies than to justifying their existence as fighting organisations. The occupation of the "leaders" would then be gone. Trade unionism, in its unwisdom, has opposed the adoption of the profit-sharing system—as we write[1] it is hotly opposing the introduction of that system into the works of the Commercial Gas Company (Stepney)—which serves to show that the end which unions were instituted to achieve—the best interests of their members—is frequently subordinated to the supposed necessity of maintaining the "aggressive power" of the unions. It is a melancholy truth that the vitality of the union (and the employment of its numerous officials) is considered of greater importance than the true well-being of the individual labourer.

Wherein, it may be asked, lies the superlative value of profit-sharing as a corrective of existing evils?

The essential value of profit-sharing (combined, as it must be to achieve its purpose most fully, with shareholding by the workmen—with, in short, co-partnership) is the incentive it offers to each man to do his utmost and his best at the work to which he is set. Under the ordinary system of wage-earning the workman has little or no cause for displaying exceptional zeal or striving to become exceptionally skilful, save in so far as he may be possessed of an honourable spirit and a real love of doing his work in a workmanlike manner. Moreover, any individual workman possessed of that spirit is actually discouraged by his union from doing more than the average amount of work or from attempting to earn better wages than his fellows. Indeed, it has been made the occasion of strikes, and much more often of threatened strikes, if the employer has attempted to pay more or less than the union rate of wages to any particularly efficient or inefficient labourer. The system that at present generally prevails tends to stifle individuality,

[1] See *Journal of Gas-Lighting*, August 13, 1901, *et seq.*

zeal, or industry in the workman, to the mutual loss of both workers and employers.

But give a man a direct interest in the prosperity of the concern for which he works, make him feel that upon his displaying industry and ability, and upon his seeing that his fellow-workers do their best to earn their wages, depends the amount of the bonus he will receive at the end of the year and the amount of dividend he will be paid upon the shares he owns in the concern, and you will soon find a marked difference in the men themselves—they will undoubtedly improve in character and ability—as well as in the profits derived from each year's working. As Jevons said[1]:

> In every works there are a thousand opportunities where the workman can either benefit or injure the establishment; and could he really be made to feel his interests identical with those of his employers there can be no doubt that the profits of the trade could be greatly increased in many cases.

There is one obvious difficulty in the way of complete success in the working of a profit-sharing scheme, namely, that the idlers and wasters in the concern share in the profits earned by the industrious, zealous, and skilful—to the discouragement somewhat of the latter. It is found in practice that this is met to some considerable extent by the better class of man "making things warm" for the do-no-good. The men are not only looked after by the foremen but by each other. Other means, however, have been found necessary, and have been adopted, with a very large measure of success, in some establishments. These shall be presently described, but it may be most useful if we now consider, as briefly as may be, the history of a particular profit-sharing system, that has been established for about twelve years and has been eminently, indeed remarkably, successful, in connexion with which the means of overcoming the "waster" difficulty to which reference has just been made

[1] *Lectures on Economic Science*, p. 121.

have been adopted with success. The system we have in mind is that established in connexion with the South Metropolitan Gas Company.

This profit-sharing scheme cannot be separated in the minds of those who have watched its inception and its progress from the name of Mr. George Livesey—the Chairman of the Company, and one of the foremost figures, not only in the particular industry to which he has devoted his life and energies, but in the whole commercial world. It is, indeed, no flattery whatever to describe Mr. Livesey as one of our few industrial statesmen. For the following particulars in regard to the working of the South Metropolitan scheme, we are indebted to many of Mr. Livesey's speeches and writings concerning it, as well as to the account given in Mr. Schloss's Report to the Board of Trade on Profit-Sharing (1894).

The South Metropolitan Gas Company instituted profit-sharing in 1886, when an annual bonus proportionate to the profits was first granted to its officers and foremen. In 1889 it was determined to extend the system to the workmen; this step, which had undoubtedly been previously contemplated, being finally decided upon in consequence of the serious unrest then prevailing in the labour market, especially in connexion with the gas industry.

In March, 1889, the "National Union of Gas-Workers and General Labourers of Great Britain and Ireland" was formed, and began to agitate for concessions to their members employed in gas-works. At the end of the summer of that year the great strike of London dock-labourers took place, and a general movement for obtaining higher wages and shorter hours for unskilled labourers was observed. In the autumn the newly constituted Gas-Workers' Union turned its attention to the South Metropolitan Company, and made some demands which were granted; but the directors, realising that this was the beginning and not the end, and that a strike might at any moment be precipitated, decided, upon the initiative of Mr. Livesey, to extend to the workmen their system of

profit-sharing. The objects which the directors hoped to attain by this scheme were two:

> From the Company's point of view, the desire was to attach the officers and workmen to their employers by giving them a direct interest in promoting the Company's prosperity—in fact, giving them a share in its prosperity beyond their wages to induce them to do their best for the Company. From the employés' point of view, the desire was to give them the opportunity to improve their position in the world, and to enable them to make provision for misfortune and old age.[1]

Like all gas undertakings, the South Metropolitan Company employs a certain number of permanent men, and also a number of temporary "winter hands" (many of whom return to the works at the end of each summer), the maximum number employed being now about 5,500. The first offer of a share in the profits was made (November 6, 1889) to the permanent hands only, and was as follows: Under what is known as the Sliding-scale Clauses[2] in the Acts of Parliament governing the Company, the rate of dividend that may be paid to the shareholders varies inversely with the price of gas. As the law then stood, if the price of gas were 3*s.* 6*d.* per 1,000 cubic feet, the maximum rate of dividend payable was 10 per cent., an additional ¼ per cent. being distributable in respect of each penny by which that price of 3*s.* 6*d.* might be reduced. It was proposed that for every penny reduction below 2*s.* 8*d.* (the price being then 2*s.* 3*d.*, and the authorised rate of dividend 13¾ per cent.) the permanent employés becoming parties to the scheme should receive a bonus of 1 per cent. on their year's wages. In addition, every man accepting the scheme before the end of the year was promised a preliminary bonus of a sum equal to what he would have received had the scheme been in

[1] Circular addressed to the men by Mr. Livesey, after ten years' working of the scheme, September, 1899. See *Journal of Gas-Lighting*, September 26, 1899.

[2] An ingenious arrangement designed to protect the consumer from exaction by the companies, who possess a necessary monopoly in regard to the supply of gas.

force for the preceding three years—equal to 9 per cent. on his year's wages.

In order to become eligible to participate in this scheme, each workman approved by the directors[1] was required to sign an agreement binding himself to work for the Company for twelve months at the current rate of wages [and not to remain or become a member of the Gas-Workers' Union].[2] The Company likewise agreed to employ every such man (and not to reduce the rates of wages) during that period; provided he remained sober, honest, industrious, and able to do his work. It was specially stated that no obstacle would be thrown in the way of any man engaged under such contract who might wish to leave the service before the expiration of the twelve months, provided that he gave the usual week's notice, and that it was considered by the engineer of the Company that the services of such man could be dispensed with without detriment to the Company.

The annual bonus, it was proposed, should be calculated on June 30 of each year, and the amount then credited to the account of each man, who might withdraw it at seven days' notice, or leave it to accumulate at 4 per cent. compound interest.

In its original form the scheme was accepted by about 1,000 of the permanent men; but much discontent being felt by the "winter hands" at their exclusion, and other objections being urged against the proposal, the directors, after conference with the men, amended the scheme to include winter hands upon their signing a three months' agreement, and to meet some of the other objections

[1] "The directors reserve the right to refuse permission to sign an agreement to any man who takes no interest in the welfare of the Company, or who is wasteful of the Company's property, or careless or negligent in the performance of his duty."—*Report on Profit-Sharing*, Board of Trade, 1894, p. 177.

[2] This provision was not in the original agreements. Its insertion after the strike of the Union against the scheme was explained by Mr. Livesey to the Labour Commission (see *Evidence*, Group C., Vol. III., pp. 238, 244, 598). Mr. Livesey "does not consider this declaration to be an essential part of the profit-sharing scheme."

brought forward. But the Gas-Workers' Union would have none of it, believing that it aimed a direct blow at their powers of aggression, and accordingly ordered a general strike. Over 2,000 men (practically all the stokers) came out on December 12, 1889. Their places were filled up by the Company, and by February 4 following the strike had completely failed.

Since that date "there has not been a single dispute of any kind. . . . As to the idea of a strike, whenever the word has been named every man says we shall never have another; they simply laugh at the idea." The scheme has been on more than one subsequent occasion revised, the principle of share-owning by the men being the first material amendment. This was effected in 1894, when a notice was issued to the following effect[1]:

Nearly five years' trial has shown the directors that the system of profit-sharing is beneficial to all connected with the Company —shareholders, employés, and consumers; they therefore feel justified in proposing an extension of the principle with the object of giving all who are employed by the Company the opportunity of becoming shareholders, in the hope that the interest they have already shown in its welfare may be thereby increased and strengthened.

The original arrangement was that for every penny at which gas is sold below *2s. 8d.* per 1,000 feet there should be a bonus on salaries and wages of 1 per cent. The directors now offer to increase the bonus to 1½ per cent. (until it reaches 9 per cent., when the further increase is to be at the old rate of 1 per cent.) for each penny reduction, to any man who is willing to have one-half of his bonus on the new scale, directly it is declared, invested for him in the names of three trustees in the Company's ordinary stock (which pays about 5 per cent. interest), until the amount credited to any profit-sharer is sufficient to give him a stock certificate in his own name; the remaining half of the bonus on the new scale to be withdrawable at a week's notice, or it may be left in the Company's hands to accumulate at 4 per cent. interest as heretofore, or it may be invested in stock with the trustees.

[1] *Report on Profit-Sharing*, Board of Trade, 1894, p. 176.

Five years later, in 1899, a further amendment was introduced, for the purpose of increasing the men's stake and interest in the concern, and of drawing roughly a line between the provident and improvident men in the employment. (This is the plan to which we have previously referred as being adopted for the purpose of diminishing the chance of the "waster" benefiting, equally with the diligent and capable workman, from the increased prosperity of the Company arising from the efforts of the latter.) The broad principle laid down by the directors, in a circular issued to the men in September, 1899,[1] was that "the man who takes little or no interest in his own permanent welfare is not very likely to take an interest in the welfare of the Company." The man was deemed to take little or no interest in his own or the Company's ultimate welfare who drew out and spent each year all his withdrawable bonus.

It was found that the staff generally withdrew about one-quarter of the cash bonus, the workmen nearly one-half; in all, close upon £5,000. As to this amount, Mr. Livesey in the before-mentioned circular remarked:

> It is certain that the greater part of it has done little or no good. A small proportion has no doubt been wisely used, and probably another small portion has been withdrawn from necessity; but a large proportion has been wasted, and some, it may be safely said, has been badly spent. . . . The time has now come for the use of stronger measures than mere arguments and persuasion. These measures are necessary to promote the best interests of profit-sharers themselves, and to ensure the permanence of the system, because no system can last unless it is beneficial to all parties interested.

The measures adopted were to give notice to all the profit-sharers who had hitherto regularly withdrawn all their withdrawable bonus, that—except in cases where the money withdrawn had been invested elsewhere, in building society, savings bank, or such-like—they would at the next distribution of bonus receive only one-half the amount

[1] See *Journal of Gas-Lighting*, September 26, 1899, p. 772.

obtained by their fellows (and that only in stock), unless in the meantime they had deposited with the Company week by week, as evidence of providence and thrift, a sufficient sum to equal, by the date of distribution, one week's wages. Further, in the case of careless or indifferent workmen, it was determined that long-term agreements should not, upon expiration, be renewed until the men showed more interest in their work. During the time such agreements might be withheld from the men they would no longer obtain a share of profits nor possess the same assurance of regular employment as their fellows.

The latter provision is more likely to prove effective even than the first, but requires delicate handling. Upon this point Mr. Livesey, addressing the Co-partnership Conference at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, October 14, 1899, said :

> Discrimination in the matter of agreements should be the special work of the employer or his manager, or the head of a department, not of any subordinate officer or foreman. Justice tempered with mercy being his guide, good men will then be encouraged, and the indifferent stimulated to do better. The surest way to make the good workman indifferent is to treat all alike ; for why should he show interest and zeal when the indifferent workman, who does not earn the bonus, receives it equally with himself ?

In the course of the same address Mr. Livesey spoke with enthusiasm of the beneficial effects, alike upon the Company and the men, of the establishment of profit-sharing at the works of the South Metropolitan Gas Company :

> Never have the relations of employer and employed been on such a footing of mutual confidence and goodwill as during the last ten years. Each feels quite free to speak to the other with the respect due from man to man on any subject ; and reason rules on both sides. Of course this is a general statement ; for among the large number of men employed there are exceptions to the rule. But their fellows do not put them forward, and they have no perceptible influence. Such friendly relations as have existed since 1889 (when profit-sharing was introduced and

the strike took place) induce cheerful, willing work, which has considerable, though unascertainable, money value.

Information of a definite character, however, is available by comparing the three London Gas Companies. The rates of wages paid to their stokers are the same in all three Companies; but the cost of wages per ton of coal carbonised is strikingly different. In the case of the South Metropolitan Company, last year it was 2*s.* 3*d.* per ton—about 1*s.* per ton lower than the other two Companies, saving about £50,000 a year. This difference of 1*s.* per ton is due partly to the South Metropolitan Company having a larger proportion of stoking machinery than the other Companies, and partly to the better working of the men. This better working tells in two ways. There is a willingness to work machinery to its full power, which is an inducement to the Company to apply it extensively, whereas with the other Companies it is not so; for, from the evidence given before the Parliamentary Inquiry into the working of the London Gas Companies last session, it appeared that stoking machinery is not of much advantage to them, because the work it can do is restricted. The other way in which the better working of the South Metropolitan stokers is manifested is in the hand work—they are willing to work the retorts to their proper capacity, not counting the shovelfuls of coal put into the retorts. Thus the difference in the cost of carbonising is accounted for. . . .

Another test is the price charged for gas by the three Companies. In 1889 it was 2*s.* 3*d.*, 2*s.* 4*d.*, and 2*s.* 6*d.* per 1,000 feet respectively. It is now [1899] 2*s.* 1*d.*, 2*s.* 6*d.*, and 3*s.*—the South Metropolitan being the lowest both then and now, having improved actually and relatively. The improvement is by no means entirely due to profit-sharing; but it is so in part. Moreover, the Company's stock stands at a higher relative value in the market than that of any other gas company.

A further advantage to the Company consists in the thoughtful interest the best of the men take in its welfare, shown by suggestions for improvements in apparatus and working. The advantages the men derive from the system are educative—a general elevation and strengthening of character in those who respond to the principle—besides the material improvement in their position, of which the accumulation of over £125,000 is a sure indication. It is also an advantage to them, as well as to their employers, that they do their work in a happy, contented frame of mind, rather than in an indifferent spirit.

The system has, then, in this instance, wrought great benefits for the shareholders, the workmen, and the consumers of gas—for the reduction in the price of gas is, as we have seen, the condition precedent to the distribution of increased profits to the proprietors and the employés. Its complete success has been assured only by the conjunction of share-holding by the workmen, and judicious discrimination in the granting of the right to participate fully in the profits, with profit-sharing pure and simple. That success has, moreover, been rendered full and certain by reason of the constant thought, skill, and tact displayed in the administration of the system—a fact which needs to be emphasised very strongly, lest other employers be led to imagine that the mere institution of profit-sharing in their works is of itself sufficient to bring a harvest of benefit to all concerned. Much, very much, depends upon the spirit in which that system is instituted; more, even, depends upon the care with which it is carried out. If an employer introduce profit-sharing with a sole eye to his own welfare, little good will come of it; he must truly desire the welfare of his men also, or he will surely fail to arouse in them the response necessary to ensure success.

We have given full particulars of the South Metropolitan Gas Company's scheme, partly because it is the one with which we have most intimate acquaintance, but mainly because of its undoubted and, there is every reason to hope and believe, enduring success. There are, however, numerous other schemes in operation in this country, on the Continent, and in America, which will well repay examination by those whose interest may be aroused in the subject. An excellent account of the working of five such systems—one French, one English, and three American—will be found in Dr. Gilman's book entitled *A Dividend to Labour*, which is in some measure a sequel to his work on *Profit-Sharing between Employer and Employé*. The former book includes in its scope a consideration of all institutions designed by employers to promote the well-being of their workpeople—the intention of Dr. Gilman being to

outline a rational and realisable ideal of what an employer can and should do to assuage the labour difficulty in his own business, and to fulfil his moral obligations to those over whose lives he has so much influence for good or evil.

In his working out of this ideal, Dr. Gilman describes very fully the numerous plans adopted by various employers in Germany, France, Holland and Belgium, Great Britain, and the United States, for mitigating the rigour of service, and for promoting the physical, social, and moral well-being of their employés. The perusal of these accounts is stimulating and heartening, and one cannot but wish that the work might find a place on the bookshelf of every man of business.

Provident societies of various descriptions—sick clubs, insurance clubs, savings banks, and so forth — model dwellings or cottages, allotment gardens, baths, libraries, recreation grounds, social clubs, dining-rooms, technical and elementary schools, churches, convalescent homes, old-age pensions, provision for widows and orphans,—these and others are means whereby the capitalist can create a higher bond than the simple wage payment between him and his labourers. But all these will fall short of their complete efficacy and their full value to those who give and those who receive unless there be an actual effacement of the dividing-line between capital and labour. This is clearly appreciated and well put by Dr. Gilman,[1] and his conclusion shall provide our own :

> The education most needed by modern employers is in deeper appreciation of the value of moral forces in industry, a finer sense of equity, and a truly rational philanthropy. It is always difficult for a class of men who have not themselves originated the system, economic or political, under which they live, to realise its defects—defects which the testing hand of time makes evident to the judicious and the disinterested. It is hard to bring home to our own practice the facts that the progress which we most need as our proud material civilisation advances is to

[1] *A Dividend to Labour*, p. 359.

strengthen its moral foundations. Otherwise it cannot long endure the subtle assault of corroding envy and undermining hate felt by the less fortunate classes of our manifold society. . . . There is a growing need of refreshing every accessible source of moral inspiration, of knitting closer the weakening bonds of human fellowship, and of establishing every institution solidly upon the bed-rock of eternal justice and righteousness.

In the great world of labour this means that arrangements which have suited other times with a less haunting sense of social duty must be revised and adapted to the new light and the profounder impulse of fraternity. If socialism were a workable scheme, it would certainly have a full trial in the next century in more than one country. But it will not work, and better plans, more modest in promise and more effective in result, will come to the front.

Among such systems, more equitable and more successful than the unmodified wages scheme, the method of a dividend to labour commends itself more and more to far-sighted business sagacity, as well as to enlightened philanthropy. In its various forms, direct or indirect (we need not pin our faith to any single form), no plan of carrying on industrial undertakings pays more respect to the inevitable conditions of the largest success. The high and necessary offices of capital and skill are duly recognised ; the authority of the manager is properly respected ; while the handworker is not viewed simply as a machine, but is elevated into a moral partnership that is effective and ennobling. *No method has yet been devised for rendering the whole force of an industrial establishment—physical, mental, moral—more powerful and productive than this simple plan of making all the agents—capital, business talent, labour—partners in the profits.* When the banner of welfare-institutions is firmly erected and persistently followed, the jealousy of Ephraim departs, and the enmity of Judah is at an end. In the deep consciousness of a common life, the full recognition of a common aim, and the just division of a common product, the industrial members work together as one body—head and heart and hand agreeing in one conspiracy of benefit. Great even now is their reward who aspire and co-operate towards such fraternity, inspired by an unfailing enthusiasm for humanity.

FRANCIS G. NEWTON.

THE TRANSITION TO THE MIDDLE AGES.

The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages. By HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1901.)

THE author has chosen a fascinating subject—the Making of the Middle Ages. These ages until recently were almost unknown to us. Now we are beginning to understand not only the Middle Ages themselves, but also the transition period which separated them from the great classical days. This transition period from the fourth to the seventh century was a strange one. It was neither day nor night; the night of paganism was passing, and the dawn was rising. If the Middle Ages were formerly dark to us, this earlier period was darker still. It is not easy for us to realise the meaning of the following sentence: "Paganism and Christianity existed side by side in the Græco-Roman world of the fourth and fifth centuries,"—the former with all the marks of decrepitude, the latter with all the hope and undisciplined vigour of youth. The most pronounced pagans, like Julian and Libanius, had a certain Christian spirit; the most ardent Christians often owed their literary training to pagan schools and teachers. Beside these were the crowds of barbarians, the masters of all, who were drinking in the philosophy of the old world and the ideals of the new faith, and thus fitting themselves for their task as rulers of the new world that was to be. Dr. Hodgkin's great work—not unworthy to stand beside Gibbon—*Italy and her Invaders*, has for the first time enabled us to follow the political and military conflicts of this transition period. But there is another side concerned with religion and literature, which

he does not touch. It is this field which is described in Mr. Dill's masterly volume, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, and in Mr. Taylor's equally excellent work.

Politically Rome had conquered Greece and was its master. Morally and intellectually Greece conquered Rome and ruled its highest thought. Even in the palmy days of the empire Greek thought inspired all that was best in Roman philosophy. Cicero reproduced Plato to the Roman world. The earliest Christian Church at Rome was Greek in idea and language. Witness Paul's epistle to the Roman believers, Clement's epistle from Rome to Corinth, the great influence of Neo-Platonism and Stoicism at Rome, and all Roman records to the end of the third century. Latin Christian literature began in North Africa with Tertullian and Lactantius, and then passed over to Italy. As the language of culture Latin speedily took the place which it held to the close of the Middle Ages. From the fourth century the influence of Greek in the West declined more and more.

> In the sixth and seventh centuries the Irish were well nigh the only western Greek scholars. . . . Latin had become universal in the West, and was to be for centuries the common speech of educated men and serve as their literary vehicle.

We must not follow the author in his interesting account of the effect of this meeting between Greek and Roman, and of the way in which the native characteristics of both were modified, the Greek idealism and passion for symmetry tempering the Roman genius for empire. Our object is rather to mark how the decaying culture of the old world fared under the shadow of the new faith, and to see how that faith appropriated the legacy coming to it. Christianity was the revolutionary force; but it was constructive also. A new culture and civilisation were ready to step into the vacant place. "A God-created world, with men God-created, God-beloved, and God-redeemed, could not be held in the categories of Greek philosophy."

Many symptoms of the decline of the old world in literature, art, and civic life might be quoted; but there is none more striking than the fate which befell Virgil, the greatest of the Roman poets. The old Greek pathos and love of harmony lived again in Virgil. The chief use to which he was put in later days was as an authority in history, grammar, and fortune-telling.

As early as Hadrian's time the habit had arisen of finding one's future lot indicated in a line of Virgil chosen at random—the *sortes Virgilianæ*. His commentator, Macrobius, a contemporary of Jerome and Augustine, holds him to be infallible in every branch of learning.

Along with other classical authors his works were allegorised in the Middle Ages like books of Scripture. The old poets and philosophers were quoted as authorities on subjects of which they had never dreamed.

Two names closely connected with the preservation of ancient learning for later times are Capella, an African Neo-Platonist of the fifth century, and Boethius of the sixth. The former's *Marriage of Philology and Mercury* was the "standard" school-book of the Middle Ages. It is in nine books, and is written in both prose and verse. Whether it was a delight to the mediæval school-boy we are not told. Our author thinks that the book proves Capella to have been a "desiccated" person, whatever that may mean. Mercury, in search of a bride, is advised by Apollo to sue for the hand of Philology, who is not unwilling. Her only doubt is whether she is worthy of the honour, but the doubt is removed by Philology being raised at a council of the gods to divine rank. All the gods are present at the nuptial ceremony in Jove's palace in the Milky Way. The bride's mother asks about the dowry, and Phœbus brings forward the seven Arts as maid-servants—Grammar, Dialectic, Rhetoric, Geometry (including Geography), Arithmetic, Astronomy, Harmony. These arts are the famous trivium and quadrivium, which formed the arts course of the Middle Ages in preparation for Theology. Such allegorical school-

books served as an introduction to the study of the great commentators and grammarians—Servius, Donatus, Priscian. "How much Priscian (sixth century) was used may be inferred from the fact that there are extant nearly a thousand MSS. of his grammar."

A better known name is that of Boethius, whose execution in A.D. 525 for alleged treason was the greatest blot on the fame of Theodoric the Ostrogoth. Boethius was a universal scholar. Gibbon calls him "the last of the Romans whom Cato or Tully could have acknowledged for their countryman." His translations of several of Aristotle's metaphysical treatises were extensively used in the Middle Ages. But his most famous work is the *Consolation of Philosophy*, written when he was in prison under sentence of death, reminding us of Socrates in Plato's dialogue. The work records the thoughts in which the condemned philosopher found comfort, and it was a popular favourite for ages. King Alfred translated it into Anglo-Saxon, and Chaucer into English; Caxton printed the translation. Yet it is not a Christian book; Christ's name does not occur in it. The topics of consolation are mostly such as the old classical pagans might have expounded.

Other examples of the transmission of the ideas of the old world along with the new Christian ideas are found in the writings of Ambrose, Synesius, and Dionysius the Areopagite. Ambrose, the spiritual father of Augustine, was of course thoroughly Christian. Still, he is under the spell of the ancient world. Evidence of this is plainly seen in the ethical teaching of his *Duties of Ministers* (*De Officiis Ministrorum*), which is modelled on Cicero's celebrated work. The plan and the filling up are largely taken from Cicero. The good (*honestum*), the useful (*utile*), the seemly (*decorum*), are greatly in evidence. Appetite must obey reason. The patriarchs are quoted as examples of prudence, justice, courage, temperance—the four classical virtues. "It is seemly to live according to nature," quite a stoical principle. Ambrose depreciates the good things of earth in comparison with virtue, as the Stoics did. There can be

no conflict between the good and the useful, as nothing can be good that is not useful, and the converse. A Christian spirit runs through the treatise, but not the deep soul-hunger of his great disciple. Augustine was the first to take up the evangelical ideas of Paul and transmit them, mixed with much else, to the Middle Ages. Synesius of Cyrene, of the same date, was still more under the influence of the old philosophy. He is almost more the Neo-Platonist than the Christian thinker. Synesius was forced into the bishop's office by the people, who hoped to find in him a protector against foreign enemies and domestic oppressors, and they were not disappointed. Synesius wore himself out in their service. The references in his hymns to figures in the old mythology may only be poetical flights of fancy. He had been a hearer of Hypatia, the Alexandrian teacher of philosophy, and kept his admiration for her to the end of life. His last prayer was to Christ: "O Christ, Son of God most high, have mercy on Thy servant, a miserable sinner who wrote these hymns. O Saviour Jesus, grant that hereafter I may behold Thy divine glory."

The writings which went under the name of the Dionysius of the Acts were extraordinary in their contents and still more in their influence. Who the real author was no one knows. They are generally assigned to the fourth or fifth century. They are composed of ideas drawn from all systems—Jewish, Greek, Oriental. One leading idea is that of the absolute transcendence of the Supreme Existence. He is at once above existence (super-essential) and the source of all finite existence. But, as in the gnostic dreams of the second century, these two extremes are linked together by intermediate powers or beings. "Dionysius, our great pseudonymous unknown, was a transcendental mystic pantheist. These terms, if contradictory, are at least inclusive," a comment which no one will gainsay. "God is at once absolutely transcendent and universally immanent," to which the same comment will apply. Here the Neo-Platonism of Plotinus comes out. The upper world is ruled by the *Celestial Hierarchy*, which intervenes between God

and men. It consists of three triads,—seraphim, cherubim, thrones; dominations, virtues, powers; principalities, archangels, angels. The first triad is nearest the divine, which it reflects on the second, the second on the third, and the third on men. On earth there is an *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, consisting also of three triads,—baptism, communion, anointing; bishops, priests, deacons; monks, initiated laity, catechumens. Men rise to God in three stages—purification, illumination, perfection; baptism, communion, anointing mark these stages. Dionysius also had a work on the divine names, expounding the divine nature and attributes in a lofty way. It is difficult to understand the great influence which a work of this kind exerted for many centuries. In the ninth century Erigena translated it into Latin, and from that time its popularity in the West began and went on increasing. Erigena would sympathise with its pantheist tendencies. It is said to have greatly influenced Eckhart, who again was a favourite author with Luther. Dante was indebted to its visions. Jacob Behmen might have pored over its mystic fancies. In its teaching the natural was everywhere symbolic of the spiritual and divine. All this made the writings of Dionysius dear to the mediæval heart.

We smile at the wild allegorism of Scripture interpretation in mediæval days, but allegory had a history. It came into the Church from Alexandrian Judaism, and especially from Philo; but even Judaism and Alexandria were not its source. Homer was allegorised in Plato's days. "His words would be impious were they not allegories." Both the Jew Philo and the Christian Origen applied the same system to the Old Testament, often with an apologetic purpose. Objectionable narratives were taken to veil moral meanings. To Philo the four rivers of Eden signified the four cardinal virtues; the main stream, out of which they flow, is generic virtue, the wisdom of God. We need not say how prominent parable, symbol, and allegory are in both Testaments. Origen merely systematised the method in vogue. "For him all Scripture has a spiritual meaning;

while not all of it has a bodily, *i.e.* literal, meaning; for a passage cannot be taken to have a literal meaning when such meaning would be absurd"; he instances statements about the Garden of Eden, the account of Satan taking the Saviour up into a high mountain, the command to pluck out the right eye. Indeed, there is a threefold sense in Scripture—the literal, the moral, and the spiritual. The mustard seed is the actual seed, faith, and the kingdom of heaven. The Queen of Sheba coming to Solomon is the Gentile world coming to Christ. Origen makes the Song of Songs an allegory of the Church as the bride and Christ as the bridegroom. The little foxes are the animals in the literal sense, sins of individuals in the moral, and heresies in the spiritual. The greatest Fathers—Ambrose, Augustine, Hilary—revel in the method. Gregory the Great, "the last of the Fathers," excelled all that went before. His great work on Job, in thirty-five books, is a thesaurus of allegory. The Middle Ages simply continued the tradition.

Mr. Taylor remarks that the difference between the old pagan and the new Christian world is seen most clearly in their ideals of knowledge, beauty, and love. We know the old Greek devotion to philosophy. With the exception of Tertullian, to whom philosophy was the mother of heresy, all the best Fathers treated knowledge as the handmaid of faith. Clement spoke of philosophy as a schoolmaster to lead Greeks to Christ. Justin, Origen, Irenæus, Augustine, all used it in the service of truth. The Alexandrians founded Christian philosophy. To them the Christian was the true gnostic, and knowledge was a higher stage than faith. They traced all demonstration back to its basis in undemonstrable faith. Origen wrote:

The Redeemer becomes many things, perhaps even all things, according to the necessities of the whole creation capable of being redeemed by Him. Happy are they who have advanced so far as to need the Son of God no longer as a Healing Physician, no longer as a Shepherd, no longer as the Redemption; but who need Him only as the Truth, the Word, the Sanctification, and in whatever other relation He stands to

those whose maturity enables them to comprehend what is most glorious in His character.

To a disciple, known as Gregory Thaumaturgus, he writes:

Good natural parts help one toward any end, and yours might make you a good Roman lawyer or a Greek philosopher. But I advise you to use the strength of your natural parts with Christianity as an end, and to seek from Greek philosophy what may serve as preparation for Christianity, and from geometry and astronomy what may serve to explain the Holy Scriptures, so that, as students speak of geometry, music, grammar, rhetoric, and astronomy as fellow-helpers to philosophy, we may speak of philosophy itself in relation to Christianity.

Some of the Fathers drank of this fount with fear and trembling. Jerome relates a dream he had in which he saw himself before the judgment-seat of Christ and heard the words: "Thou a Christian! Thou art a Ciceronian. Where the heart is, its treasure is." That the form of Christian faith was influenced by the Greek and Roman environment is certain; it was inevitable. The section in the work at the head of this article, dealing with this question, is deeply suggestive.[1] In the Middle Ages it was a common saying: "Aristotle was a forerunner of Christ in natural things as John the Baptist was in things of grace."

The work of Christianity on men's thoughts of beauty and love was in purging them of all lower elements. Augustine's teaching here was deeply influenced by Platonism. The ideal forms of which Plato dreamed Augustine saw in God. The glory of the visible creation is only the symbol of the glory of perfect goodness, truth, and love. "Love is of the beautiful," said Plato. Do we love anything but the beautiful? asked Augustine. Gregory of Nyssa wrote:

The life of the Supreme Being is love, seeing that the beautiful is necessarily lovable to those who recognise it, and the Deity does recognise it, and so this recognition becomes love, that

[1] Pages 108–128.

which He recognises being essentially beautiful. The insolence of satiety cannot touch this true beauty.

Plato little thought that his high visions would ever become fact on earth.

We must love all things with reference to God, otherwise it is lust. Inferior creatures are to be used with reference to God; and our fellow-creatures are to be enjoyed with reference to God; so thou oughtest to enjoy thyself not in thyself but in Him who made thee; thus also shouldest thou enjoy him whom thou lovest as thyself. Therefore let us enjoy ourselves and our brothers in the Lord, and not dare to surrender ourselves to ourselves, downwards as it were. . . . . Wretched that man who knows all philosophies, and knows not Thee; blessed is he who knows Thee, though ignorant of all these matters.[1]

Contrasting the city of God and the city of man he says: "Thus two loves made these two cities: the love of self even to despising God made the earthly city; the love of God even to despising self made the heavenly." Christian mysticism in later days drew largely from Neo-Platonist conceptions. See the Cambridge Platonists—More, Whichcote, Cudworth, Smith in Tulloch's *Rational Theology in England in the Seventeenth Century.*

Two outstanding phenomena of the Middle Ages are the scholastic theology and the monastic system which then reached its zenith. In the first Aristotle was a potent factor. Wherever the contents of scholasticism came from, the form was determined by the great Greek thinker. There is no more remarkable historical fact than this influence of the pagan philosopher in shaping the theology of Christendom for centuries. Aristotle cannot be called a religious thinker. His teaching was far less favourable to faith that Plato's. Yet his was the name universally honoured in the Middle Ages. His logical and metaphysical treatises were accepted with as little question as papal decrees. He was not known then at first hand, but only through translations such as those of Boethius and the Arabic translations and commentaries of the Saracens in Spain.

[1] Augustine.

Monasticism, which was so mighty a force in the Middle Ages, was more distinctly a Christian creation. There were indeed elements in it which linked it with ancient life; but these were subordinate. The old Greek looked on the body as the soul's natural enemy and the hindrance to a higher human life—a thought which was still more emphasised in Neo-Platonism. There was also in the old world a longing after the peace and serenity of a contemplative life. But there was never anything approaching organised asceticism, save in the Buddhism of the far East. Both Greek and Roman rejoiced in the present life as a good thing, instead of renouncing it. It would almost seem as if the monastic idea arose as a consequence of the high moral ideal which Christianity held up in the face of a world abnormally corrupt. It was not an unnatural thought that this ideal of a true, perfect human life is impossible in ordinary conditions. At least this was one cause of the strong drift in early days to monasticism. From the third century onwards we find the ascetic life praised in unqualified terms; marriage is depreciated. To separate the truth from the error, when we remember the character of the times, is not easy. The Christian virtues of self-denial, sacrifice for the sake of others, subjugation of body and sense, following the law of the spirit, were carried to excess in monasticism, being treated as if they were the whole of the gospel. Asceticism for its own sake, the suppression of the natural as well as of the unnatural, the utter crucifying of self, were the root-thoughts of the monkish life, which was admired as the ideal Christian life. Right or wrong, good or evil, "monasticism arose from within Christianity, not from without." It was the direct opposite of the self-assertion which was the chief characteristic of the pagan world. "It is the contrast of contrasts with all that is antique." After a graphic delineation of the character formed by the monastic principle, our author says truly:

Evidently the contrast between the monk and the antique pagan is well nigh absolute. If we should take the foregoing outline of the monastic character sentence by sentence, and

prefix a negative to each, we should find that the antique man was thereby not untruly, if but partially, described.[1]

Monasticism arose in the East. Syria and Egypt were its birthplace. In the third and fourth centuries Egyptian deserts swarmed with hermits, emulating the rigour and following the counsels of Anthony and Pachomius. It was the latter who founded the monkish community, and drew up the first rule for its guidance. Basil the Great in Cappadocia made the rule still more stringent. Labour, poverty, chastity, and obedience were the fundamental laws of the monastic life. From the East the system came into the West, where it flourished far more than in its original home. Beginning with the Benedictine, order after order arose during the centuries, setting the standard and organising the forces of the Church's life. Western was far more systematic, more practical and energetic, than eastern monasticism. The rise and growth of these orders were spontaneous, like the rise of Methodism in the eighteenth century. They were founded by individual leaders of marked personality, and then adopted, regulated, and used by the Papacy. Such was the story of Benedictines, Dominicans, Franciscans, and the rest. Thomas à Kempis describes for us the ideal of the monastic life, an ideal no doubt realised in countless instances. Thomas thinks he is describing the ideal Christian life, whereas he is only describing certain elements or aspects of that life. Admirers of the *Imitation* forget how much of the life enjoined in the gospels and epistles is omitted.

We cannot follow our author into the many details he gives from historians of monasticism, such as Cassian in the fifth century. Cassian, like other writers on the subject, warns against the eight vices which the monk (or Christian) must avoid: gluttony, uncleanness, avarice, anger, sadness, satiety (*acedia*), vainglory, pride. *Acedia* is really *ennui*, and it is curious to note the mention of it as a danger of life in those days. Bishop Paget, in his Introductory Essay

[1] Page 183.

to a volume of sermons (*Spirit of Discipline*), refers to it as "accidie," and goes on to speak of what Cassian says on the subject :

"Acedia" may be called a weariness or distress of heart; it is akin to sadness; the homeless and solitary hermits, those who live in the desert, are especially assailed by it, and monks find it most troublesome about twelve o'clock; so that some of the aged have held it to be "the sickness that destroyeth at noonday," the "mid-day demon" of the ninety-first Psalm.

The chief sufferers from "acedia" in our day are not monks, but hard-driven men of business. The Benedictines, as they were the first, were among the most useful of the monastic orders. Sacred learning was their peculiar care. To them we owe some of the best editions of the Fathers. Benedict himself was a gracious personality. He was believed to have been sanctified from his birth, like the Baptist, and was said to have carried "an old man's heart" from his youth. A tolerably full account of the rule which he drew up for his order is given; it is remarkable for good sense, moderation, and practical piety. Four other examples of the monastic life described with much truth and force are Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory the Great. Jerome was "an admirable scholar, a violent controversialist, and a great letter-writer." As a scholar he compares with Origen; the Vulgate is his best monument.

Although a Greek scholar, it was his own Latin that made part of him; and his preferences appear in his letters. These contain more quotations from Virgil than from all other pagan writers together; less frequently he quotes from Horace, and has scattered lines from other classics, Nævius, Persius, Terence, Lucan.

The portrait of Augustine is ably done. His favourite text is quoted: "It is good for me to cleave to God" (the Vulgate rendering in Psalm lxxiii. 28, *Mihi adhærere Deo bonum est*). It is also truly remarked, "His Platonism was mainly Neo-Platonism; and this means much; it led him to speak of Porphyry as the noblest pagan philosopher."

Reference is aptly made to another important point. Augustine and other Fathers are often strongly reproached for their low conceptions of love and marriage. This was more the fault of the age than the men. Augustine, with all his greatness, was unable to rise above the universal thought of the times. The Christian conception only began to be realised on a large scale in the modern world. The rapid growth of monasticism is evidence of the prevailing tone of thought in the earlier centuries. In Augustine intellect and feeling were wonderfully blended. The "reverent adoration" of Ambrose's great hymns often moved him to tears.

In the field of literature and art there is still more room for illustrations of the changes which Christianity brought with it. The chapters in the volume devoted to the subject deal very thoroughly with style in both prose and poetry, as well as with architecture, sculpture, and painting. The new religious ideas of the gospel, the new faith and hope, meant new intellectual inspiration. The intelligence of the empire, and especially its young life, were converted. A wave of new enthusiasm broke through the barriers of antique conservatism. New words and forms had to be coined to express new thoughts. "The passion of Augustine's *Confessions* could not have been put into the balanced periods of Cicero." In a word, the Latin of Cicero, Livy, and Virgil was Christianised. The process was a long one. Some early Christian writers, like Minucius Felix, Lactantius, and Arnobius, maintained the tradition of classical purity and precision; but the great majority were forced into new lines. Tertullian (died A.D. 220) was a great innovator in this respect, *i.e.* he was born a century too soon. He was "the first creator of Christian Latin diction. He translated Greek words into new-coined Latin words, and made over Greek phrases into strange Latin equivalents." For antitheses and paradoxes Carlyle does not come within sight of him.

As a writer he is extraordinarily individual and original. . . . Passionately as he was a Christian and greatly as he was himself, his style and literary habits were affected by his study

of Roman law and the art of rhetoric. He is as much a rhetor as Apuleius, knowing every latest trick of word-twisting. His writings abound in marvellous antitheses, in rhythms and in rhymes. A virtuoso in the advocate's art, he was a creator of Christian arguments, some sophistical, but all impassioned and full of power.

Himself caught by the enthusiasm of Montanism, he was a sworn foe of Gnostics and Sabellians, although it must be said that his own heresy was a harmless one. Jerome is said to have introduced three hundred and fifty new words into Latin. Along with the other great Fathers, Jerome had the genius of style. "In language and style he was a great mediator between classical antiquity and the times which came after him." His language is flexible and pure; "it preserves the classical speech as fully as is compatible with the expression of feeling and sentiments that were unknown in the times of Cicero and Virgil." We must not linger on the style and spirit of the other great Christian writers. "The whole matter represents a Christianising and spiritualising of the Latin language, and may be compared with the Christian transformation of the Teutonic tongues." It should be said that some of the numerous apocryphal Gospels and Acts, published without a name or with a fictitious name, were current in the Middle Ages, such as the story of Joachim and Anna, the parents of the Virgin, and the "Gospel of Nicodemus," with its account of Christ's descent into Hades. These works show decadence of matter and style in the most marked way; yet they met a certain demand. They represent the appeal to the sensationalism of the day. All that can be said is that the ancient sensationalism is even less restrained than the modern. We should be sorry to reproduce details. Our author thinks that "the mediævalising of Latin prose" meant the loss of all sense of form and respect for rule. This was no doubt the case, with some exceptions. Gregory the Great angrily refused to restrict "the words of the heavenly oracle" by the rules of Donatus (the great Roman grammarian of the fourth century).

Three rich chapters deal with Greek Christian Poetry, Early Latin Christian Poetry, and Mediæval Latin Poetry. These chapters alone amply show that in the darkest days Christianity was never indifferent to the claims of the best culture. The transition from the perfect lyrics of ancient Greece, with their characteristic motto *μηδὲν ἄγαν* (*nothing in excess*), to the first Greek Christian lyrics, is beautifully sketched.

Among the first Latin Christian poets are Commodian of Syria (third century), the Spaniard Prudentius (fourth century), Paulinus of Nola (fourth century), Sedulius (fifth century). Hymn-writing begins with Hilary and Ambrose. Their hymns are simple, clear, dignified. The metre is iambic; each hymn has thirty-two lines divided into verses of four lines each. Their contents are largely dogmatic, as they were meant to protect the people from Arian error.[1] Between the fourth and the tenth century quantity gave way to accent, and rhyme comes into use. The hymns of Ambrose (*Veni redemptor gentium*, *Aeterne rerum conditor*, *Jam surgit hora tertia*, *Deus creator omnium*) rest entirely on quantity, and ignore the accent. The next step is to try to combine the two, *i.e.* to make the long syllables coincide with the accent; then quantity is ignored, and rhyme becomes general. Christian feeling becomes more impassioned as time goes on.

Mediæval Latin poetry is a wide field. The great hymn-writers, crowned by Adam of St. Victor, were many. The two hymns of Fortunatus (sixth century), *Vexilla regis prodeunt*, and *Pange, lingua, gloriosi prœlium certaminis*, exhibit the full effects of assonance and rhythm. They ring like trumpet blasts. Classical allusions are not infrequent, sometimes they are greatly in excess, although this is scarcely to be wondered at, considering the place which the classics held in mediæval education. "Modern education offers no analogy to the many ways in which the Latin-speaking youth were saturated with Virgil. They almost wrote Virgil

[1] Page 265.

as they spoke Latin." As to Dante's use of the classics we are told :

The Vulgate is quoted or referred to more than five hundred times, Aristotle more than three hundred, Virgil about two hundred, Ovid about one hundred, Cicero and Lucan about fifty each, Statius and Boethius between thirty and forty each, Horace, Livy and Orosius between ten and twenty each.[1]

The development is well traced in pages 284–302. Further illustrations may be found in Trench's *Sacred Latin Poetry*, Newman's *Hymni Ecclesiæ*, and the Rev. F. W. Macdonald's *Latin Hymns*.

It would need an expert to follow the author in his history of the evolution of Christian art. The Gothic is the typical Christian style. Just as the spirit of classical paganism is expressed in the massive Doric, the graceful Ionic, and florid Corinthian, just as the business genius of Rome satisfied itself in the stately Basilica, the gorgeous East in the Byzantine, the growing German nations in the Romanesque, so the new Christian spirit finally rested in the vast symbolism of the Gothic. The Basilica, Byzantine, Romanesque were temporary stages.

A Gothic cathedral is a great piece of reasoning, analytically logical from its highest keystone to its foundations. Its ornaments, its wealth of love and beauty, spring from its structure, adorn and emphasise that. And they tell the whole tale of Christianity and include the story of the world, sometimes directly, and again in symbols. Christianity is infinite ; Gothic follows, as far as stone may follow.

Painters and sculptors are described in the three stages of early Christian antiquity, Byzantinism and Mediævalism. It is interesting to note the favourite subjects of the paintings in the ancient Roman catacombs. Of Old Testament scenes the Fall occurs thirteen times, the Ark twenty-six, Sacrifice of Isaac fifteen, Moses smiting the Rock forty-seven, Daniel in the Den of Lions thirty-two, Jonah forty-

[1] Page 365.

five; of New Testament scenes the Worship of the Magi twelve times, Healing of the Paralytic twelve, Miracle of Loaves twenty-three, Raising of Lazarus thirty-nine. A question is raised whether the Old Testament scenes were meant to be taken in their natural sense, or as allegorical of Christian truths. The answer is, probably both; the first, because in times of stress and persecution incidents illustrating God's power to deliver naturally came to the front; the second, because we know that early Christian thought was full of allegory. Pagan subjects are often treated in a Christian sense. Pictorial mosaics, which were so extensively used, served a double purpose—the decoration of the churches and the presentation to the eye of the great facts of the redemption story. The Book of Revelation supplied many subjects. The Lamb so frequently depicted is the Lamb of Revelation. The fourth and fifth centuries, which witnessed the great development of doctrine and dogma, were also a creative period in art. "The fulness of feeling and the charm of poetry enter western Christian art in the thirteenth century." The story of Byzantine art in Italy and the East is briefly sketched. The development can be better studied at Ravenna than at Constantinople, as Ravenna escaped the destruction and capture that overtook the once proud capital of the East. In 404 Honorius made Ravenna the capital of the West. The surrounding marshes were its safety. It is well to notice that eastern art keeps in touch with eastern theology. Eastern creeds have made much more of the Incarnation than of the Crucifixion, of the divine than of the human Christ; and it is so with the art of the East.

The sufferer is not in Byzantine art, nor does the Madonna weep for a crucified Son. The symbols attached to the images of Christ signify unmistakably the God. No nature less than absolute divinity might bear the great crossed nimbus, whereon the letters Alpha and Omega declare that this is He who was before all time and is eternal—in whose eternity the earthly episodes of Jesus' life are but a point. These are images of God the Son rather than of the Son of God.

In mediæval days the contrast between the earlier and later stages shows similar progress. In the earlier stage there is much personification of natural objects like rivers, of human virtues and vices, the arts and sciences, the signs of the Zodiac and the seasons. Pagan myths and legends are reproduced; Ulysses and the Sirens are symbols of temptation. In later days the genius of the north asserts itself in new creations. "Angels and demons are carved or painted in a style that is completely Christian and mediæval, and neither antique nor Byzantine." Living plants and leaf supplant ancient conventions. Legends of saints and martyrs are reproduced in untold numbers. "The antique types of form and feature pass away; their place is taken by types which are not abstract and conventional, but formed from observation of mediæval humanity." Local and national characteristics enter into the representations; in a word, art becomes modern.

The details given illustrate the way in which great periods of history are bound together by the chain of development. "The child is father of the man." And the development means progress. The Middle Ages seem remote from us, as the earlier centuries seemed remote from them. Yet the germs of our ways of thought and speech are to be found in them. No line of demarcation can be drawn. One age melts insensibly into the other. While the good preponderates in one age and the evil in another, none is wholly bad. Generations, like individuals, are to be judged by the best that is in them. In spite of great tidal waves of reaction the world moves to the light.

> In front, the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
> But westward, look, the land is bright.

JOHN S. BANKS.

THE TURKISH EMPIRE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

1. *Turkey in Europe.* By ODYSSEUS. (London : Edwin Arnold. 1900.)

2. *Highlands of Asiatic Turkey.* By EARL PERCY, M.P. (London : Edwin Arnold. 1901.)

3. *Armenien und Nord-Mesopotamien.* By Dr. C. F. LEHMANN. (Berlin : Reiner. 1900.)

IT is a matter of common observation that sick and infirm people often prolong their days to extreme old age. The Sick Man of Europe takes an unconscionable time to die. He has lost limb after limb, province after province, till now the European dominions of the Sultan are but a moiety of the territories over which he once exercised absolute sway. It is no new thing to talk of dividing the territories of the Sick Man. Twice in the eighteenth century Austria and Russia discussed the partition of the Turkish Empire, and even then the Sultan had no choice but to listen to the representatives of a Concert of the Powers. The nineteenth century saw Greece raised to the position of an independent kingdom, Roumania and Servia created into separate nationalities, and Bulgaria formed into a principality under the suzerainty of the Sultan. Cyprus and Crete are now both withdrawn from the direct control of the Sublime Porte. Even within his own dominions the authority of the Sultan over foreigners is subject to important limitations. In most European States a foreigner is subject to the law of the land, and

enjoys no greater privileges or immunities than natives. Only foreign embassies and legations are exceptions to this rule. Their houses are extra-territorial, and regarded as forming part of the territory of the states which they represent; their members cannot be forced to pay taxes or to submit to the laws of the country in which they reside. In Turkey all foreigners enjoy very much the same privileges as diplomatists in other countries.

Their domiciles cannot be entered by the Ottoman police without the consent of their respective consular authorities, and notice must be immediately given to those authorities if any foreigner is arrested. . . . All suits between foreigners are tried in their own consular courts, and civil suits between foreigners and Ottoman subjects in mixed courts, at the sittings of which a representative of the Consul must be present. The taxes and dues which can be taken from foreigners are regulated by treaty, and cannot be increased or modified except with the consent of their Ambassadors or Ministers. This system is often described as the Capitulations, a name given to the older treaties concluded with Turkey (that of Great Britain bearing the date 1670), and is generally due to the fact that Christians cannot live under Mohammedan law.[1]

This peculiarity, although traceable in its origin to institutions sanctioned by the Byzantine emperors while Constantinople was still in Christian hands, is a distinct limitation of the Sultan's authority, and exposes his Government constantly to the interference of other Powers. What developments or curtailments the twentieth century may see in the Ottoman dominions is hard to predict. Egypt cannot always remain in its present anomalous position, its government directed from the Foreign Office in London, and its nominal ruler, under the suzerainty of the Sultan, upheld in his place by British power. On both sides of the Ægean there prevails a discontent which is the soil the revolutionary propagandist loves to cultivate. Macedonia is more than ever a hotbed of political intrigue. Armenian

[1] *Turkey in Europe*, pp. 122, 123.

discontent is chronic, sometimes born of the dream of national independence, often prompted and fostered by Muscovite intrigue, always justified by the extortions of governors and tax-collectors, and the ever-present menace of Kurdish massacre. What may be the issue of these conditions in the near future none can foretell. Austria is not so likely as once she was to find her way to Salonica; and Greece, after the experiment of 1897, is not likely for years to come to repeat her attempt at an invasion of Macedonia. And it is doubtful in the extreme whether an independent or self-governing Armenia can ever be set up to be a buffer between the Sultan and the Czar on the Asiatic frontier as Bulgaria now is on the European. There is little likelihood that the Ottoman Empire is soon to disappear; the hope is that as the century grows older it may materially improve.

To a knowledge of the Turkish Empire both in Europe and in Asia, and of the problems racial, social, political, and religious connected therewith, the works named at the head of this article are contributions of the greatest value. Dr. Lehmann's contribution is only a lecture delivered to the Berlin-Charlottenburg Section of the German Colonial Society, and is largely dominated by the archæological interest which took him in search of Vannic inscriptions to the Highlands of Mesopotamia. But he learned much as to the brutality of the recent massacres in the very places where they were perpetrated, and he offers valuable suggestions as to irrigation and railway schemes and plans for industrial development by which the prosperity of the Armenians might be advanced. His attitude to the Armenian question is interesting as that of a German who is proud of the success of German diplomacy in securing concessions from the Sultan, and hopes great things from the Baghdad Railway which German wealth and German engineering skill are expected to create.

Earl Percy has travelled to good purpose in Asiatic Turkey, and this is the narrative of his third expedition. He has threaded the valleys and passes of the Taurus and Anti-Taurus ranges, and followed the course of the Tigris from

the Mountains of Ararat to the Persian Gulf, seeing and hearing for himself, and furnishing himself with knowledge at first hand which may stand him in good stead should he be called some day to high office in the State. His discussion of the future of Turkey is statesmanlike, but by no means optimistic. Indeed his hopes of a recuperated Turkey are of the slenderest—so incurable are the corruptions and extortions which prevail through all gradations of the commonwealth, so imperturbable Turkish indifference to the possibilities of progress which are open to her. His interests, however, are not exclusively political. His archæological notes and historical references are always instructive; and his observations on the religious idiosyncrasies of the native population, and especially on the different types of Christianity as well as on the labours of the missionaries, are informed by real sympathy. His book is profusely illustrated by reproductions of his own photographs, which serve to impress vividly upon the reader the aspect of both nature and man in those regions, happily becoming every year less of a *terra incognita* to the people of the West.

The book of "Odysseus" is very remarkable. It is a perfect mine of information, and its learning is simply amazing. It is bound to become the standard book of reference on the Turkish Empire, past and present, for there is no question linguistic, racial, political, or ecclesiastical affecting Turkey in Europe and Turkey in Asia which it does not touch and elucidate. One is tempted to speculate as to the identity of this anonymous and remarkably well informed writer. He must have special reasons for withholding his name; and if he occupied a place high in the diplomatic service, one could understand that etiquette might demand anonymity in a work speaking with such frankness of the Sultan and his regime. Such a surmise at least would account for his thorough acquaintance with the internal constitution of the Sublime Porte and with diplomatic instruments and treaties bearing upon the Eastern Question in its most recent developments. It has been his interest apparently to master the Turkish language and literature as

well as modern Greek in its vernacular forms. He knows also from within the story of the principalities of South-eastern Europe, and is conversant with their struggles for independence, their political characteristics, their religious affinities, their languages and literatures, as only a man who has spent the best part of his life in the midst of them could be. His classical scholarship is quite worthy of Oxford; and whilst it is clear from the width and variety of his learning that he must be a hard student, he is no recluse, but a sportsman and a traveller who has covered much of the ground from Albania on the west to Northern Armenia on the east, and who is enthusiastic over the forests of Mount Olympus, the apples of Kalkandelen, and the trout of Lake Ochrida. He does, indeed, give indications, both in his humorous introduction and throughout the book, which may reveal his personality to the wise, and a footnote[1] connecting him with a Commission of the Powers which visited Thessaly in June, 1897, to see that the Sultan did not take permanent possession after the defeat of the Greeks, may be a kind of signature, at least to his friends, whereby to identify him. But the evidence of the book itself points to an authority whose opportunities have been most favourable, and whose word is of the greatest weight.

No one can make any study of Modern Turkey without realising how great a factor in Turkish life, religion, and politics the Sultan himself is. To Christian Europe he may be "the Great Assassin," the embodiment of all the wickedness of "the Unspeakable Turk,"—and those who estimate the career of Abdul Hamid II. most favourably acknowledge he has much to answer for. But to his polyglot and heterogeneous subjects he is the one powerful principle of cohesion, and to his Mohammedan subjects he is not only the Padishah, but the Caliph of the Apostle of God. Even to his Christian subjects his personality is of interest, for in Constantinople he is the Grand Seignior, the successor of the emperors who sat upon the throne of Constantine.

[1] Page 79. Compare *Weekly Times*, June 11, 1897.

Every Friday a crowd of his loyal subjects gathers to have a sight of him at the Selamlik, when his notables and the Ambassadors of the Powers are present also to pay their homage. This is the name given to the ceremony of the Sultan's attendance at mosque on Friday, the Mohammedan Sunday. Former Sultans performed this duty at St. Sophia, the great church of Justinian in Stamboul, from which the muezzin now calls the Moslems to prayer, or at some other of the principal religious edifices in which there is an imperial pew. The present Sultan, however, has had a mosque erected for his special use within the grounds of Yildiz Kiosk. From the gate of Yildiz runs a street with a steep slope, down which the Sultan drives. If the day be bright, the scene and the spectacle are brilliant and impressive. Beyond the dazzling white of the tapering minarets are to be seen the coast of Asia and the Mysian Olympus rising from "the violet-tinted" sea of Marmora. And then the military display is magnificent—horse and foot, regulars and irregulars, in uniforms gorgeous and picturesque, lining the street and mounting guard at the entrance to the mosque. At length, as the muezzin calls to prayer from the balcony of the minaret, and amid the cheers of the soldiery and the crowd, the Sultan appears in a hooded carriage with Ghazi Osman[1] seated *vis-à-vis*, and a host of princes, generals, and officials in splendid uniforms promiscuously following. Before his majesty appears, it should be noted, the ladies of the imperial harem drive past in closed carriages, beautifully attired so far as a glimpse of them can tell. A carriage drives past also with a tiny prince, the Sultan's favourite son, by whose side trot two little playfellows. The carriages conveying the ladies are left in the mosque enclosure, still containing their burden, till the Sultan performs his worship. This takes only about twenty or twenty-five minutes; and when he emerges from the mosque, he enters a simple victoria, and, taking the reins in his own hands, drives up the steep avenue to Yildiz, generals and

[1] This refers to 1898. Osman is since dead.

pashas and eunuchs following helter-skelter, without grandeur or even dignity. The Sultan is on such occasions in civil attire, and wears nothing more splendid than a Stambouli frockcoat and the invariable tooboosh. To most observers he appears far from happy—his slim figure, sallow careworn face, and restless eye betokening a mind ill at ease. Earl Percy's impression of the Sultan, in a private interview to which he was admitted after Selamlik in 1899, was that he suffers from the strain of the incessant and close attention which he bestows upon details of administration. Such is the ruler of the Ottoman Empire, whose personality is such a factor in Turkish affairs.

"Of all his subjects assembled there before him," says "Odysseus," "there is not one whose life and future do not depend on his caprice; of all those wild men gathered together from Albania, Arabia, and the heart of Anatolia there is not one but would fall down and kiss the hem of his garment did he deign to address them, or cheerfully die to preserve his tyranny."

This reverence for his sovereign on the part of the Turk is a powerful influence in cementing together the apparently tottering fabric of the Turkish Empire. It makes the ill-paid, half-fed, half-clothed soldier ready to endure every privation, and saves the corruption and incapacity of the officers from resulting in the anarchy which would be inevitable in any other country.

With a sovereign of absolute power, wrought upon from many quarters by jealousy and suspicion, and pressed by the difficulties that connect themselves with an empty treasury—with a court, moreover, where favouritism is the one fountain of honour and promotion—corruption is rampant in every department of the State.

The Government has always persistently refused to let any officials, even the most subordinate, be nominated except from Constantinople. There are good and honest officials in Turkey, and if they were allowed to choose their own staffs there would be a reasonable prospect of reform and decent government.

But they are not. Whatever a governor's character may be, several spies are sure to be appointed as his subordinates; and if he be a man of exceptional honesty and capacity, it is pretty certain that his colleagues or subordinates will be persons of the opposite character. Jealousy and suspicion are at the root of all oriental administration. If a man is popular and well spoken of in his province, he at once creates an impression that he may raise some kind of revolt against the Central Government. But if he is unpopular and has obviously no object but to fill his own pocket, he is thought less dangerous. Some governors go through a long and regular career in the Civil Service, serving as kaimmakams, mutesarrifs, and valis in different districts. Others are promoted suddenly from other branches of the service, and all are liable to sudden dismissal. Others, again, have held high position in the capital, attracted too much attention, and been sent away in disgrace.[1]

A gruesome illustration of this last is to be found in an incident not related by "Odysseus" or Earl Percy, but well known in Constantinople and the Levant. When in the autumn of 1896 the Armenian massacres in the capital took place, following upon the attack by Armenians on the Ottoman Bank, it was generally believed, and the fact was known at the Embassies, that they were engineered from Yildiz Kiosk. The business of inflicting due punishment for the Bank affair was entrusted to a zealous pasha, whose motto indeed was "Thorough." It was upon the Armenian village of Halidjholou, above Haskeui, with about 2,000 or 2,500 inhabitants, that the punishment fell most severely. The Turkish soldiery employed surrounded the hapless village and set fire to the houses, which being largely built of wood went up in a blaze; the inhabitants were butchered in hundreds as they rushed from their burning homes upon the bayonets of their murderers; and for a couple of days cartloads of slaughtered victims were driven through the streets of Haskeui to be dropped out of sight in the Golden Horn. Halidjholou, it should be said, was only one of the scenes of massacre; there and elsewhere it is estimated that

[1] *Turkey in Europe*, pp. 153, 154.

6,000 persons perished. Europe was horrified at the spectacle, and a storm of passionate indignation swept through this country in particular when the details became known. The atrocities became speedily the subject of diplomatic intervention,—not that even such massacres are called atrocities in the diplomatic language of Europe; to diplomacy they are known as "events," and the average Turk regards them simply as necessary means of self-defence. The authorities at Yildiz Kiosk, however, felt that self-defence in this instance had gone too far, and in fear lest a Commission of the Powers should inquire into the horrible transaction, the pasha who carried out his master's orders only too thoroughly was made governor-general of a distant province, to be out of the way of inconvenient inquiries, and is we believe still there, busying himself it is said with benevolent interests and even giving his countenance to Christian missions. The whole incident may not be typical, but it is by no means unusual, and it shows some of the methods that have drawn down upon the Porte the reprobation of Europe. Not that the present Sultan is a sinner above all others who have sat upon the Ottoman throne; massacre and maladministration have been features of Turkish rule from the first. "The whole head" of the Turkish body politic "is sick, and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it; but wounds and bruises and putrefying sores." The wonder is that it continues to subsist and hold together at all.

The wonder becomes all the greater when we learn that in a large part of the Turkish dominions the Turks themselves are in a minority. Only in the vilayet of Konia in Asia Minor and the interior parts of Broussa and Aidin, also in Asiatic Turkey, is the mass of the population Turkish in the sense in which it is English in England and Russian in Russia. In the Armenian provinces about one-third is Turkish, one Armenian, and one Kurdish. Going farther south, the population of Arab blood becomes larger and larger, till at last in Syria, Palestine, and Arabia only the

officials are Osmanlis, and not over-willingly obeyed by the natives. Everywhere on the coast Greeks abound, and in the interior of European Turkey the Turks are numerically the weakest. In Salonica, where the Jewish population—the descendants of the Sephardim Jews who were driven out of Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492—greatly preponderates, the Turkish population is a mere fraction of the whole, and Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath, is the weekly day of rest. To a limited extent the Osmanli fuses with the other Mohammedan races, such as Kurds and Armenians, particularly in the negative form of being unwilling openly to quarrel with them. But on the whole the Turks are now what they were when the first Seljuk adventurers seized on Asia Minor—an army of occupation.[1]

If it is asked what is the principle of government which enables the Turk with his numerical weakness to exercise authority over such a various and polyglot population, the answer is easy. His principle is *Divide et impera.* As it was divided counsels in Christendom that gave the Turks an entrance into Europe and allowed them to capture Constantinople at all, so it is still by utilising the jealousies and mutual antipathies of Latins and Greeks, Armenians, Chaldæans, Nestorians, that the Turks and their Mohammedan co-religionists keep the upper hand. Even the Jews, who have found under the rule of the Turks for over four hundred years the liberty and protection that were denied them by Spain and other Christian nations, take sides with the Turks. In the Armenian massacres of 1896 at Constantinople the Jews of Haskeui took an active share in the atrocities, and hunted out fugitive Armenians only too successfully. Diversities of language, religion, social development, all go to limit the power of combination on the part of the subject peoples of Turkey, and to prevent any effective confederation against the predominant race.

The true Turk has much in him that is good and even attractive. There are three spheres of activity open to him:

[1] *Turkey in Europe*, p. 90.

he is a Government official, he is an agriculturist and breeder of stock, and he is a soldier easily at home in the ranks and on the back of a horse. He is honest, good-humoured, kind to children and animals, and even patient and gentle. But when the fighting spirit comes upon him he becomes like the Huns or the followers of Jenghiz Khan, and slays, burns, and ravages without mercy. It is not, however, in Constantinople, with its intermixture of nationalities, that the Turk who is the salt of the nation is found. He must be sought in the provinces, where his dignified courtesy and beautiful manners make upon the visitor the impression of a true aristocrat. Truthfulness and reverence no less than hospitality and honesty are elements in the Turkish nature. Those who have had occasion to come to close quarters with the Turk on the subject of religion say that in natural reverence for divine things he stands above the Jew, and will compare favourably with the professing Christian who is his neighbour. But he is proverbially indolent. His religion makes him a fatalist, and fatalism is not conducive to enterprise and progress. And he has little inducement to accumulate wealth. The rapacity of governors who must make hay for themselves while the sun shines, the extortion of tax-gatherers, the insecurity of life and property from marauding Kurds and Albanians, paralyse agricultural industry and are a heavy burden upon trade and commerce. With his indolence falls in his conception of womankind. The Turk sets his women to till the fields; he makes them carry and lay the bricks for the house he wishes to build; and when he is on a journey he rides and suffers his women to trudge on as they best can behind. Mr. D. G. Hogarth, in *A Wandering Scholar in the Levant*, records how he has actually seen a mother pass and repass over a rapid, rocky stream, carrying in succession a husband and two grandsons; and on the bare stones of Taurus all the women of a migrating horde trailing their bleeding feet after the camels, horses, and asses which bore their fathers, husbands, and brothers. Yet he acknowledges that the Anatolian Turk never shows to better advantage than in some phases of

family life, above all with his children, those golden-haired babies soon to be hardened by labour and blunted by poverty, stagnating in the same hovels that the fathers had inherited from their fathers.

The Armenian question figures largely in modern Turkish politics, and all the works under review contribute valuable materials for its elucidation. Reference has been made to the massacre of Armenians in Constantinople in the autumn of 1896, when about 6,000 persons perished, and when Europe was horrified and scandalised. Yet the massacres perpetrated in the last three months of 1895, by order of the Porte it cannot be doubted, involved a deliberate and organised slaughter vastly greater in the regions of Armenia itself. The most terrible carnage took place at Trebizonde, Erzerum, Diarbekir, Arabkir, Bitlis, Kaisariye, and Urfa. Detailed consular reports gave the number of victims at about 25,000; but it would be safe to double the figures if there be included the slaughter which took place in the villages and remoter towns, and of which no record was kept.[1] This was the Sultan's answer to the pressure of the Powers under which he had sanctioned a scheme of reform in Armenia; and the object could only have been so to reduce the number of Armenians that it should be impossible to contend they were the predominant element in any district. The motive of all this slaughter of industrious and unoffending subjects could have been nothing else but suspicion and jealousy—suspicion of Armenian secret societies and revolutionary propagandism, and jealousy because their representatives in Great Britain and elsewhere had drawn attention to the misgovernment of which they were the victims. It cannot be said that the slaughter of so many innocent people has brought any substantial advantage to the Armenian cause, such as is sometimes gained for a nation by the sacrifice of some of its sons. The Porte, whose principle for the government of its own subjects is *Divide et impera*, can generally rely upon the dissensions and

[1] *Turkey in Europe*, p. 451.

jealousies of the European Powers to preserve it from anything like armed intervention, and diplomatic pressure it can easily render ineffective by its own peculiar methods. And in this instance, when extreme measures might well have been taken against them, their calculations were right and intervention never took place. The effect was really a triumph for the Ottoman Government.

The spectacle afforded by the Armenians certainly did much to keep the Balkans and Macedonia quiet. All classes of native Christians felt that neither Russia nor England could be depended upon to act as champions of Christianity unless it suited their other interests at the moment, and saw that it was useless to manufacture horrors, because the most terrible outrages might not succeed in attracting the attention of Europe.[1]

Meanwhile the possibility of founding an Armenian kingdom or an Armenian autonomous province may be dismissed as being outside the range of practical politics. There is, in point of fact, no territorial Armenia. It is simply the regions inhabited by Armenians, and these regions extend beyond the frontier into Russia as well. Echmiadzin, the seat of the Catholicos—the head of the Armenian Church—is in Russian territory. Then again, Kurdistan and Armenia overlap—the Kurds and Armenians forming the mixed population of several vilayets, such as Erzerum, Bitlis, Van, and Diarbekir. The part which the Kurds have had in the Armenian massacres has been atrocious, and it is not to the benefit of order and good government that certain regiments have been recruited from them for the Turkish army, bearing the name Hamidieh, in compliment to the Sultan. These mountaineers live a wild, outlaw, marauding life, and are responsible for an appalling amount of pillage and bloodshed. Dr. Lehmann mentions as characteristic of them that the first thing about a guest which they beg to be shown and examine is his weapons, and he testifies that the best known German among the Kurds is Mauser! The solution of the

[1] *Turkey in Europe*, p. 457.

question how to tame these wild and bloodthirsty outlaws and lead them into the paths of peaceful industry is not easy. Forcible transplantation of them from their mountain fastnesses to the plains, where they might in a generation or two become peaceful and prosperous tillers of the soil, has been suggested, and it may be in some such direction that the solution of the problem is to be found. If, however, the mountain cannot be brought down to the plain, the plain may be brought to the mountain. That is to say, civilisation may be brought into those wild and lawless regions by the introduction of the railway, which will not only bring them nearer, and bring them into the view of the world, but will offer the inhabitants other and more remunerative pursuits, and will help to secure them the fruits of their industry.

The most hopeful sign for Turkey at the present time, indeed the only hopeful sign for improvement in her condition, is the increased willingness of the Porte to grant facilities for the construction of railways. The railway would help to develop the resources of the empire, but in Europe and in Asia, which are at present left almost untouched, it would open up to the civilised and to the travelling world magnificent scenery and most interesting peoples and associations with antiquity of the most fascinating character; and it would serve the purposes of military strategy for the preservation of order and good government, and for the repelling of invasion, to the highest advantage of the empire. The latest line of railway added to the Ottoman system is an admirable illustration—the extension of the line from Constantinople to Salonica direct. Striking westward from Dedeagatch at the mouth of the Maritza, the ancient Hebrus, the principal river of Thrace, it traverses a picturesque and mountainous country, at one stretch of many miles running through a wild region, reminding the Scottish traveller of the Pass of Killiecrankie, and then cuts through the broad and well cultivated plain occupied by Drama and Seres, till at length it reaches Salonica. It is certain to give an impulse to the agriculture and manufac-

tures of a region where the mulberry and the vine are cultivated, and the land is capable of bearing heavy cereal crops. It was built for military purposes, but a passenger train runs from Constantinople to Salonica two days a week, accomplishing the journey in twenty-seven hours. This railway line was the decisive factor in the defeat of the Greeks and the occupation of Thessaly by the Turks in the early summer of 1897. From Anatolia, as well as from the provinces of the empire in Europe, the forces of the Sultan were hurried by this line to the frontier, and in an incredibly short time Edhem Pasha had 180,000 horse and foot within striking distance and ready to deal an effective blow. The same purposes will be fulfilled by the new railway for which Germany has obtained a firman. It will open up the highlands of Asiatic Turkey, and add immensely to the facilities for travelling in the eastern regions of the empire. It is to be an extension, in the first instance, of the present Anatolian Railway from Konia—the New Testament Iconium —to Mosul and Baghdad. It will be a new sensation to the Bible student from the western world to be whirled in a railway train over the great alluvial plains of Aram and Shinar, on which Abraham pastured his flocks thousands of years ago, and to see from the carriage window the ruins of Nineveh, Babylon, and Ur of the Chaldees! The strategic value of such a railway and connexions that might be formed with it in the north-eastern regions of Asiatic Turkey scarcely needs to be pointed out. The defence of the eastern frontier demands its construction, and that all the more as Russian influence extends into North-western Persia; and the analogy of the Constantinople-Salonica line may have its weight in the councils of the Porte. Commercially the railway may be expected to be remunerative and reproductive, but meanwhile its construction tarries ominously.

"Already a greater disposition is shown," says Earl Percy, "especially in Western Anatolia, where the Government has instituted model farms, to import agricultural implements from England and Germany, and a fresh impetus will be given to the

trade in iron, coal, and machinery by the development of railway and mining enterprise. Manchester goods may be depended upon to make their way wherever the requisite facilities for transport are provided, and sugar is another article for which there is a large market, hitherto almost monopolised by French and Russian producers. Persia and Turkey on their side would equally benefit by giving us in exchange many raw materials such as wool, tobacco, gall-nuts, and madder-root, which are now raised only in comparatively small quantities, but for the production of which the soil and climate of Kurdistan and Ardilan are as admirably adapted as the warmer southern plains for the breeding of horses, and the raising of cotton, cereals, liquorice, and indigo."

It is true that railways, and irrigation works, and factories, and improved methods of agriculture have to do only with the material resources and prosperity of the empire; but considering that the most acutely felt difficulties of the Government arise from an empty exchequer, whatever helps to develop the material prosperity of the people and secure their use of it is to be heartily welcomed. And who shall say that works of this kind will not have for the Turkish people an educative and a moral value? It is not easy to see how the higher culture is to make progress in the face of an unchangeable and unprogressive Islam, and such diverse and depraved forms of Christianity as are found in the East. Yet institutions like the Robert College on the Bosphorus, and the Syrian Protestant College in Beyrout, and educational institutions, mostly promoted from America, in important centres of both European and Asiatic Turkey, are doing excellent work, not so much as proselytising agencies, but as agencies for spreading western science and exhibiting a simpler and more attractive Christian life.

THOMAS NICOL.

PERSONALITY AND ATONEMENT.

Atonement and Personality. By C. R. MOBERLY, D.D. (London: John Murray.)

I.

TO the ordinary thought of our everyday world there is a certain remoteness about the conception of the supernatural which easily leads men, even religious men, into an undefined and undeveloped agnosticism. God is in heaven, they say, and we upon the earth; what can we know? To "the early world's grey fathers" God seemed even such a one as themselves, and early faith could picture Him, without shadow of misgiving, walking in the garden in the cool of the day. This simple neighbourliness of the divine, however, does not last. It belongs to childhood's faith, and transfigures the beginnings of history with a passing though prophetic glory, even as Wordsworth, our English prophet of faith's perennial and universal romance, found it hallowing the first years of individual infancy with divine reminiscence and suggestion. But this auroral beauty is only transient, and, to the individual and the race alike, adult years bring solitariness. God, once seemingly so near at hand, appears to retire into the infinite distances beyond His world, which is no longer His familiar sanctuary, but a barrier of alien existence, separating His life from ours,—witnessing, it may be, by its finite relativity, to His infinite self-subsistence, yet shutting us off from knowledge of His thought or understanding of His ways. But a God thus beyond all the categories, although sufficing perhaps for the simpler purposes of philosophy, can never in His divine isolation be the living centre of a religious faith, for such faith always presupposes and rests upon somewhat of

intelligible intercourse between God and man. It is true that to religious faith, at least in those more developed forms in which we are to-day practically concerned with it, God is always the Absolute; yet it is not as absolute that He is worshipped, but only in so far as His providence mediates His presence in the world which seems too alien in essence to be His home, and to men who are held to be so far other than He that they cannot share His life. It is true that providence may issue in revelation,—we believe that it has done so,—and that a revealed faith and love may once more, to the apprehensions of men, join earth and heaven in a divine unity. But so long as God is thought of simply as the unknown Creator, whose counsel is past all human discovery,—so long as He is construed simply as the Supreme, the unaccountable Master of things and events,—His revelation comes to man as a crude fact from without, expressing, it is true, an inscrutable purpose, yet finding its ultimate validity, and its ultimate claim upon our allegiance, solely in the supreme Will which declares it.

It is not so long since conceptions such as these were dominant in current English theology. The sovereignty of God was treated as cardinal, and was interposed as an effective bar to all questioning. The content of faith was a deliverance from without, and its last credentials were extrinsic. Apologetic, after vindicating in such ways as seemed adequate the being of God, has little to do but to vindicate the historical authenticity of revelation as a specific event, or series of events, in time. To faith, as thus conceived of, miracles and prophecy were naturally the chief witnesses, for in them, most surely, the present power of the Godhead, from whose will the revelation came, was clearly manifest. Even if thought sought relief from its perplexities in establishing more or less of analogy between the natural order and the revealed, it did not thereby make revelation more intelligible, because nature was appealed to, not as the better understood, but only as the more familiarly known, and the more unquestioningly accepted. Nature itself, no less than revelation, was held to

rest simply on an inexplicable Will. At no point, either in nature or in grace, did God come into such a contact with man as could strictly be called necessarily intelligible.

So soon, however, as the centre of theological interest was found, not in the conception of the Sovereignty of God, but in that of His Fatherhood, all this was appreciably altered. God and man were once more linked in community of moral nature, and religion, as expressing the dependence of the soul on God, set forth, not merely the dependence of the finite on the Infinite, of the creature on the Creator, of the subject on the Absolute Majesty, but the dependence of the soul, for the completeness of its life, on One pledged by His very nature to make that completeness possible. Religion, on its divine side, thus became God's ministry to the shortcoming and imperfection of human life. Faith and discipline alike became ancillary to life, and the outward facts of history, in which the Christian revelation as an event in time appeared to culminate, craved of thought such an interpretation as would show their essential relevance to life and the needs of life, their essential significance, as objects of our faith, for our present individual lives.

Such interpretation Dr. Moberly—one of the ablest and most philosophical thinkers in the Church of England—essays, and not unprofitably essays, in the volume now before us. His subject is the doctrine of the Atonement, and he seems to show what the atonement wrought by Christ signifies to the individual Christian, and how the individual Christian enters into its grace.

The primary difficulty to our thought is the conviction, naturally immovable, that, whatever happened on Calvary, did not happen to us.[1]

Hence arises the natural, the inevitable, question:

What, after all, putting make-believe aside, is the real relation of Calvary to me?[2]

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[1] Page 137. [2] Page 137.

In effect, Dr. Moberly answers that the death of Christ is the consummation of human penitence, that His atoning work is consummated in the consummation of human character, and that we enter into the fruition of His saving grace, become participators in His consummated and consummating work, only in and through living, personal union with Him, through His Spirit, in His Church.

Now, the ideal of which we are thinking at this moment is that which we reached as the meaning of the doctrine of Atonement. It is the real recovery, to a real consummation of righteousness, of the Church, which is the Body of Christ; and of every individual Christian, as a member of the Church, which is Christ. It is the actual, living hope and belief in each several Christian soul,—not so much of a "pardon" (whatever that word means) while we remain on our level of helplessness and sin; not a fictitious righteousness, a sort of imperfectly relevant make-believe, in consequence of a transaction outside ourselves, which, so far as we try to understand it, only morally confounds us; not even of a far-away gift of righteousness, a mere dream of the future, having no direct reference or relevance to any present efforts, or capacities, or experience; but an actual living hope, and sure conviction, informing and controlling every present effort, determining and interpreting every present experience. It is hope, it is certain knowledge, by the grace of Christ, now at work within us, and within our power to approach and receive more and more, and to nurse and train and strengthen, and to live on and by; the power of the actual presence of the living Christ, given to us and renewed in us through His Church, whose culmination cannot but be our consummated oneness of Spirit with Christ, who is the very righteousness of the eternal God.[1]

A later passage expresses his central thought quite clearly:

Such, then, is the outcome of our exposition of atonement. We would ask people to believe in the work of Christ's Passion as a real transformation of themselves, as finding its climax in the real climax of themselves.[2]

The cross of Christ is thus much more than the symbol of a past event in history.

[1] Pages 296, 297. [2] Page 319.

We see in it the revealed climax of human personality, and the one only possibility by which our imperfect personalities can hope to be consummated in that which alone can ever be their true meaning. We see ourselves really in it; and in it alone we discover the reality of ourselves.[1]

In the death of Christ human penitence for human sin finds consummate expression, and in that consummate expression, and in the divine completeness of life out of which it comes, the Christian believer has part, in virtue of that living unity with Christ which makes him Christian.

It is for no merely academic re-interpretation of doctrine that Dr. Moberly pleads. His re-interpretation has profound significance for life.

We have, then, a magnificent faith,—a faith, at once grounded in, yet transcending, experience; a faith in a magnificent future, which is at once incompatible with, and yet is the very truth and meaning of the consciousness of the present. We do ask for belief, and indeed enthusiasm, for a certain conception (or consciousness) as to the relation between the achievement of Calvary and the inner meaning and possibilities of human personality. We do believe that the Spirit of Calvary is to animate ourselves; and that the animating of ourselves by the Spirit of Calvary is a reality wholly God's and wholly ours, wholly objective at once and wholly subjective; and we do believe that the mere belief in such a reality is itself the first proper condition of its own consummation,—is itself a transforming and enabling power, received from without, and yet vitally within, the real being of the self.[2]

The death of Christ thus ceases to be a mere event in outer history. It is a fact of present and most vital significance to each believer, and into the living apprehension of its reality each believer has to grow. This he does through the indwelling operation of the Pentecostal Spirit.

What Jesus in Himself suffered, or did, on Calvary, you may perhaps explain in terms of Calvary. The meaning of His ascension into heaven you may in some part at least explain without looking onward to its further effects. But the relation

[1] Page 322. [2] Page 321.

of what He did to us, its working, its reality for and in us, you can only explain at all in terms of Pentecost. An exposition of the atonement which leaves out Pentecost leaves the atonement unintelligible—in relation to us. For what is the real consummation of the atonement to be? It is to be—the very Spirit of the Crucified become our spirit—ourselves translated into the Spirit of the Crucified. The Spirit of the Crucified, the Spirit of Him who died and is alive, may be, and please God shall be, the very constituting reality of ourselves.[1]

Thus,

it is only through Pentecost that the meaning of human personality is ever actually realised at all.[2]

The Christian is thus one who lives in Christ, nay, who lives *on* Christ, that he may become one with Him.

He is a communicant, not ceremonially only, but vitally, and even visibly, living on Christ, and growing into the likeness and Spirit of Christ. Not in himself, but in Christ, is the focus of his life. He is himself the inspired reflection of Another. He is a saint, in whose face, and in whose life, the very lineaments of Christ are manifestly seen.[3]

In this new life of faith the initiative is taken by God and not by man. God, and not man, is the real agent in man's salvation.

Nor is Christian personality attained, through effort, by those who, but for effort, had it not. There is indeed Christian effort. And there is imitation of Christ. But these are rather the necessary outcome, than the producing cause, of the Spirit of Christ. It is by His initiation rather than ours, and by the acts of His power rather than ours, that we were first brought into relation with Him, and that His Spirit is progressively imparted to us. He does ask of us a certain response of docility. He does ask us to be willing to receive, to be willing to correspond, to obey in order that we may receive, to rejoice in corresponding, to believe in what we have received and shall become, to believe in ourselves and in Him. But it is always He who achieved, and who imparts. Essentially we are

[1] Page 151. [2] Page 248. [3] Page 28.

throughout receivers, not workers. The Pentecostal Spirit is bestowed in grace, bestowed on faith, bestowed through sacraments, anyway bestowed, not earned.[1]

II.

It is not my purpose to discuss in this article the particular interpretation given by Dr. Moberly of the doctrine of the Atonement. Therefore, in the foregoing section, I have given only such quotations as will serve to indicate the outline of his thought. According to him, Christian life means union with Christ, the Christian salvation is the divinely appointed way by which such union is brought about and consummated, while Christian doctrine rests upon such a view of human nature as makes such union the consummation of the individual human life.

"The very essence of the Christian religion," we read, "is the indwelling of the Spirit of Christ."[2] A few lines farther on we are told that "the crown of the most ideal and unfaltering life and communion is the consummation of personal union with Christ."[3]

It is only through absolute oneness with the spirit of human perfection that the perfect meaning of humanity can ever be touched or seen. Only the man who is consummated in God has attained the fulness of what was, all through, from the very beginning, the inherent craving, and ideal significance of personal selfhood in man.[4]

It is by the imparted gift, itself far more than natural, of literal membership in Him—by the indwelling presence, the gradually disciplining and dominating influence of His Spirit, which is His very self within, and as the inmost breath of our most secret being—that the power of His atoning life and death, which is the power of divinely victorious holiness, can grow to be the deepest reality of ourselves.[5]

As to the manner and nature of our union with Christ,

[1] Pages 320, 321. [2] Page 90. [3] Page 91. [4] Page 248. [5] Page 284.

of His indwelling in us, the following passages are fairly representative of Dr. Moberly's teaching :

He is not a mere presence *in* me, overruling, controlling, displacing. What He in me does, I do. What He in me wills, I will. What He in me loves, I love. Nay, never is my will so really free ; never is my power so worthy of being called power ; never is my rational wisdom so rational or so wise ; never is my love so really love ; never moreover is anyone of these things so royally my own ; never am I, as I, so capable, so personal, so real ; never am I, in a word, as really what the real "I" always tried to mean,—as when, by the true indwelling of the Spirit of God, I enter into the realisation of myself ; as when I at last correspond to, and fulfil, and expand in fulfilling, all the unexplored possibilities of my personal being, by a perfect mirroring of the Spirit of Christ ; as when in Him and by Him I am, at last, a true, willing, personal response to the very Being of God.[1]

The Spirit of the Incarnate in us is not only our personal association, but our personal union with the incarnate Christ. To clothe the phrase for a moment in other language, He is the subjective realisation within, and as, ourselves, of the Christ who was first manifested objectively and externally, for our contemplation and love, in Galilee and on the cross. He is more and more, as the Christian consummation is approached, the Spirit within ourselves of righteousness and truth, of life and of love; He is more, indeed, than within us. He is the ultimate consummation of ourselves. He is the response, from us, of goodness and love, to the goodness and love of God. He is with quite unreserved truth, when all is consummated, our own personal response. He is so none the less because He is also (and was, at first, in the way of distinction and contrast) the response which out of, and within, and as, ourselves, He Himself—not we—very gradually wrought. His presence in us is *His* response in us, become ultimately ourselves. He is Christ Himself in us, become the Spirit which constitutes us what we are ; and therefore, though in us, though ultimately ourselves, a response really worthy of God, really adequate to God ; a mirror, an echo, nay even a living presentment and realisation of what Christ Himself is—who is the eternal God.[2]

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[1] Page 252. [2] Pages 204, 205.

Where the Spirit of the Incarnate is indwelling, He is present neither as a distinct or extraneous gift, nor as an over-ruling force in which the self is merged and lost, but as the consummation of the self.[1]

The Church of Christ is much more than a sentimental emotion, a tribute of thought or affection, however sincere in itself, towards the Person of Christ. It is the indwelling and over-ruling presence of the Person of Christ in the Person of the Spirit, characterising and constituting the inmost reality of the personality of man.[2]

III.

According to Dr. Moberly's interpretation, the Christian economy of grace is appointed to subserve the consummation—the word is Dr. Moberly's, and is of perpetual recurrence in his book—of individual life. This is undoubtedly a thought of first importance, both for our present-day apologetic and for the philosophy of religion. Half unconsciously, it is true, but, I think, none the less surely, our religious thought is passing into the domain of the practical reason. It rests on an implicit belief in the primacy of man and the sovereignty of his ideals. To thought of this order, religion on the human side sets forth man's sense of dependence upon the order of the world for the effectual living out of his life—for self-realisation, as the prevalent speech of the day expresses it; while on the divine side it embodies God's response to human aspiration and trust. Religion, then, as of divine appointment, can no longer be regarded as instituted by mere sovereignty of will. It must be strictly relevant to the ultimate needs and aims of human life. When such relevance has been conclusively shown, the work of apologetic is accomplished—of apologetic, that is, in so far as it is not an apologetic of historical evidences, and in so far as it is distinct from the philosophy of practical reason, or the philosophy of faith, call it how one will.

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[1] Page 251. [2] Pages 281, 282.

In attempting to make plain this essential relevance in the case of the Christian facts and of Christian faith, Dr. Moberly is working along lines that are formally sound enough. When, however, we turn to his view of human nature, in order to see how it is that our lives are consummated by union with Christ, we find much to make us pause.

"The assumption," says Dr. Moberly, "that the human 'he' was unchanged and undeveloped, because he had been, as 'he,' complete from the first, has led speculative thought to try to find the very heart of the meaning of the great change wrought by atonement in some direction external to, and independent of, the personality of the man redeemed. Hence it is that most Christian theories explanatory of atonement—assuming on the one side that 'man' was, through all, the same completed and unchanging entity, and that the work of atonement on the other hand, if explained at all, must be explained as a process complete in itself, before its completed process was brought into relation with the personalities of men—have in them, as explanations, a dangerous flaw."[1]

This passage introduces us to the special philosophical interest of Dr. Moberly's book. What is the nature of human personality? What do we mean by separateness of personality? How can we interpret the relation of the human soul to the divine? These are the questions that Dr. Moberly rightly regards as ultimate, and it is his characteristic way of answering them that renders his theology of the Atonement a logically possible creed.

The central question of the nature of separate personality in man is definitely raised by Dr. Moberly in his opening pages:

Two principles may be mentioned, which our thought is apt to assume: first that the essentia of personality is mutual exclusiveness, or (in vivid metaphor) mutual impenetrability; and the second that (as a corollary from the first) what was done by another, being vital in him not in us, cannot make an essential contrast of content or character within ourselves. Our distinct-

[1] Page 217.

ness from one another, and from Christ, regarded as primary, essential, and final, and exaggerated to a point at which distinctness becomes not distinctness, but only mutual separation, exclusiveness, independence, perhaps even antithesis,—this is a fundamental root of much difficulty that is felt, whether consciously or unconsciously, upon the whole subject. It is a difficulty which has grown up out of the developed assumptions of the human intellect. It is hardly inherent or original. But is the assumption true? Is this really an axiom involved in self-conscious recognition of personality?[1]

At one time, apparently, our author was content to use current language upon these points; but now, he tell us, he would certainly

prefer to avoid, as misleading, any use, in reference to human personality, of any phrase, such as "a distinct centre of being," which might even seem to conceive of it at all otherwise than in its capacity of relation to and dependence on God.[2]

The natural assumption that I am, any how, myself, passes, almost indistinguishably, into the assumption that, whatever this "I" may do or suffer, on the right hand or the left, the "I" itself remains a fixed and permanent quantity, of one continuous and essential content and significance.[3]

In an earlier passage Dr. Moberly tell us that we are accustomed too much to conceive of personality primarily as distinctness; A, B, and C are separate personalities: that is to say, A is not B, and B is not C.[4]

He continues:

When we are asked what we mean by "personalities," we are too apt to reply by underlining the word "separate."[5]

Now, this uncriticised philosophising, we are told, involves fundamental misconception:

It is the capital mistake of human thought to set out with the conception of human self-hood, as though it were already a completed verity, realising within itself, as actual realities, the different attributes or necessities, the witness to which is indeed exhibited in itself.[6]

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[1] Page xiii. [2] Page 238, note. [3] Pages 216, 217.
[4] Page 156. [5] Page 156. [6] Page 248.

His own view Dr. Moberly summarises as follows:

What, then, once more, is our statement of human personality? It is no several or separate thing. Its essentia cannot be found in terms of distinctness. It does not, ideally or practically, signify a new, independent, centrality of being. On the contrary, it is altogether dependent and relative. It is not first self-realised in distinctness, that it may afterwards, for additional perfection of enjoyment, be brought into relations. In relation and dependence lies its very essentia wherever the least real germ of it exists; the true meaning of even that germinal and tentative life, as seen in what it is capable of becoming, is this. It is the capacity of thrilling, in living response, to the movement of the Spirit; it is the aspiration, through conscious affinity (in such hope as is the pledge of its own possibility), after the very beauty of holiness; it is the possibility of self-realisation, and effective self-expression, as love; it is the prerogative of consciously reflecting, as a living mirror, the very character of the Being of God. This, and nothing less, is the true reality of personality, that reality which we claim so easily and so very imperfectly attain. It is only by realising this that we can ever realise the fulness of what is, in fact, demanded and implied in the very consciousness of being a person. Personality is the possibility of mirroring God, the faculty of being a living reflection of the very attributes and character of the Most High.[1]

There are three conceptions, or prerogatives, of personal being, Dr. Moberly tells us,

which probably occur with more or less directness to the minds of most of us, when we attempt, by any further analysis, either to vindicate our claim to the possession of real personality, or to explain what it is that we mean by it.[2]

These three are free-will, reason or wisdom, and "the divine faculty of love." But, according to Dr. Moberly, none of these accepted notes of personality reaches its completeness in the separate human life.

Take, for instance, free-will. Freedom, we are told, is

self-identity with goodness. . . . It means man's power to do perfectly, and perfectly as his own, that which is his own

[1] Page 253. [2] Page 219.

perfectness—in other words, that which reflects God, and is, in truth, God in him.[1]

This is what free-will means. In its perfectness it is the self become another. It is Christ in the man. It is the man become one Spirit with Christ. It is the love of God reproduced in the man, till the man, in God's love, or God's love in the man, has become a divine response, adequate to, because truly mirroring, God.[2]

Dr. Moberly's discussion of free-will concludes as follows :

It is plain, then, if the conception of free-will suggested in this chapter has been even approximately true, that, whilst our experience necessarily starts with the witness to free-will, the germ of free-will, the capacity, and the necessary demand, for free-will, yet we do not, in fact, possess the real freedom of will which we cannot but, all the while, both imagine and claim. Something we possess which bears witness of it, which may be developed into it, but which, in its present imperfectness, is in many points even sharply contrasted with it.

It is plain also that we grow more and more towards it in proportion as our own dependence upon, and union of spirit with, Christ becomes more vitally real in us. So that it appears that free-will itself—the very thing which we most fundamentally claimed as showing what we meant by our own personality, or proving that we were personal indeed—can only then, at last, be consummated in us, when our union is consummated with Christ; and the very Spirit of the Incarnate (in penitence alike, or in holiness, annihilating sin) is the Spirit, which has become the constitutive reality of ourselves.[3]

Concerning reason we read :

Its own highest ranges and powers, which current language more than half disowns, are found in fact to be more and more dependent upon, more and more identified with, that consummation of the self by its passing beyond itself, that self-realisation in oneness with the Spirit of the incarnate Christ, in which we have found already the crown and climax of the meaning of human free-will.[4]

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[1] Page 226. [2] Page 227. [3] Pages 232, 233. [4] Page 240.

Again:

Not the isolation of intellect as intellect, but the absolute surrender of personal allegiance, allegiance of spirit to the Spirit of the Incarnate,—that Spirit whose wisdom is not other than holiness, nor His holiness other than wisdom,—is the condition ultimately essential for seeing the whole or the true proportion of truth. It is not the poor, weak, unaided intellect of the isolated individual, it is not intellect in relation to a universe of which itself is regarded as centre or crown; it is rather the insight of character, the intellect of goodness, it is the personal intellect as illumined by the Spirit, which is the reflection of truth.[1]

Nor is it otherwise with love, which reaches its consummation by a process which

can be seen to coincide with the gradual realisation of the self,—not by progressive distinction from all that seemed to be not self, but by progressive self-surrender to what at first offered itself for acceptance as "other";—by progressive self-identity with that Spirit of the Incarnate, which, being the very Spirit of God in, and as, human character, is found to be the consummation of the perfectness of the self of every man.[2]

Hence, Dr. Moberly contends,

personality cannot be explained except in terms of that self-identification of the Christian with the Spirit of Christ,—that constitution of Christian self-hood by the Spirit of Christ,—which is the key to the explication of atonement.[3]

IV.

We have now traced Dr. Moberly's theology to its philosophical basis in his characteristic doctrine of personality. Now, concerning that doctrine, what shall we say? For myself, I confess that I stand by the conception which Dr. Moberly expressly rejects. The essence of personality does seem, notwithstanding Dr. Moberly's protest, to consist precisely in that self-reference which makes each individual, if not a separate and an independent centre of being, at least a

[1] Page 242. [2] Page 246. [3] Page xiii.

separate centre of experience, of life. Man is personal, not because he has free-will, or reason, or love, but owing to the presence in him of a spiritual principle which unifies his experience by reference to itself, and so makes it *his* experience, and not another's. It is true that this spiritual principle is free, that it is rational, and that it has a moral nature which receives its highest expression in the life of love; but these characteristics, although inhering in personality, do not constitute personality. Personality *as such*, the character without which man would not be personal, is constituted by the synthetic activity of his spirit, which, because it has a specific character of self-identity which nothing else shares or can share, makes the experience of which it is the subject, the life in which it is the dynamic agent, also one. Not specifically because he wills, or thinks, or loves, is man a person, but purely and simply because of the organic unity of his experience.

Personality is the form of experience. It is not *merely* form, because it rests upon the intrinsic and essential character of that spiritual principle to which our individual experience is always relative, which unifies experience, and gives it form, and makes it what we know it to be; personality is not *merely* form, but certainly it is *truly* form. But the soul, whose essential unity thus by its synthetic activity makes our life personal, does not exhaust its nature in self-affirmation. Reason, love, and will belong to it; and although they do not constitute its personality, they distinctively characterise its life. It is one spiritual nature, essentially one nature, that shows itself in the dynamic synthesis of personality, in the free activity of the will, in the interpretative essays of thought, and in the life of love. And volition, thought, and love, although not constituting the personality of the soul, equally with personality reveal the intimate and essential nature of that indwelling spirit which makes us truly men. Moreover, if it is personality that reveals the essentially unitary character of the soul, it is the practical life of love, governed as it is by an immanent and dynamic ideal, that convincingly persuades us of its permanent in-

dividuality. The moral ideals which govern our several lives, although only to be realised in social life and in religious dependence upon God, are essentially *individual* ideals, and would be negatived, and not fulfilled, by any real absorption of the soul into another life, by any real absorption into God. Hence the moral self, when rightly understood, is an impregnable barrier against all forms of pantheism. Now, it is precisely towards pantheism that not a little of Dr. Moberly's terminology points. Human personality, he tells us, "just so far as it claims to be self-centred or self-constituted, is personality, so far, in contradiction against all that personality ought to mean."[1] We reach our consummation, he says, "in proportion as we really are translated into Christ, and His Spirit is the ultimate reality of our own individual being." We read of personality as ultimately determined and constituted by the progressive realisation in man of the divine Spirit, of identification with Christ, of "personal self-identity with Him."[2] Nor are these merely accidental infelicities of phrase. In their direct and literal meaning they are essential to Dr. Moberly's system. His explanation of the Atonement rests on the possibility of such literal self-identification, on the possibility of the imperfect life of man being taken up into the perfect personality of our Lord. His doctrine of the Eucharist, turning as it does on the thought that in the Eucharist we do what Christ does, the Church does what Christ does, similarly rests on the same possibility. It is impossible not to feel the force of Dr. Forsyth's criticism, "That means an ecclesiastical pantheism."[3]

It is true that in God alone is our sufficiency, and that His sufficiency becomes availing to and in our life through the Christian ministry of grace; but this does not imply any such taking up of the individual into God as pantheism involves, and as Dr. Moberly's words so often suggest. Our moral defects are not defects of personality. Therefore, in order

[1] Page 250. [2] Page 276.
[3] *Different Conceptions of Priesthood and Sacrifice*, p. 163.

to remedy them, we need not suppose any presumed completing of our personality by the taking up of it into God. A sinner is as truly a person as a saint,—personality is as truly complete in him. His character is poorer and less complete certainly; but *that* is quite a different thing, and the providential order of divine grace deals with it in ways of which thought can take sufficing account without any pantheistic presuppositions or consequences.

Fortunately life is greater than thought, and our Christian faith is tolerant of philosophical differences towards which Christian theology, by its bounden allegiance to sound reason, is perforce intolerant; and although I am compelled to reject Dr. Moberly's philosophy, I am happy to conclude this notice of his book by making the following passage my own:

In the failure of ourselves, which is an integral part of experience, that which helps us most is that which we feel to be without, and beyond, ourselves. It will not comfort us so much, in our moments of weakness or dying, to be adjured to remember the dignity of our being, as to be pointed to the scene enacted once for all upon the cross. We believe that Calvary wonderfully includes and conditions ourselves. Yet it is to Calvary, not as ourselves but as Calvary, that in the breaking up of ourselves we most earnestly desire to hold fast. We are left, here at least and now, still gazing as from afar, not in fruition, but in faith, on that which we have *not* realised in ourselves. We are still kneeling to worship, with arms outstretched from ourselves in a wonder of belief and loving adoration, that reality wholly unique and wholly comprehensive, the figure of Jesus crucified.[1]

ARTHUR BOUTWOOD.

[1] Page 323.

AN ANCIENT IRISH CEMETERY.

1. *Rude Stone Monuments : Ireland.* By JAMES FERGUSON, D.C.L., F.R.S. (London : John Murray.)
2. *On the Tumuli and Inscribed Stones at New Grange, Dowth, and Knowth.* By GEORGE COFFEY, Q.I.B. Part I. Vol. XXX. of the "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy." (Dublin : Hodges, Figgis, & Co. 1892.)
3. *Handbook of Irish Antiquities.* By WILLIAM F. WAKEMAN. (Dublin : James McGlashan. 1848.)
4. *The Beauties of the Boyne and the Blackwater.* By Sir WILLIAM WILDE. (Dublin : James McGlashan. 1849.)

DROGHEDA, at the mouth of the Boyne, is one of the most picturesque towns in Ireland, and has occupied from a remote period an important place in the national annals. Formerly it was strongly fortified, but its walls were destroyed during the terrible siege by Oliver Cromwell in 1649, when almost the whole garrison was put to the sword. Several portions, however, still remain, along with two imposing gate-towers, St. Lawrence Gate and the West Gate, in a good state of preservation. Passing through the central part of the town, which looks busy and prosperous, with large and well furnished shops on both sides of the street, you quickly emerge into the open country. The road proceeds westwards through the valley of the Boyne, bordered by luxuriant fields, with glossy cattle knee-deep in the rich grass, and shaded by large hawthorn trees loaded with pale pink and milk-white blossoms, whose perfume fills all the sunny air. Glimpses of the river catch your eye

here and there among the trees, reflecting the brilliant sunshine from its shallow currents, or imaging the shadowy landscape in its deeper and calmer waters. The whole region is full of memories of the great battle fought between William of Orange and the forces of James II., which decided the Protestant succession to the Throne of England. A magnificent obelisk on a rocky crag beside the river commemorates the event, and every spot recalls some incident of the fateful day.

Between four and five miles beyond these scenes of modern history you enter at once into an old world, separated from them by more than two thousand years, whose facts seem as dim as fables, and whose forgotten annals you have painfully to decipher and reconstruct from the numerous relics that still remain on the spot. One of the most famous of the three great cemeteries of pre-Christian Ireland has been identified, almost beyond doubt, as that which extends for about three miles beyond this point along the northern bank of the river where it makes a long deep curve. It was known in the Irish MSS. as Brugh-na-Boine, and exhibits a profusion of sepulchral mounds, the three largest being Dowth, New Grange, and Knowth. These are situated about a mile apart, within sight of each other; New Grange, the most remarkable, occupying the middle place. Within this comparatively limited area such a number of standing stones, dolmens, raths, cists, and tumuli may still be seen as to indicate that this was one of the most important prehistoric sites in Ireland. Indeed, there is not throughout the United Kingdom or in all Western Europe, with the sole exception of Carnac in Brittany, any group of rude stone monuments so well worthy of a visit as those in this part of the valley of the Boyne.

The mode of burial in this primitive cemetery of Brugh-na-Boine may be traced throughout Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Poland, and the steppes of Tartary. It seems to have been the work of the same northern people, the Tuath-na-Dannan, who invaded Ireland at the close of the

bronze period, and conquered the aboriginal race of Firbolgs. They were farther advanced in the arts of life than their predecessors. They were skilled in magic, in the construction of weapons, and in the rude style of architecture which then prevailed, and left behind a great reputation for wisdom among the rougher race which succeeded them in the possession of the country. They were not entirely extirpated by the victorious Celts; but, according to legendary lore, they passed into the sidhe or fairy state, and dwelt in brugheans or mounds, such as Dowth and New Grange. A favourite pastime of their Druids or wise men was, as we are told in the Ossianic tales, to propound to their supplanters, in the fashion of those early days, riddles or conundrums, which it was unlucky not to be able to solve. One of these riddles was the following rhyme:

> In Erin of woods I saw a building:
> To king or law it yields not.
> Fire cannot consume it; destroyed it cannot be.
> Good fortune attends its dwellers.

The Fion to whom it was proposed gave the correct answer. He said that the building referred to was the brughean on the Boyne, New Grange, where Aongus, son of Daghda, a celebrated Dannan chief, took up his abode, when he passed from the mortal to the fairy condition. On its clay and stone materials fire could have no effect; and the lot of its inhabitants was safe and blessed beyond all mortal vicissitudes. In this curious legend we have an explanation of the sepulchral mounds of the Boyne valley as the habitations of the vanished Tuath-na-Dannan when they died, and so passed into the spiritual state.

It was a law of Odin that large tumuli should be raised to perpetuate the memory of kings and celebrated chiefs. The ashes of the great were not to be mingled with those of common men, but were to be deposited by themselves in a chambered mound, composed of great quantities of stones, with earth and turf covering them. Another law of Odin directed that a ring of great upright monoliths should be

erected around this sepulchral cairn, to mark out its sacred boundary. All these features we find in the tumuli of the Boyne, and they are a proof that they were raised by a race which professed the ancient faith of Odin. We have a remarkable survival of the ancient Aryan custom in the magnificent tumulus or mogilo of Kosiusko, the Polish patriot, outside Cracow, one of the most conspicuous objects from every point of the city and its environs.

We have reason to believe that chambered tumuli like those in the Boyne valley were built in the style of the native dwellings. Divested of their superincumbent covering of stones and turf, the interior consisted of a large round chamber roofed with overlapping slabs, with a long avenue leading out from it, opening generally to the east, so that the occupants might be awakened by the first rays of the rising sun penetrating into the inner recesses. The Lapps, Finns, and Esquimaux construct dwellings after the same pattern at the present day, partly subterranean, the long avenue having been found by experience to be admirably adapted to regulate the temperature of the interior, and to keep out the cold and stormy winds. In this respect the Tuath-na-Dannan of Ireland buried their dead in chambers which imitated those in which they had dwelt while living; the only difference being that the sepulchral abodes were covered over and concealed by immense cairns of stone. The tombs on the banks of the Boyne remind us of the remarkable tomb-like cromlechs which have been discovered at Saturnia, one of the most ancient Etruscan sites in Italy. These are formed of enormous masses of stone, with one or two central sepulchral chambers, and a narrow passage, lined with similar boulders, leading to them. They were originally enclosed in a tumulus; but the earth has in course of time been removed from them, or washed away by the rains, leaving the skeleton only a little sunk below the surface of the ground. Such structures are so rude and simple that they may have suggested themselves to many people independently, and may have been naturally adopted in an early state of civilisation. Accordingly we find the

same type widely diffused over the old world, from the valleys of Ireland to the valleys of Italy and the glens that run up among the Atlas mountains.

In the list of authorities prefixed to this article Mr. Coffey's admirable monograph is the first attempt that has been made to give an exhaustive scientific account of the great pagan cemetery of the Boyne valley. It embodies the results of a dozen visits to the spot, made during the years 1890 and 1891, and is illustrated by careful photographs of the interiors taken by magnesium light. It gives carefully measured plans and sections, and minute details of ornamentation, and places the reader in possession of all that is known regarding these remarkable monuments. A map at the commencement shows the relative positions of the three principal tumuli with which the monograph deals. The first tumulus to which the visitor comes is that of Dowth or Dubhadh. Leaving the highroad, you enter a field belonging to the residential house of the same name, by a side path which leads a short distance beyond to the foot of a large grassy mound. Here a square hole lined with solid masonry discloses itself, with an iron ladder descending into the depths. Going down for six or seven yards, you find yourself at the mouth of a subterranean tunnel, where you are provided with a lighted candle. The tunnel is formed by two rows of huge upright stones placed at opposite sides, and roofed by a series of great slabs laid horizontally across. The stones at the sides incline towards each other at the top, so that the passage is wider below than above; the average breadth being three feet at the base, and the height during the greater part of it between six and seven feet. The space is little more than sufficient to allow an ordinary man to pass through in a stooping attitude. The floor is somewhat damp, and in one place, where the passage is narrower and the ground somewhat muddy, a coarse carpet has been considerately laid, on which you crawl comfortably on hands and knees without soiling your clothing. The huge monoliths forming the sides of the tunnel have a peculiar brown earthy look, as if they had been covered for

ages with soil, and had not regained the clean grey appearance of stones exposed to the air and sunshine. They had evidently not been found originally lying on the ground, for they show no traces of weathering. So far as one could make out, they seemed to be slabs, split along the natural cleavage, from the Silurian and trap rocks which crop up within a radius of a few miles. And the mechanical skill required in rudely quarrying and transporting and setting up in position these enormous masses of stone, which probably involved the continuous labour of many years, indicated an advanced stage of social organisation at the time.

The passage is about twenty-seven feet in length, and the roof rises rapidly as you advance. In the dim light shed by your candle, the huge rough monoliths look very weird and sepulchral. Stepping over a sill-stone which blocks the entrance, you emerge into a roomy central chamber of an hexagonal form, lined with huge upright stones between ten and eleven feet in height, with great flags rising up gradually around into a lofty dome-shaped roof resting directly upon them. This chamber has been compared to the famous cavern called either the Tomb of Agamemnon or the Treasury of Atreus, discovered by Schliemann at Mycenæ. Both were constructed according to the same method; the dome being built by the gradual approximation of huge stones to the centre point, the principle of the arch having been apparently unknown at that time. On the floor, in the middle of this central chamber, directly under the dome, there is a large flat basin, somewhat oval-shaped, about three feet across and five feet long. It is of the rudest workmanship, and so shallow that it could not have been employed to hold any liquid. It is broken into several pieces, which had been found in different parts of the interior passages when first investigated, and brought together and placed in this position, which we can hardly suppose to have been the original one. Indeed, in the mound of New Grange three similar stone basins were discovered, not in the middle of the central chamber where

they now are, but in two of its largest and most richly inscribed recesses, one placed above the other. From that mound they were removed by Sir Thomas Deane, during the restorations of the Irish Board of Works, and placed in their present position, for what reason does not appear. It is a striking proof of the archæological incompetence of the Board, and calls for exposure in order that a stop may be put to such vandalism. The basins of Dowth and New Grange should at once be restored to their original place. Such grim stone saucers have been found in many of the Irish prehistoric sepulchres, but their use has given rise to much speculation. Composed invariably of a different material from the other stones of the sepulchre, a kind of granite which is peculiar to the Wicklow mountains, they could not have been brought from that great distance, fashioned out of such an intractable material with infinite pains, and laid in the place of honour in the central shrine of the tumulus, without being considered immensely important and significant. From the circumstance that in one of the sepulchres a quantity of ashes and charred human remains was discovered under one of the flat basins, it has been conjectured that they were used as a kind of funeral pyre, on which the dead body was burnt, the remains being afterwards preserved and covered over with a lid or with an inverted urn. Indeed, Mr. Coffey conjectures that in New Grange, which is destitute of sill-stones or entrances into smaller chambers or recèsses, which are a common feature at Dowth, the basins were meant to replace them as a means of confining the interments, and formed a kind of rude sarcophagus or receptacle for urns. Gazing on these granite basins one's thoughts irresistibly revert to the granite sarcophagus in the innermost chamber of the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh, which is only an enormous and highly civilised tumulus. But the mystery connected with them cannot be satisfactorily solved, until some tomb whose contents have been left *in situ* and hermetically sealed since the dead were laid in it has been discovered.

From the central chamber at Dowth three branch passages

open out, of a similar character to that of the main entrance; one beyond the chamber and one on each side of it, with a projecting sill-stone in each case marking the entry into them. They are very short, and give to the ground plan of the whole subterranean crypt, with its long entrance passage and central chamber, the appearance of an Ionic cross. By rounding the monolith which very nearly closes up the end of the right-hand passage, you enter an additional passage nearly nine feet in length, the floor of which is formed by a great slab, almost as long as the passage itself, with a curious oval hollow worn down the centre of it. At the upper and lower end of this excrescence of a passage as it were, there are small recesses divided off from it by high sill-stones, and the roof in both cases slopes down to the ground, showing that there is no structure beyond. Besides the main cruciform passage and central chamber, a minor crypt was discovered a little to the south of it in the interior of the tumulus, with a separate entrance. It consists of a circular chamber, with two short side recesses separated from it by sill-stones. The lower stone of the passage on the right-hand side has a wide and deep groove sunk in its face, which indicates that it must have been a door-post, and that this passage must have been shut off from the circular chamber by a large slab placed in this groove, though how it worked no one can tell, for there is no corresponding groove in the opposite stone of the entrance.

The interior of the great tumulus is unknown, having been only partially explored. But the possibility of other crypts being opened up in it is suggested by the discovery about twenty years ago of a long curved passage in the circumference, opening from the main tunnel near its entrance, and leading down from it by a flight of steps. This passage terminates at both ends in two chambers, whose style of architecture reminds one of the beehive cells which are so common in the north and west of Ireland, and in which the saints of the early Church lived an especially recluse life. The whole appearance of this passage and its connected cells, with their rubble walls and steps of small coursed stones,

is entirely different from that of the megalithic structure with which they are associated, and plainly indicates that they belong to a much later period. They were obviously used not for sepulchral purposes, but as an abode for the living, like the rath-caves and domestic souterrains so common in the district. And it has been conjectured that this subterranean dwelling was tenanted between the ninth and tenth centuries of our era, not long indeed after the great tumulus had been plundered by the Danes. The character of the articles, such as iron knives and rings, found in the cells and in the passage when discovered, which evidently belong to that period, would seem to corroborate this supposition. It is curious to find a prehistoric tumulus made use of in this way. The sanctity which attached to it would doubtless be taken advantage of to secure the safety of the living who sought refuge in it.

But the most remarkable thing about this chambered cairn is the profusion of archaic carving with which nearly all the monoliths are adorned. In some cases it is faint and almost indistinct in dry weather, owing to the earthy appearance of the stones, and in other cases it is cut deep into the surface of the rough slabs. In wet weather, which makes itself soon manifest in this cave, the decorative sculpture appears more conspicuous on the moistened surface of the stones; and at all times a sidelight is necessary to bring them out distinctly. It would be difficult to say whether they had been executed by a flint implement or by a bronze tool, although the deeper markings seemed to be produced by repeated blows of a rude pick. Ferguson, in his *Rude Stone Monuments*, speaks of these carvings as being more refined and delicate than those of the other mounds in the vicinity, and as indicating a late stage of art development. But in reality they are more rude and primitive, and of themselves indicate that this tumulus is the oldest of the group. Mr. Coffey was the first to classify the various kinds of ornamentation on the inscribed stones, and to determine by the methods of comparative archæology the period to which they belonged. He regarded the

sculpture as ornamentation pure and simple, and quite devoid of artistic suggestion or symbolical design. It is possible, however, that some of the carvings were not altogether fanciful, the riotous exuberance of the prehistoric sculptor's imagination, limited only by the shape and surface of the stone he was employed upon. They may have had some occult meaning, and may have been intended to suggest some idea which at the time was easily understood, though it has since passed away into complete oblivion. Similar incised spirals have been found on boulders and rock-surfaces in different parts of Scotland. They resemble the volutes of an Ionic pillar, which are said to have been originally derived from a pair of ram's horns. The "opposed volutes," of which there are many examples on the stones at Dowth, are the old emblems of divinity. They appear on the monuments of ancient Egypt as the sign of the ram-headed Knaph, the god of the annual inundation of the Nile, whose characteristic sphinxes formed the avenue of the Serapeum at Sakkara. Schliemann found them on one of the stones which he dug up at Mycenæ, and regarded them as a device on the shields of the Amazons. On the coins of Alexander the Great his image was represented as Jupiter Ammon with these volutes or ram's horns; while in India at the present day the fossil shell of the Ammonite, which forms a very fine volute, is worn as a symbol of Vishnu the Preserver by his devotees. In all likelihood if the double spiral carvings at Dowth had any meaning at all, they would be an intelligible enough rude symbol of power; and the zigzag ornaments, which are equally numerous, might represent lightning as sacred to Thor. Spirals are far commoner in Ireland, and in Brittany on the huge stones of Carnac, than they are in Scotland, where they are usually associated with cup-marked symbols. They were undoubtedly pagan, but a rude representation of a cross, naked or within a wheel, on several of the stones at Dowth, would seem to indicate that they were in use during the Christian period. A cross, however, in itself is no proof of its Christian origin, for it was a pagan symbol as well; unless,

indeed, we are to regard the cruciform symbols of Dowth as mere graffiti inscribed upon the stones by the dwellers in the beehive cells during the late occupation of the tumulus. On the stones at Dowth we see the rough beginnings of that style of spirals and curves which is so remarkable amongst the Celts, and which afterwards developed into the wonderful interlaced groupings which are the glory of the Book of Kells. They remind us of the ornaments on the implements of the bronze period and on the primitive articles found in the tombs of Mycenæ, of the tattooing of the Maories of New Zealand, and of the figures discovered by Dr. Seeman on the rocks of Chiriqui in Central America. Such resemblances originated no doubt from the fact that the simplicity of the human mind, and of the materials it worked upon, in an early stage of civilisation were the same everywhere, so that they unconsciously arrived at like results

The tumulus of Dowth, we know from documentary evidence, was one of the three great sepulchral mounds on the banks of the Boyne that were plundered by the Danes in 862. In consequence of this none of the usual golden treasures were found when it was explored in 1847 by a committee of the Royal Irish Academy. But on the floor of the passages there was a large quantity of bones half-burnt, some of them human, some unburnt bones of horses, pigs, deer, and some shells, mixed with bone and copper pins, iron knives and rings, a star-shaped amulet of stone, a ring of jet, several amber beads and globular stones which were probably sling-stones. No flint or even bronze implements were found; and this circumstance, combined with the abundance of iron antiquities, would seem to point to the age of the tomb as probably not older than the commencement of the Christian era. The position of these relics, however, was not sufficiently noticed when the tomb was opened; and they were afterwards so hopelessly confused together that no reliance can be placed upon their evidence of age. Some of them might have been accidentally dropped by the Danish marauders, and others might have belonged to the subsequent occupancy of the beehive cells. Indeed, the

whole exploration of the tumulus seems to have been made in a haphazard way, by amateurs and not by experts. No official record is kept of the results; all the plans and drawings made at the time have been lost; and we are left to lament that such a unique archæological opportunity should have been recklessly wasted.

Retracing your way out of the narrow crypt into the open air, you climb to the top of the huge mound, covered with green grass. It is two hundred and eighty feet in circumference, and was originally about forty-seven feet high. Its base is surrounded by a curb of large stones set on edge, which for the most part lie under the turf, but their position is indicated by the withered colour of the grass above them. It is a huge cairn composed of round water-worn stones, supposed to have been brought from the sea-shore at the mouth of the Boyne, for no such stones are to be found in the vicinity. The solid contents of the cairn might have weighed about 180,000 tons, and the labour of collecting and heaping up such a prodigious mass of materials, even had they lain on the spot, must have been very great. The tumulus, instead of being solid, has a deep extensive hollow in the middle of it, where you can almost see the stony ribs of the tomb inside, showing through the sloping sides. This disfigurement of the mound was caused by the clumsy method adopted by the committee of the Irish Academy in exploring it. Being composed almost entirely of loose stones, it was impossible to sink a shaft or make a tunnel into it. The explorers, therefore, instead of patiently seeking for an entrance at the base cut the mound all the way down from the top through the side to the centre, until they discovered the passage by which visitors now penetrate into the tomb, leaving in consequence this great gaping hollow as a witness against them. We have no reason to suppose that the primitive inhabitants of this region were as careful to conceal the entrances of their tombs as were the old Egyptians. We can understand why these Egyptians hid their dead, and entrusted the secret of their last resting-place to no one, in order that the embalmed body

might be left undisturbed to wait for the time when the soul should rejoin it and animate it anew. But the Irish people of this period burnt their dead for the most part, and therefore they could have no motive for concealing their tombs. Indeed, in the similar prehistoric cemetery of Lough Crew in the same county, the boundary-stones of the cairns curve in in every case to the entrance, as if for the very purpose of pointing it out. That the entrance to the Dowth tomb must have been easily accessible seems to be proved by the fact that Amloff and his brother Danes from Dublin had no difficulty in finding and plundering it, and they could not have used spades to explore it in their hurried invasion of the country.

The tumulus is in the park of the proprietor of the estate. Close at hand is the manor house of Dowth, surrounded by fine old trees; and the near neighbourhood of this primitive tomb seems to lend a solemn, haunted feeling of hoar antiquity to the whole scene. From the top of the mound you have an extensive view of the surrounding country of the valley of the Boyne, and of the undulating richly wooded heights that recede almost as far south as to Dublin. The whole horizon is crowded with memories of the early history of Ireland. This region seems to have been the focus of its primitive life. A little to the east of the mound you see in a field a grand specimen of the ancient military encampment or rath, said to be the second largest in Ireland. Away to the south, about ten miles distant, the eye can recognise the long upland of Tara Hill, with its scant remains of the famous palaces of the ancient kings of Ireland, the popular notion of which has been derived from the familiar song of Moore:

> The harp that once through Tara's halls the soul of music shed,
> Now hangs as mute on Tara's walls, as if that soul were fled;
> So sleeps the pride of former days, so glory's thrill is o'er,
> And hearts that once beat high for praise, now feel that pulse no more!

The Irish bard tells us, with the usual exaggeration of

patriotic poetry, that no less than one hundred and thirty-six kings reigned in succession on Tara's Hill before the arrival of St. Patrick; but the scanty relics that now exist on the ground carry us no farther back than to the time of Cormac Mac Art, the great warrior and legislator of the Brehon laws, whose reign in the third century of the Christian era is the earliest date to which we can trace the history of Ireland. It ceased to exist as a royal residence in the sixth century. The imagination summons up the barbaric glory of this lonely table-land, over whose deserted mounds the wind sweeps with a melancholy wail, and sees crowding up the slopes of the hill the inhabitants around to the great national convention where the bards and the warriors held high revel. To the north-west, rising above the beautifully wooded scenery of the Boyne valley, you can see the round hill of Slane, crowned with its square tower and ruined abbey, on which St. Patrick, when he came to Ireland, pitched his tent and kept the feast of Easter, while Laoghaire, the king of Ireland, and his priests were holding a great pagan festival at Tara, whence Slane is easily visible. The saint lit there a sacred fire which extinguished the beacon-light that shone from the royal palace, put out all the fires of the Druidical religion or sun-worship of the people, and spread like a moorland blaze before the wind over all the country, consuming its paganism, and kindling from its ashes a new and higher life. Of the after-effects in this locality of this wonderful revival of religion, there are enduring architectural monuments remaining in the lovely ruins of the Cistercian Abbey of Melifont, and the elaborate sculptured crosses of Monasterboice, all within this magical horizon.

It is an interesting thought that this great cemetery of Dowth was existing in St. Patrick's time, in the same state as it is now. Along with the other mounds in the vicinity it was in use, we have reason to believe, during the first Christian centuries; and the reason of their being finally closed was that the inhabitants of the region had embraced Christianity, and could no longer tolerate being buried in a

pagan cemetery with pagan rites, after the manner of their forefathers. Indeed, there were premonitions of this abandonment of the place long before the time of St. Patrick; for King Cormac, the Alfred the Great of Ireland, and his son refused to be buried in this place with their ancestors. Christianity had somehow penetrated into this district, perhaps through the mission of St. Palladius, whose labours may not have been altogether so unsuccessful as they are usually represented. Or perhaps Cormac himself brought back Christian ideas from the English and Scottish shores which he had ravaged, as he brought back thence the first water-mill in Ireland, which superseded the querns or hand-mills previously in use. At all events, King Cormac became a Christian, or at least imbibed Christian ideas, and rejected the sun-worship of his country. He is said to have died from the effects of a bone of a Boyne salmon sticking in his throat. Before his end he charged his people not to bury him at Brugh-na-Boine, as it was a cemetery of idolaters, but to take him to Ross-na-righ and bury him there with his face to the east. Disregarding these dying injunctions of the king, his servants carried him to Brugh, where his predecessors had always been buried. Three times did they attempt to carry out their unhallowed purpose; but heaven itself, according to the legend, interfered, and three times did the water of the Boyne rise up suddenly in flood, and prevented them from crossing over; and they had therefore no alternative but to dig his grave at Ross-na-righ as he had ordered; and there, as Sir Samuel Ferguson tells us, in his burial of Cormac Mac Art, in his vigorous *Lays of the Western Gael*—

> Round Cormac spring renews her buds
> In March perpetual by his side;
> Down came the earth-fresh April floods,
> And up the sea-fresh salmon glide;
>
> And life and time rejoicing run,
> From age to age their wonted way;
> But still he waits the risen sun,
> For still 'tis only dawning day.

The name of Dowth is supposed to be a corruption of Dubhath, one of the kings of Tara buried in this cemetery, whose exceptional fame caused it to be known in after-times as the burial-place of King Dubhath.

Not far from Dowth and nearer the river there is a large tumulus which tradition has uniformly declared to be the tomb of the great Daghda, the hero of the celebrated battle of Moytura. It is referred to in a poem ascribed to Mac Nia, preserved in the *Book of Leinster*:

> Behold the *sidhe* before your eyes,
> It is manifest to you that it is a king's mansion,
> Which was built by the firm Daghda;
> It was a wonder, a court, a wonderful hill.

This mound has not yet been explored; for what reason we know not. When opened there is a remote chance that the sepulchral remains within it may be found undisturbed, and may yield some interesting information regarding the nature and age of the other tumuli. If this was indeed the burial-place of Daghda, it would most likely have been the nucleus which first made the locality sacred, and round which the other great tombs afterwards gathered. It would in this way be the oldest of the whole group. Daghda, whose real name was Eochy, one of the commonest names in Irish history, chose this locality for a burial-place because his dwelling was not on Tara's Hill, but in a great rath near Dowth, which is probably the magnificent ring-post in the field near Dowth House, already alluded to. Here his three sons were born, and here they were buried with their father. Having consecrated the ground in this way, the wife of Crimthan, the head of one of the two great dynasties then reigning in Ireland, persuaded her husband that he should be buried at Dowth in a new cemetery built for himself, beside his great master, who, after the battle of Moytura, established the supremacy of the Tuath-na-Dannan, to which they both belonged.

Besides Dowth there was another tumulus erected in this

holy locality to accommodate the increasing burials that took place for nearly four hundred years. This tumulus is now known by the name of New Grange, and is the largest and most important of the whole group. It is a mile farther on, and on the same side of the Boyne. The road to it passes, it may be remarked, through some of the richest pastures in Ireland ; and hawthorn-trees in full bloom, mingled with broom- and gorse-bushes whose gorgeous living gold completely conceals the foliage, make a scene of enchantment on each side of the highway. The tumulus is in as loping field, a little distance up from the road, and arrests the eye at once by its huge dimensions. It is, if possible, covered with richer verdure than the rest of the landscape, and a good many trees and bushes adorn its sides and summit. Originally a circle of large erect monoliths surrounded the base of the mound, a few yards outside, numbering thirty-five, the same as at Stonehenge, but only twelve now remain. Four of these near the entrance of the mound are of unusual size, measuring respectively from six to eight feet in height above the ground, and from fifteen to twenty feet in girth. Inside the circle there is a rampart of small stones, which can be distinctly traced for the greater part of the circumference, but disappears at the east side. The tumulus itself is an enormous cairn of loose stones, like that at Dowth, heaped up within a curb of large slabs set on edge, and touching each other all round the mound. Over these curb-stones there is built a retaining wall of dry rubble, about five or six feet high. The solid cairn covers about an acre of ground, or with the circle of standing stones around it about two acres. Its greatest diameter is about two hundred and eighty feet, and its present height is about forty-four feet. The top is not round but flat, and on it once stood a huge monolith which has now disappeared. The name of New Grange, by which the tumulus is known, is somewhat puzzling. Our earliest archæologists looked upon it as a monument of solar worship. Living antiquaries reject the derivation of grange from grian the sun ; but we cannot ignore the worship paid to that luminary by the

pagan Irish, nor the sacred character of such mounds as that of New Grange.

About the year 1699 a Mr. Campbell, who resided in the village of New Grange, observing stones in this place protruding from the green sod, carried some of them away to repair a road; and proceeding in his work, he came at last to a broad flat stone which covered the mouth of a subterranean gallery. Soon after this, Edward Lloyd, the Welsh archæologist, gave the first description of the exploration of the interior; and he was followed by Sir Thomas Molyneux in his account of Danish forts and mounds. The present entrance into the crypt cannot have been the original one, for it is more than fourteen feet above the base of the mound, as indicated by the circle of upright stones, and is a considerable distance back from the outer edge of it, as if a large slice had been taken off the tumulus in trying to find a way into the interior. A square opening, with a huge upright stone on each side, surmounted by a horizontal slab of massive proportions, confronts you, roofed over by the soil and luxuriant vegetation of the mound. No chisel has touched these rugged stones, with their edges and surfaces all shapeless. Forming a threshold over which you pass as you enter there is an enormous block of stone, ten feet long by two or three feet thick, richly covered with scroll-work or double spiral ornaments, which, though the stone is much weathered and covered with grey lichens, and worn by the tread of visitors, are still strongly marked on the surface. This highly decorated stone was originally one of the boundary-stones. A little way above the entrance, exposed on the face of the mound, is another long sculptured stone, like a lintel, ornamented with a diamond pattern like that which often occurs in the string course of modern architecture. These highly ornamented stones were doubtless intended to form an architectural façade to the structure.

Entering with a lighted candle, you are struck with the similarity of the passage to that of Dowth, only in this case the stones are of far larger size, one of the roofing-stones

being seventeen feet long by six broad. The magnitude of the work points to the greater importance of the tumulus. This is further confirmed by the finer execution of the carvings on the side stones of the passage. Many of them are identical with the devices at Dowth, only their style is more elaborate and artistic. The scrolls and spirals are more graceful, and seem to have been cut continuously by a sharp metal tool. In Ireland the history of art has been progressive, and unlike India and Egypt, where the most refined art is the oldest, followed by periods of decadence, the rudest art of Ireland is the most archaic. We can trace a continuous advance from the rude ornaments on the tombstones of Dowth to the exquisite decorations of the Book of Kells. Some of the figures which we see in Dowth, such as the cross, the wheel, or a series of concentric circles, are altogether absent in New Grange; which is a singular circumstance, considering how universal was the idea of the circle among the people who executed the carvings of this tumulus, in their round forts, their huts, their tombs and shields, and in the mode of ornamentation on their weapons and utensils. While, on the other hand, not a single example is to be found in Dowth of some of the characteristic figures of New Grange, such as the chevron, the lozenge, and dog-tooth decoration, tooled all over so as to contrast most vividly with the plain surface of the background. One of the most remarkable figures is that which resembles a fern leaf or a palm branch, drawn in a very naturalistic fashion from the herring-bone design in the lower part of the decoration to be seen in Dowth, to the tree pattern in the upper part. The designs seem to convey no pictorial ideas, and to have no symbolic or hieroglyphic significance, except perhaps as a kind of mason's marks to indicate the position of the stone on which it is inscribed in the general plan of the burial, or to point out where the last resting-place of some particular person is in the mound. On one of the monoliths of the outer ring at the back of the tumulus, like the threshold-stone at the entrance, there is a very curious carving with several oval figures, like the

cartouches on the Egyptian obelisks, enclosing three cup-marks each. No other example of this style of decoration has been found in Ireland; but, unlike the Egyptian cartouches, it has no ideographic meaning, being merely a part of the general decorative design.

But the most remarkable of all the figures of New Grange are those on the upper surface of the lintel-stone above the entrance into the inner chamber. These are generally supposed to represent in a very rude fashion boats or galleys. Three or four ships have been cut on this stone. The principal boat is well marked; the right-hand end strokes being curved and suggesting the prow of a vessel, while the square top at the other end of the figure looks very like a very rough primitive drawing of a mast and sail. Similar ship-figures occur among the rock tracings at Järrastad in Sweden, and also on the Lockmariakar stones in Brittany, which have been ascribed to the later bronze age. They lead our thoughts irresistibly to the carvings of galleys, such as the galley of Lorn belonging to the chiefs of the Western Isles, which we see so frequently on the sculptured tombstones of Iona and other ancient Scottish burial-places. Various explanations have been given of the occurrence of such exceptional ornaments at New Grange. One of the most plausible is that the Danes, when they plundered the tumulus, inscribed the rude, hasty pictures of their galleys on the monoliths as a memorial of their visit, as they wrote their names in Runic characters on the walls of Maas Howe in Orkney. But why, after all, should we regard these ship-figures as out of keeping with the other carvings of the mound? If it was constructed by the race of the Tuath-na-Dannan, a previous horde of invaders, these northmen must have come to Ireland in boats of a similar character; and why should they not have inscribed on their megalithic monuments a figure so familiar to them? Or are we to regard these ship-figures as having the same purpose to serve as the ark in the Egyptian tomb? Among all primitive people the dead were ferried across water to indicate that the home of the departed was in some island of the

setting sun; and the early Irish kings might have been brought in galleys across the Boyne to their last resting-place in this mound, and the pictures of their galleys may have been afterwards inscribed on the stones of the monument to commemorate the event.

One peculiarity of the ornamentation of New Grange is that it occurs at the back as well as at the front of the upright stones of the passage, as is very evident from the case of one stone in particular that has fallen out of position, and so revealed what is behind it. On this stone the scrolls and spiral ornaments are as profuse and as elaborately carved as they are on the stones which face the visitor as he creeps through the passage. The inference is irresistible that the carvings could not have been made after the stones were arranged in the position in which we now find them and the mound was finished. They must have been sculptured in the open daylight before the tumulus was raised over them and they were shut up in darkness. And this circumstance gives us the key to the secret of the construction of these tombs. The architect at first got together the stones, then carved on them their ornaments, arrayed them vertically in the manner in which we now see them, and finally built the great central chamber with horizontal stones, gradually converging to the top; and when the dead were laid in the interior niches or loculi, the whole structure was covered up with heaps of small stones like a gigantic cairn. Were the mound removed as already observed, and the stonework in the interior exposed to the sky, with the circle of large monoliths around it, the appearance of this sepulchre would be like that of hundreds of dolmens and cromlechs, and so-called Druidical circles which we see in England and Scotland in the open air, such as the circle at Avebury, Staunton Drew, and Stennis in Orkney. Dr. Stewart remarks significantly that if the cairn of New Grange were removed, the pillar-stones of the skeleton in the interior would form another Callernish. Many of the megalithic circles and dolmens may have been built afterwards intentionally with a view to their being always

exposed, when the primitive people became familiar with this mode of architecture and preferred not to hide it under a heap of small stones.

The crypt of New Grange is sixty-two feet long, and is cruciform in its ground plan, like Dowth. Though the passage is composed of enormous stones, twenty-one feet on the right, and twenty-two on the left, which slant towards each other above the head of the tallest man at the top, yet the angle between them is so narrow that you cannot stand upright, but have to stoop most of the distance, and at one point where the supports had given way at the top you have to creep along the ground. This passage opens into a large hexagonal chamber, rising up into a conical dome high above your head, built of large flat stones laid horizontally, overlapping each other, till closed by a single stone at the top. The walls of the chamber are formed of a continuation of the upright stones which line the passage; the dome-shaped roof, however, does not rest upon these, as is the case at Dowth, but springs independently from the ground. On three sides of the chamber there are recesses in the walls, each resembling a great fireplace, with huge upright stones forming the jambs on each side, and a large smooth stone covered with sculptured scrolls and spiral ornaments filling the whole cavity at the back. In each of these recesses stands a shallow stone basin of granite, like the one already described in Dowth. It has been remarked that in New Grange there are no sill-stones in the passages like those of Dowth, marking out definite spaces for different interments; and it has been conjectured, as already observed, that these granite basins were a further development of this sepulchral idea, and were intended to supersede the use of sill-stones. Of the basins, that in the eastern recess is the most remarkable. It seems to have been set up above or rather within another of somewhat larger dimensions. Such was its position when the tomb was first entered. Two well marked cup-depressions have been cut within its hollowed surface, respectively eight and seven inches in diameter, the purpose of which is unknown. None of the other basins, which are

very shallow and of much ruder construction, have this mysterious peculiarity. All the other details of the interior of the New Grange tumulus are a facsimile in almost every respect of that of Dowth; for being a later construction, it was doubtless intended to be built as closely as possible after the pattern of the older monument.

The sepulchre of New Grange was plundered by the Danes at the same time as the mound of Dowth. Nothing seems to have escaped the keen eyes of the pirates, from the most celebrated churches of Ireland down to the most obscure tombs. Familiar in their own country with monuments similar to those of Dowth and New Grange, they recognised them at once as the burial-places of kings, and by a keen native instinct they found out their secrets, and penetrated into their innermost chambers eight hundred years before Lloyd or Molyneux, or Petrie or Wilde had found a passage into them. What they found in these inner chambers in the way of golden treasures we do not know. That they must have been valuable is highly probable from the fact that a labouring man, digging on one occasion in 1842 in the ground within a few yards of the entrance, found two splendid gold torques, a brooch and a gold ring. Near the same place a denarius of Geta was afterwards found; and a gold coin of Valentinian was picked up on the outside near the top of the mound. These objects, and especially the coins, may have belonged to the later age of the sepulchre, for in all likelihood such an extensive monument must have taken a long time to complete, and a considerable interval may have elapsed between the first interments and the last, when the cairn was heaped over the completed structure and so sealed for ever. How came the Roman coins found beside the tomb into this locality? We may with considerable probability suppose them to have been brought over during the pirate invasion of the English and Scottish shores by Cormac Mac Art and his warriors, who regarded the spoiling of Great Britain as a sacred duty. "In a large fleet," the annalists tell us, "he went on the sea for the space of three years." And owing

to the success of the native insurgents against the Roman arms at the time, he found the way prepared for his successful raids. The military chest of the Emperor Severus, and his two sons, Geta and Caracalla, whom he brought with him from Rome to prevent their serious quarrels, doubtless furnished much spoil to Cormac Mac Art, which he carried back with him to Ireland, and circulated in this district.

Who were the persons buried in this grand sepulchre of New Grange? To whom belonged those gold torques and rings, and who had in their possession gold Roman coins? Such a royal tomb, we may suppose, contained many interments of kindred ashes. Twenty-seven kings reigned in Tara from the time of Crimthan, who was the first to be interred in this renowned locality, to the time of Laoghaire, the son of Nial of the Nine Hostages, the contemporary of St. Patrick; and these with their families and chief nobles would be laid in this and the other great tumuli in the Boyne valley. The form and position of the loculi in the great central chamber of New Grange, along with the granite basins, would indicate that several exalted personages were buried there. The kings not interred in Dowth or New Grange would be laid to rest in the tumulus of Daghda, near the sound of the river chanting its perpetual requiem, or in the large mound of Knowth, a mile farther up the river beyond Grange, nearer to the westering sun, identified by Petrie as the cave of Knodhba, which was plundered by the Danes, but has remained sealed up and unexplored since then. It is possible that in the tumulus of Daghda were interred, besides that half mythical hero, other shadowy persons who were associated more or less with him, such as Etan the bardess who handled the harp of Tara to such effect that the echo of it has come down through all the intervening ages to our own time, and Boiner the wife of Nachtan, of whom it is pathetically recorded that "she took with her to the tomb her small hound Dabilla." The great mound of Knowth is in a most dilapidated condition, having furnished materials for walls and buildings to the whole neighbourhood for many years; and little can be expected from its

exploration, should the entrance to the inner chambers be discovered, seeing that the Danes had so effectually robbed it of all its significant treasures more than a thousand years ago. The New Grange tumulus is believed by Mr. Coffey to belong to the transition age between the bronze and the iron periods—that is, to about the first century before Christ. Its ornamentation undoubtedly belongs to the bronze age, and being very similar to that of the great megalithic chambered cairns of Brittany, which have been placed by competent authorities in the neolithic or stone age, we may, reasoning from analogy, be inclined to place the Irish specimens at the beginning rather than at the end of the bronze age. There can be no doubt that, however far back we may trace it, burials continued to take place in this ancient Irish cemetery down to the early ages of Christianity.

Coming out of the dark cavern at New Grange into the exquisite beauty of the bright summer day is a wonderful transition. Never do the sunshine and the noonday splendour of the world, and the joyous hum of life, and the hues and scents of the wildflowers appear more delightful than by contrast with the oppressive gloom of the sepulchre. In the heart of the tomb you feel yourself in the presence of the unbroken silence and awful darkness and nothingness of death. In the open air at its mouth you feel yourself in the presence of a beautiful world of life and joy. And the golden song of the larks high up in the palpitating blue air seems to carry the soul up with it to the large free realms of heaven. But though no ray of Christian light penetrated to that pagan cemetery, though ancient kings laid down their crownless heads in it under the sceptre of the king of terrors, and knew not of the great victory over death won at that very time far away among the Syrian hills, and thought not that the ancient graves would one day be stirred on the resurrection morn, yet they were not left without hope in their apparent hopelessness. The pagan religion of the early Irish people placed indeed the abode of the dead within the hollow hill, or chambered tumulus, but they did not associate with the sepulchral

mound all their ideas of the spiritual world. They distinguished between the nether world of the cairn and the tumulus, to which mankind at large went after death, and the land of the supernatural beings whom they worshipped —the fair Celtic Elysium across the western sea in the land of the setting sun, where everlasting summer reigned, to which their heroes sailed in the boat with muffled oars.

HUGH MACMILLAN.

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY AND ITS RECENT EXPONENTS.

1. *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Religionen.* 1 Bd., 1 Abt.: *Allgemeine Einleitung u. Philosophie des Veda bis auf die Upanishad's*; 2 Abt.: *Die Philosophie der Upanishad's.* VON PAUL DEUSSEN. (Leipzig. 1894 and 1899.)

2. *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda, aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt u. mit Einleitungen u. Anmerkungen versehen.* VON PAUL DEUSSEN. (Leipzig. 1897.)

3. *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy.* By F. MAX MÜLLER. (London. 1899.)

4. *A History of Sanskrit Literature.* By ARTHUR A. MACDONELL. (London. 1900.)

WITHIN recent years the literature and thought of ancient India have found no more sympathetic or competent interpreter in the West than Dr. Paul Deussen, Professor in the Kiel University. His name and works are familiar to all students of Indian philosophy. His insight into the methods of Oriental thought, his skill in disciplining its wayward flights, so often assumed to be hopelessly vagrant and uncontrolled, and in accommodating them to the more sober preferences and procedure of the Occident, have by none perhaps been surpassed. Dr. Deussen indeed, if I understand him aright, would altogether deny the supposed wild and erratic character of the speculation of the East; and would attribute mainly, if not entirely, to the free hand of the interpolator and reviser the patent disorder of most

of the extant literature. His is at least one of the most earnest and authoritative voices, demanding of Western thinkers with a weight of learning and a keenness and sobriety of judgment not easily rivalled, that they should suspend their attempts at formulating either a complete theology or a universal system of philosophy, until they shall have taken counsel of and assimilated the independent, lofty, and venturesome reasonings of the East.

The *Comprehensive History of Philosophy with especial Regard to Religions*, of which two parts have been already published, is conceived in a generous spirit, and sketched upon broad lines. The work is to be completed in two volumes, each consisting of three parts; and the whole will comprise a survey of the philosophy of the East and West, ancient and modern, including a special treatment of Hebrew thought as it has found expression in the Old Testament and later Jewish writings. The task thus essayed is gigantic, and if carried out on anything like the scale of the two parts before us, each of which extends to considerably more than three hundred closely printed pages, will not be brought within the limits of two volumes or perhaps of three. An especial interest will attach to Dr. Deussen's discussion of the Hebrew documents, with their later Jewish expositions and commentaries. No adequate attempt has ever been made to present Hebrew thought in its entirety, to define its relations to the speculative systems of other ages and peoples, to weave its far-darting threads into a consistent whole, and to assign to it its function and place in the vast onward sweep of the human mind in pursuit of truth. Such a discussion is evidently quite apart from the work of the theologian, from that of the formulator or systematiser of doctrine, and is independent of questions of revelation or inspiration. The authors of the books of the Old Testament pondered and reasoned, as well as acted. Nay they speculated, with a speculation not less original and daring if more chastened and controlled than Gautama Buddha, S'ankarâc'ârya, Plato, or Kant; and contributed their share to the sum of human thought, as well as to the

body of human doctrines. In the hands of Dr. Deussen the inquiry can hardly fail to be productive of results of the deepest interest and significance.

Within the limits of the ancient world three chief centres of intellectual development may be recognised, where the search for truth, prosecuted on independent lines, attained to results trustworthy and independent, but in themselves insufficient. It is only by a synthesis of these that a true and complete philosophy may be established, which shall give satisfaction on every side to the longing of the human heart for light. The three are India, Palestine, and Greece.

The inhabitants of India, isolated from all kindred peoples and holding themselves strictly aloof from the inferior races amongst whom they dwelt, developed entirely from within an independent culture, a religious and philosophical system, whose complete originality constitutes for us its especial value. Meanwhile there arose in Western Asia, where Semite and Indo-European met in the common rallying-point of the peninsula of Sinai, a second circle of culture, which, stretching from Persia to Egypt, remained chiefly under Semitic influence, and as its loftiest spiritual development gave birth to the ideal world of the Old and New Testaments. The third and last independent circle of culture is that of the Greek and Roman world, whose fairest product was the philosophy of the Greeks, from which there sprang indeed a rich growth of the choicest thought, but which with all the vitality which it has ever exhibited was not in a position to completely satisfy the demands of the heart as well as of the head. The result was that at the beginning of our era a consciousness of emptiness and need had arisen in the ancient world, which in general found expression in the subjection of the Roman Empire to Oriental cults. But at this point an accident of geography turned the scale in a manner that profoundly influenced all future time. For as the Græco-Roman world, craving help under a sense of its own inadequacy, stretched out its hands toward the East, it encountered not the originally kindred wisdom of India but Christianity, which had taken its rise from a Semitic stock, and was itself a graft upon an older stem; and thus Christianity, animated by the spirit of youth, hastened to enter on her career of conquest through the world. Hence

there arose that union so significant for all history. Like two streams with diverse waters the wisdom of the Bible and of Greece became commingled; and from the union there sprang the speculative systems of the Middle Ages, wherein was effected at the cost of much time and labour an interweaving of the two heterogeneous elements. But the alliance was unnatural, and could not be sustained. Towards the close of the period the human intellect awoke to a consciousness of its own power, and endeavoured to free itself from the fetters which the Middle Ages had imposed. This struggle for freedom is the newer philosophy. At first it is hesitating, but soon gains courage, until at last in the philosophy of Kant the entire disruption of the previously existing limitations is accomplished; and at the same time a fresh starting-point is won, which promises to secure for the spirit of man from a more reasonable as well as a more religious point of view the long and vainly sought reconciliation and perfect contentment within his own breast.

From this general survey there are suggested naturally for treatment five main divisions:

Indian Philosophy.
Greek Philosophy.
The Philosophy of the Bible.
The Philosophy of the Middle Ages.
The Newer Philosophy.[1]

That Dr. Deussen should thus speak for himself is the best mode of introduction of his work to English readers. It will be seen at once that there is no lack of breadth or suggestiveness in the outline here drawn. Nor will there be any question as to the essential correctness of the view thus presented, however differently some would have preferred to phrase it in details, or to vary the point of incidence of the tone and emphasis. It is no part of the purpose of the present writer to criticise Dr. Deussen. A fruitful criticism would demand for its expression not a brief article but a volume; and a superficial criticism is worse than none at all. Much, however, will have been gained if the attention of English writers and thinkers can be drawn to

[1] *Gesch. d. Philos.*, I. 1, p. 10 ff.

this the clearest and best statement within the writer's knowledge of the essential characteristics and conclusions of Indian thought.

The primary interest of the author's work is contained undoubtedly in his exposition of the philosophy of the Upanishads, those marvellous compositions of the thinkers of ancient India, which at first repel by their discursiveness, their manifold repetitions and apparent contradictions, and by the strangeness of their illustrations ; but which quickly come to exercise so strong a fascination upon the mind and thought of all interested in the ever fresh quest of eternal truth. The first volume is introductory, dealing with Indian philosophy before the period of the Upanishads, and thus traverses ground which has been more thoroughly worked over, and where the promise of harvest is less from the point of view of philosophical thought. Within the limits of this part fall to be considered the ancient Vedic religion and culture, the nature and characteristics of the most important of the Vedic gods, the advance in thought which the literature of the Brâhmanas discloses, the history and rising significance of the great central terms of Indian philosophy and religion, *brahman* and *âtman*. These two words, which are finally explained to be synonymous, form as it were the transition and connecting-link between the crude and materialistic symbolism of the earlier Vedic hymns and the Brâhmanas, and on the other hand the later refined and idealistic speculations of the Upanishads. A brief sketch of the contents of the second part will show, if only imperfectly, to how great an extent students of philosophy are indebted to Dr. Deussen for the thoroughness and mastery with which he has elucidated a subject, whose Oriental mode of presentation has formed a real barrier to its appreciation by the thinkers of the West. That the author's work is founded throughout on direct study of the original documents goes without saying ; and were proof desired his translation of *Sixty Upanishads of the Veda*, with its brief but sympathetic commentary, would need but to be brought into court.

The Upanishad treatises, or the more ancient of them, form the third great division of *s'ruti*, the sacred literature of the Brâhmans, which was believed to have reached the seers of old by direct revelation from the source of all knowledge. They treat of the mystical and secret wisdom which is beyond the competence or grasp of ordinary men, which indeed may not be communicated to any but the "twice-born," and to these only under jealously guarded restrictions and precautions. It is, however, very clearly and well pointed out that the origin and rise of these speculations must be traced to Kshatriya, "royalist" circles, not to the Brâhmans, who were absorbed in the manner and detail of the ritual. And the two streams of thought and practice, flowing from of old side by side, were united and harmonized when the Brâhman leaders, partly from choice, partly under the pressure of a real necessity if their spiritual headship was to be maintained, adopted the principles and methods of a speculative philosophy, and interpreted their own rites and ordinances in allegorical fashion as outward and visible signs of an inward and spiritual intention. In a final synthesis the philosophy, without abating one jot of its claim to be the supreme truth, took under its protection the entire round of outward form and ceremonial, and permitted these to be a real, if less efficient and certain path of life—*karmakânda*, the way of works, suited to and for the time being sufficient for the man whose nature is too gross and unspiritual to tread the *jnânakânda*, the way of knowledge.

The term Upanishad, therefore, would hardly be mistranslated or wrongly paraphrased by "metaphysics" or "esoteric philosophy." It is however of very wide application, employed to denote both the documents themselves and the teaching which they set forth and enforce, the text of the Hindu gospel and its contents and application. Dr. Deussen compares not inaptly the relation between the Upanishads and the older Sanskrit literature to that between the New and the Old Testaments. But the range of subjects in these books is broader than any such

comparison would indicate. They contain much that in the West would be classed as natural philosophy, and not a little that would be banished to the realm of fable; pressing into illustrative service some ancient story, or forcing to the front some monstrous allegory, all of which diversions form real barriers to us as we seek to track through its windings the subtle thought of the Eastern sage. Those who have essayed the task will be grateful for Dr. Deussen's help and guidance. These treatises, moreover, circulated in the different schools of thought and learning of ancient India, and seem to have been carried from one to the other, thus becoming assimilated, modified, reduced to some sort of rule and harmony, and gathering to themselves influence and authority far beyond their original home. And in this way abstract and philosophical ideas, first formulated by the thinkers of Upanishad or pre-Upanishad times, have filtered downwards and become the common property of the Indian peoples to an extent to which Western society hardly furnishes a parallel.

Internal evidence makes it possible to group the most ancient Upanishads in a chronological order which, if necessarily uncertain in its details, may in broad outline be accepted as fairly established. The earliest of the extant treatises are written in prose in an archaic style. Of these the most important and complete bears the name of the *Brihadâranyaka* Upanishad, the "comprehensive" Upanishad "originating in the solitudes of the forest," or intended to be studied there. The work is composed as are most of the others in dialogue form; and the principal part is here sustained by a certain Yâjnavalkhya, who holds in Sanskrit philosophy a not dissimilar position to that of Socrates in the Greek, with the difference that Yâjnavalkhya is the questioned not the questioner, and that his teaching while destructive of false opinion is also largely constructive of the true. The second group is metrical, and distinct, not only in form but in character and thought from the earlier. In the third group are to be placed treatises written in prose of an altogether later type and style, containing quotations

from the more ancient works. The fourth is made up of the Upanishads attached to the Atharva Veda; and later than these again are the numerous compositions of comparatively recent origin, which are modelled on Upanishad lines, and may indeed occasionally embody fragments of more ancient works, but which are of little or no value for the history of Indian thought. It is part of Dr. Deussen's thesis that in the discourses of Yâjnavalkhya is to be found the essence of Upanishad philosophy in its original and purest form.

This philosophy is primarily and essentially idealistic. And the variety and undisciplined luxuriance of its speculation, however bewildering at first sight, admit of being ultimately reduced to two simple conceptions or groups of conceptions that may be said to gather around two terms, which with their implications sum up the loftiest thought of the Eastern sages, and are their last word on the great final problems of the universe. These are *brahma* and *âtman*, the spirit of the universe and the spirit of man. And the prime postulate and mature conclusion of the whole system, that in which it culminates and to which it returns, however devious its wanderings, is that these are one and the same, brahma *is* âtman and âtman *is* brahma. Where they are apparently distinguished, and a lower, perhaps less comprehensive and ideal view of the universe is intentionally set forth, âtman the human spirit, or as it is usually rendered the Self, the only reality which lies open to investigation, and which may be known approximately and in part, is said to reveal the more distant, unknown and unknowable brahma. The absolute and ultimate truth however is to be found in the assertion of their complete identity.

If for the present purpose we hold fast to this distinction of the *Brahman* as the principle of the universe, and the *Âtman* as that of the human soul, the thought that lies at the basis of the entire Upanishad philosophy admits of being expressed by the simple equation

Brahman = Âtman.

That is to say, the *Brahman*, the Power which presents itself

before us embodied in all existing things; which creates, sustains, and preserves all the worlds, and receives them back again into itself; this eternal, infinite, divine Power is identical with the Âtman, with that which we after rejection of everything external find within us as our most intimate and true being, as our real self, as the soul. This identity of the *Brahman* and the *Âtman*, of God and the soul, is the fundamental thought of the entire teaching of the Upanishads. It is set forth most briefly in the formula, *tat tvam asi*, that art thou, and *aham brahma asmi*, I am Brahman. And in the compound word *brahma-âtma-aikyam*, unity of the Brahman and the Âtman, is expressed the fundamental doctrine of the system of the Vedânta.[1]

This then was the great central thought of the Upanishads, the identity of brahma and âtman, of the world-soul and the man-soul. The visible tangible world presented to the bodily senses was pure illusion, *mâyâ*, did not actually but only appeared to exist. This doctrine of *mâyâ*, although presupposed in these writings, and indeed a necessary and obvious corollary from the postulate of the sole real existence of brahma, was chiefly elaborated by a later Indian philosopher of great ability and reputation, S'ankarâc'ârya, who flourished probably at the beginning of the ninth century of our era.

With unfailing wealth of statement and illustration this primary truth is insisted on in the Upanishads. Its discovery and affirmation forms, according to Professor Deussen, one of the three great attempts which philosophy has made to determine the real and permanent beyond and above the shifting phenomena, to penetrate below the surface and to come into touch with the absolute. The other essays have been made, the one in Greece by Parmenides and Plato, the other in Germany by Kant and Schopenhauer. The enthusiastic admiration for the Upanishads felt and expressed by the last-named writer and philosopher is well known. Research in all three instances has started from the same presuppositions, and in all three

[1] *Phil. d. Upan.*, p. 36 f.

has aimed at the same goal. In India, however, the entire stress of moral and spiritual regeneration was laid upon the intellectual recognition and grasp of this essential truth. The ordinary and ignorant man conceived the world to be real, and himself to be an independent being, separate and distinct from all other living beings in the universe. He must be disillusioned, must come to know himself as one with the eternal, with Brahma, ere he could attain to the supreme goal and deliverance from the bondage of the flesh. Γνῶθι σεαυτόν meant a very different thing to the Greek and to the devout disciple of Upanishad teaching. To the latter γνῶσις was an opening of the eyes, the recognition of an existing fact which only needed to be known and realised to bring about, automatically as it were, his release from the pains and penalties of existence, and the enjoyment of tranquil and ceaseless repose. There was here therefore no question of an absorption or reabsorption into Brahma. Such a phrase was meaningless, and the conception involved irrational and self-contradictory. *He already was, and always had been one with Brahma.* Blinded however by màyâ he had lost sight of this fundamental, this all-important truth, and had wandered far in the mazes of error and deceit. With the recovery of knowledge there had come also to the newly enlightened man recovery of bliss.

At this point Dr. Deussen introduces again a comparison with the New Testament, which is at least suggestive, and brings into clearer prominence the conditions, intellectual and spiritual, which Indian philosophy consistently urged upon all earnest seekers after truth, and the position which it adopted in relation to the supreme and ultimate end.

Why then do we need a release from this existence? Because it is the realm of sin, is the reply of the Bible. The Veda answers, Because it is the realm of ignorance. The former sees depravity in the volitional, the latter in the intellectual side of man. The Bible demands a change of the will, the Veda of the understanding. On which side does the truth lie? If man were pure will or pure intelligence, we should have to decide for one or the other alternative. But since he is a being

who both wills and knows, the great change upon which the Bible and the Veda alike make salvation depend must be fully wrought out in both departments of the life. Such a change is in the first place according to the biblical view the softening of a heart hardened by natural self-love, and the inclining it to deeds of righteousness, affection, and self-denial. But it is in the second place the breaking forth upon us of the light of the great intellectual truth, which the Upanishads taught before Kant, that this entire universe with its relations to space, its consequent manifoldness and dependence upon the mind that apprehends, rests solely upon an illusion (*mâyâ*), natural indeed to us through the limitations of our intellect; and that there is in truth one Being alone, eternal, exalted above space and time, multiplicity and change, revealed in all the forms of nature, and by me who also am one and undivided discovered and realised within as my very Self, as the Âtman.

As surely however as, to adopt the significant teaching of Schopenhauer, the will and not the intellect is the centre of a man's nature, so surely must the pre-eminence be assigned to Christianity, in that its demand for a renewal of the will is peculiarly vital and essential. But on the other hand, as certainly as man is not mere will, but intellect besides, so certainly will that Christian renewal of the will reveal itself on the other side as a renewal of knowledge, just as the Upanishads teach. . . . The New Testament and the Upanishads, these two noblest products of the religious consciousness of mankind, are found when we sound their deeper meaning to be nowhere in irreconcilable contradiction, but in a manner the most attractive serve to elucidate and complete one another. [1]

A brief outline of Dr. Deussen's work on the Upanishads will show more clearly than anything else can do the thoroughness of the treatment which Indian thought has received at his hands. After an introductory chapter, setting forth as above the leading conception and guiding principle of Indian philosophy, the main discussion is conducted under four great divisions, in each of which the wealth of learning which illustrates and enforces, and the skill with which the facts are marshalled and arranged, carry

[1] *Phil. d. Upan.*, p. 45 f.

the reader forward with an interest that hardly for a moment flags. These divisions are the theology, cosmology, psychology, and eschatology of the Upanishads, or the ancient Indian teaching concerning brahma, the world in its relation to brahma, the soul, and the future of the soul—metempsychosis with the means whereby deliverance from the round of existence may be effected.

Is it possible for man to attain to a real knowledge of Brahma, the eternal Spirit, a knowledge which if not complete shall yet be adequate to his needs, and as far as it goes not misleading or deceptive? The ancient hymn and ritual service of the mantras and brâhmanas has answered Yes; by sacrifice and offering, by prayer and ceremony man may enter into communion with the gods, may obtain from them the satisfaction of his wishes, may win their favour and placate their wrath. But to the thinkers of the Upanishads the problem presented itself under a somewhat different aspect. To them the many gods of the earlier Veda were all unreal, *mâyâ*, equally with the sacrifices that were offered at their altars. There was but one universal Brahma, without birth or beginning, spiritual not carnal, indifferent to forms and ceremonies and victims, and infinitely exalted above the crude representations that contented the mind of ordinary men. With this Brahma may the individual soul of man have intercourse?

To this question of momentous interest and importance the Upanishads also, in the first instance, returned an affirmative answer. But the desired end was not to be attained by any merely external performance of rite or ceremony, of whatsoever nature it might be; not even by asceticism, that favourite resort of the Indian soul that would climb to God, although these treatises allow in general to ascetic practices an auxiliary value in the pursuit of true knowledge; but by looking within. "Know thyself." *Âtmânam âtmanâ pas'ya;* in thine own self behold as in a mirror the great Self pictured and realised. Find thyself, and thou hast found and learnt to know all.

In a similar way and from similar premisses the inference

is drawn that all inquiry into the nature of the physical world is necessarily without meaning or worth. There can be no knowledge of the unreal, the non-existent. The only knowledge deserving of the name is the knowledge of Brahma. All other studies are empty and fruitless, incapable of conferring benefit upon the student or of leading to happiness and truth. And thus the so-called exact sciences upon which in our own day so much stress is laid, and especially the science of history, fell in India under the ban of a not unnatural contempt at the hands and under the influence of men to whom the ordinary *primâ facie* view of the universe had been so completely overturned and superseded by the contemplation of the real and invisible that they seemed to have no time or patience to spare for the details of the illusory and unreal world around them.

Thus nakedly set forth the doctrine of the Upanishads may appear strained and impracticable. But who will venture to say that there does not shine through it all the glimmerings of a great truth ? or that the thinkers of the East, who formulated their thoughts in so dreamy and mystical a fashion, were not as genuine seekers after truth as any of the philosophers of the West ? When, however, the attempt was made more exactly to define and explain the âtman thus conceived the usual metaphysical difficulties were at once encountered. It could not but be felt how inadequate and unworthy a representation of the divine was obtained by mere introspection. This therefore was declared to be insufficient of itself to lead to a perfect knowledge of Brahma. And with an approach to a theistic view the help of revelation was invoked, a revelation which the âtman itself, of its own free and voluntary grace, makes concerning its own nature to the individual soul of man. This doctrine, however, although it exercised an undoubted influence on the later development of Indian thought, was rather a side-channel or backwater, than part of the main stream of Upanishad teaching. And for a full account of this, and of many similar tributaries and deflections, it must suffice to refer to Dr. Deussen's work.

In particular, however, this conception of an âtman who reveals and a distinct âtman who receives the revelation was found to be in direct conflict with the fundamental doctrine of *advaita*, non-dualism. The latter is dominant, and its principles rule absolutely. If there is only one in the universe, "one alone without a second," then all teaching which implies or presupposes the presence of two, a revealer and a recipient of revelation, a teacher and a taught, a knowing subject and a known object, is necessarily false. Subject and object are one; the knower and the known coalesce. There remains only the one absolute, self-centred and self-sufficient, without parts or limitations, Brahma, the one and only reality. Beyond or outside of Brahma nothing exists or can be conceived to exist.

Upon this thought attention was fixed, and its analysis was then carried forward to what would seem to be the extreme limit of the subtlety and refinement of Indian speculation. Brahma is altogether unknowable, and can neither be comprehended nor defined; he, or it, is beyond the powers of language, as he transcends the powers of thought. Sometimes this is expressed, strangely enough, by ascribing to the âtman contrary qualities. But in reality no positive attribute can be predicated of the supreme âtman, for every such attribute, however generalised it may be, necessarily implies or supposes its opposite, the eternal that which is not eternal, the infinite the finite, and so forth. To assert therefore of Brahma such predicates would be in effect to declare that he was limited, conditioned by their contraries. In particular he is not subject to the conditions of time or space, or the laws of causality. Hence, in the ultimate resort, Brahma can only be described by negatives; *neti, neti*, "not so, not so," is the final answer to every inquiry as to his nature or being. Brahma is essentially beyond knowledge, eternal and incomprehensible.

If then he sees not, yet is he seeing, although he sees not; for for the Seer there is no suspension of seeing, because he is imperishable; but there is no second outside of him, no other distinct from him, for him to see.

The same formula is then repeated of smelling, tasting, speaking, hearing, thinking, feeling, and knowing.

For (only) where there is as it were another, one sees the other, smells, addresses, hears, thinks, feels, and knows the other.

. . . . .

This it is which the wise call the Imperishable. It is neither coarse nor fine, neither short nor long, neither light nor dark; neither red like fire, nor fluid like water; it is not wind, or ether; without taste or smell, without eye or ear, without speech, without intelligence, without vitality and without breath; without mouth or body, without inner or outer; it neither consumes anything, nor is consumed of any.

. . . . .

When there is as it were duality, then one sees the other, one smells the other, one tastes the other, one salutes the other, one hears the other, one perceives the other, one touches the other, one knows the other; but when the Self only is all this, how should he see another, how should he smell another, how should he taste another, how should he salute another, how should he hear another, how should he touch another, how should he know another? How should he know Him by whom he knows all this? That Self is to be described by No, no! He is incomprehensible, for he cannot be comprehended; he is imperishable, for he cannot perish; he is unattached, for he does not attach himself; unfettered, he does not suffer, he does not fail. How should he know the Knower?

This, the highest flight of the imagination and fancy of the Upanishads, is developed in the arguments and speeches of Yâjnavalkhya. But the same metaphysical view is by no means sustained throughout. Nothing is more characteristic of the Upanishads and of Indian philosophical literature in general than the variety of doctrine and opinion which finds a home within the four corners of a single treatise. Sometimes this peculiarity may be due to interpolation or reconstruction. At least as often however it is to be explained by the characteristic tolerance of Indian thought, which regards truth itself as relative, not absolute, and freely

admits a difference of view which appears to us to be destructive of all real consistency or continuity. So that within the Upanishads many problems of thought are enunciated and discussed, and many solutions offered, often with obvious sincerity and conviction, which are now frankly materialistic, and now dualistic or at least difficult to reconcile with the pure monism which is the most distinguishing feature of these writings. In more than one passage, for example, with an apparent accommodation to the needs and capacities of ordinary men, the nature of the âtman is expounded in varying ways, and as it were from varying standpoints; it is only the truly enlightened man who can pierce through the crusts—material, sensual, and so forth—to the living and eternal reality beneath. Three views in particular are formulated and discussed, which Dr. Deussen distinguishes as those of materialism, realism, and idealism. Indra and Viroc'ana, the chiefs of the gods and of the demons, come to Prajâpati to learn from him concerning the âtman. To the first question Prajâpati answers that if they will look in a mirror of water they will see the Self. Both go away satisfied. Indra however after a while returns, and objects that if this is the real âtman then it will perish with the body that perishes. Prajâpati accordingly proposes a second answer:

He who moves about happy in dreams, he is the Self; this is the immortal, the fearless, this is Brahman.

Again Indra departs contented; but returning raises the difficulty that although it may be true that the âtman thus defined is not physically affected by the faults and disabilities of the body, yet it is in a way disturbed and anxious, for it pictures to itself an objective world, and is distressed, "conscious of pain," in the imaginative realm of its own creation. It is not wholly at rest and quiet. The third and final definition is then given:

When a man being asleep, reposing and at perfect rest, sees no dreams, that is the Self; this is the immortal, the fearless, this is Brahman.

The second view, which presents the âtman as the individual soul, free from the body and the object of knowledge, is again differentiated into three, which define the âtman as the principle respectively of life, of volition or will, and of knowledge. All four are then said to be the coatings or shells of the last, which is the true âtman, in which all distinction of subject and object has been transcended, and there remains only the one Absolute, without affection or change.

A later and perhaps more popular conception represented Brahman as three-fold, *sac'c'idânanda*, or being, consciousness, and joy. With regard to the first, *sat*, the thought of Brahman as pure being always tended to pass into the further and ultimate thought of Brahman as neither being nor not-being, but transcending both. Brahman as *c'it*, consciousness or thought, is the knowing subject within us, and is therefore no object of worship, but is our real self, looking forth upon and taking cognisance of all things. This corresponds to the state of sleep, when the soul roams at will in the land of dreams, and fancies them to be real. Here the soul is its own light, holding as it were a torch to itself in its wanderings:

There the sun shines not, nor the moon, nor the radiance of the stars; no lightning gleams, and every earthly fire is quenched. He alone gives light, all others being subordinate to him; the whole world glows with his brightness.

For him, for the man who has attained this measure of insight and knowledge,

The darkness departs, there is no longer day nor night.

The conception of Brahma as *ânanda*, pleasure or joy, is purely negative, and answers to the state of a deep dreamless sleep, in which all consciousness of conditions or surroundings is lost, hunger and thirst, longing and suffering are no more; there only remains a tranquil uninterrupted repose. Brahma does not experience or feel joy; he *is* ânanda. The idea therefore conveyed is rather that of

freedom from the opposite, than of positive apprehension of any sensation whatever. Thus we are thrown back again upon negatives. Brahma is indescribable and unknowable.

One more illustration of the wealth of thought contained in the writings of these ancient teachers must suffice. A competent exposition of the Upanishads will be a perpetual surprise to those, if any such survive, who hold that in the ancient world no true deep thinking can come forth save from Greece. To these may be commended once more Dr. Deussen's luminous and attractive treatise. The illustration shall be drawn from a different stratum of truth, and shall set forth a doctrine or belief wider far than the broad limits of India. Within these treatises, or in some few of them, is found teaching concerning a personal god, *ís'vara*, —theistic or even monotheistic conceptions, which however are overshadowed by the prevailing idealism, and, maintaining themselves with difficulty on a soil saturated with pantheistic ideas, have never wholly died out in the land which gave them birth. As far as the extant Upanishads are concerned these doctrines are of comparatively late appearance, and are met with chiefly in the S'vetâs'vatara Upanishad,—that intricate complex of lines of thought crossing and recrossing one another at all angles, a "codex bis palimpsestus," as Dr. Deussen calls it. This monotheism is not really of late origin, though of late appearance in the literature; nor has it been developed out of the abounding polytheism of Vedic times, as has sometimes been strangely maintained. With these ancient deities the Upanishads do not concern themselves. They adopt towards them an attitude of complete indifference. And the very name employed for the supreme god, *ís'vara*, bears witness to this independence of the old Hindu pantheon. The theistic views and ideas link themselves rather with the popular forms of religion, which were probably of at least equal antiquity with the more systematised and professional worship and ritual of the Brâhmans; forms of religious thought which later put forward each its own particular *ís'vara*, whether Vishnu or S'iva or another,

and which then in their turn fell under the spell of a philosophic idealism, and were made to accommodate themselves to the postulates of its abstract reasoning.

Here therefore also the passion for an ideal unification made itself felt, and obscured the primary and original theistic thought. A monotheism, which was always in danger of developing into dualism or sinking into materialism, in order to save itself was compelled to become pantheistic by the identification of the universe with its creator. Brahma, as is'vara, having brought the world into existence, thereupon himself entered into it, pervaded it throughout with his own essential being, so that the universe his own creation had no real existence apart from him. Of the created world it could never be truly said "It is," save in so far as there was found therein present everywhere and in every part the reality of the divine. There were not two, God and the universe. These were one, not by the absorption of the universe into God, still less by the subordination of God to the universe, his virtual retirement or annihilation in its favour,—a crude materialism which never really took root in India, and for which the genius of the people will always be too strong,—but by the adoption of the universe, the product of his own will and work, as part of himself, so leaving nothing outside of him even as a possibility of thought. Îs'vara comprehended all; and if ever or in any respect he appeared to be limited, conditioned, by his own creation, it was only *mâyâ*, a riddle for the enlightened man to read and to be comforted. And in this way once more the universal solvent was applied to the mystery of the universe. A theism which promised better things came under the influence of the dreamy pantheism which exercises so curious and potent a sway over every Indian mind; and in the contest had to own itself vanquished.

The volume of the late Professor Max Müller on the *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, published little more than a year before his death, is a work of another order. It

exhibits all the qualities that made the author great and brought him world-wide fame, a rich and most comprehensive scholarship, wide reading, deep sympathy with all phases of Indian thought, a pleasant and attractive style. It is however rather as an ample thesaurus of all the material bearing on the recognised Indian systems of philosophy, gathered from original sources often inaccessible to the ordinary student, and marshalled and presented with the insight and skill of a long experience, that the work is invaluable, and indeed may be said to have no serious rival in English. The Oxford professor, in this his latest work, has lavishly poured forth the riches of a life-long study of Indian thought as expounded by the Indian thinkers themselves. And if the reader at times seems to himself to be going over again what he has met with before in earlier volumes by the same author, he will be none the less grateful for the completeness and thoroughness with which the entire subject is dealt with from beginning to end. It is scarcely hazardous to say that in the future, when the controversies aroused over philological and mythological theories have been forgotten, and none survive to recall the charm of his personality, Max Müller's fame apart from the work which he did in suggesting and guiding the labours of others, will rest as far as the East is concerned mainly on two great books, the edition of the Rig-Veda, and the sympathetic and original account now before us of Indian philosophy.

The ground covered by the *History* of Professor A. A. Macdonell is again somewhat different. Sanskrit literature has long waited for an exposition that shall be at once scholarly and popular, readable and attractive to the man who is no specialist, while in completeness and precision not falling below the high standard of the professed student. Of the two recognised authorities in the English language, Monier Williams' *Indian Wisdom* is too large to be grappled with by those whose pursuits and preferences lie in other directions. The *History of Indian Literature*, again, by A. Weber, is learned and encyclopædic but very dry; the

later English editions moreover are not brought up to date, and in not a few respects thus lag behind the times The only work that might worthily be placed by the side of these, Max Müller's *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, covered a portion only of the field. For some reason or other the book never made its way, and has long been out of print. There was, therefore, not only room but great need for a reliable and sufficient historical treatment of the rich material at hand, which should be adequate to modern requirements. That a volume on Sanskrit literature should be included in the valuable series of Mr. Heinemann and placed in the capable hands of Professor Macdonell seems as natural as the results are satisfactory.

The difficulties of the task of writing such a history are very great. It has been said that Sanskrit literature is a chaos. And if the absence of anything like a defined and exact system of chronology implies a chaotic condition, then the indictment is true. Very few even of the best-known Indian writers, whether of ancient or comparatively modern times, can have their place assigned within near limits of date with a fair certainty that they will not again start adrift. Scholars are slowly and tentatively feeling their way. A few landmarks have been determined, around which with time and patience others will group themselves, until the whole assumes a shape and connexion more orderly and systematic than at present. But if it is maintained that this large measure of uncertainty destroys the interest and profit, even the very *raison d'être* of a Literary History, we can only recommend the study of Professor Macdonell's book. That date and circumstance illuminate the literature of which they are the setting is the constant presumption of Western thought. The Eastern holds that the literature shines by its own light, and cares little that the setting should be endamaged or lost.

The publication of the two works last noticed should help in some degree to remove the reproach which lies against the English people that in their appreciation of the interest and beauty of the literature of the East, and in the

facilities maintained for its study, they are far behind the other nations of Europe and America. It is not in Germany and the United States alone that better provision may be found for the training and guidance of Oriental students than in the empire which makes it her boast that she sways more than three hundred million of Eastern subjects. Sanskrit but shares in the almost universal neglect and indifference which in this land is measured out to Oriental language and literature. Students of folk-lore will make diligent inquiry into the customs and investigate the village communal laws of the East. But the rich world of Oriental thought is a blank to the ordinary Englishman who calls himself educated. As far as the philosophy and literature at least are concerned, the excuse for ignorance in the absence of convenient and trustworthy guides is no longer admissible.

A. S. GEDEN.

The World of Books.

I. THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS.

Lessons from Work. By Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of Durham. (London: Macmillan & Co. 6*s*.)

BISHOP WESTCOTT'S volume comes to us like a voice from another world. He had intended to dedicate it to his wife, "for forty-eight years my unfailing counsellor and stay"; but she died before it was finished, and (last Whitsuntide) he could only dedicate it to her memory. A few weeks later the bishop himself, full of years and of honour, passed to join his company. The book contains the ripest views and most profound teaching of a great master in Israel. It centres round the Incarnation, "the master-truth of life." In that is to be found the fulfilment of the design of creation, the interpretation and the hope of the universe. It is impossible for one who grasps that mystery to be a pessimist. Dr. Westcott's teaching is radiant with a glorious hope. He finds in answer to the truth of the Incarnation "on all sides a frank recognition, such as never was before, of social evils, of overcrowding, of intemperance, of profligacy, and an unwearied search for the means of dealing with them effectually. There is also in all classes a steady growth of intelligent religious feeling; and there are many types of disciplined life among us devoted to good works." For the bishop this was a "world of wonder and opportunity," and his statement of the task of the Church will be an inspiration to all earnest workers. Authority has to be reconciled "with freedom, the united action of the society with the conscious and responsible co-operation of all its members." The growing realisation of the work of the living Christ in the world is one of the marks of the religion of our age, and whilst this widening of spiritual thought is going on no authority can release men from the obligation to test their opinions. The Church is called upon "as never before, to deal with the whole of being, the whole of life, in the name of Christ: to apply all the available results and resources of investigation and study to the interpretation of the faith: to bring the

corporate influence of the faith to bear upon our social conditions: to claim all 'things' for their Creator: to claim from all Churchmen co-operation in the administration of its affairs." In several papers the work of laymen is discussed. Dr. Westcott holds that laymen have in the past done little in active service of the faith, because little has been required of them. "We have not pressed upon them boldly enough the duty of prophetic ministry. We have not charged them to stir up the grace which is in them. We have not learnt the accumulation of small efforts, the strength which comes from the confession of sympathy, the conquering energy which lies in a common movement." The bishop is eager to enlist all helpers. "When I see on every side the need and the opportunities for bearing glad tidings of the faith, I can never grow weary of calling every fellow-Churchman to be my fellow-labourer in preparing God's kingdom on earth." A considerable place is given to missions in these charges and addresses. Dr. Westcott presses their claim on every believer as a part of personal duty. Foreign work he regards as the necessary sign, the natural overflow of home work. "If each congregation among us were to claim for itself some fragment of the mighty field, however small: if it made it its own by prayers and alms: if it were bold to look to the ends of the world for lessons of patience and lessons of hope, the coming of Christ's kingdom for which we pray with vague words would not be far off." Pascal's description of humanity as "a man who lives and learns for ever" is often used by the bishop. He sees that the divine discipline by which that training is carried on is continuous and progressive. "Step by step the powers of humanity are developed, through stress of action, in men and nations and Churches: and at each point in the vast movement the Spirit enables us to see how the revelation of the Son of man, the Son of God, confirms and hallows the noblest hopes for the race which have been shaped in the conflicts of life." Theology appears in these pages as the most progressive of sciences, because it advances with the accumulated movement of all. Christian doctrine is "embodied in a growth which corresponds with the general movement of mankind: it receives fresh access of strength from the ministry of new races: it is the outward witness to the constant effort of men to bring the facts of the gospel into connexion with their own personal existence." It is the Church's business to realise for our faith its rightful sovereignty over the fulness of life. Dr. Westcott

was a Christian Socialist of the noblest type. With him the practical application of the faith to everyday life was the highest of duties. In every arrangement of industry he felt that an endeavour must be made "to secure that each workman shall be proud of his work—that he shall fulfil it as a servant of his country with a soldier's pride, ministering to his country's truest glory, and therefore enjoying it"; whilst the nation should "at once strive to turn to the best account the advantages which we ourselves have, our moral endowments no less than our physical wealth; and also carefully abstain from hindering others in their efforts to do what they can do as well as or better than ourselves. Just as we shall not seek a monopoly for an individual or a class, we shall not seek a monopoly for our nation. We shall keep in view the good of the race, for which all nations are called to be fellow-workers." The social system which the bishop desired could not be established on sentiment only. "No legislative changes, either political or economic, are adequate for the regeneration of society. This can only come through the action of a spiritual energy, flowing from a personal fellowship of men with God. Such fellowship the Incarnation offers, a power available for all, and potentially universal." The volume is full of golden sayings, and it will richly repay the closest study which every minister of the gospel can give it. J. T.

Spiritual Religion: a Study of the Relation of Facts to Faith. By John G. Tasker, Tutor in Biblical Literature and Exegesis, Handsworth College. (London: Charles H. Kelly. 1901. 2*s*.)

The subjects of the title and sub-title, while nearly related, are not quite coincident. Each is of supreme importance and worthy of the fullest discussion. Mr. Tasker devotes his chief attention to the first one, making incidental reference to the second. "Spiritual Religion" is aptly defined in Dr. Caird's words as "the communion of the soul with God," a definition which forms the keynote of the entire lecture. Man's nature shows that he is made for such communion and only realises his destiny in it, and God's nature is such as to admit it. Two chapters expound this theme in a luminous way—God a Spirit, and Man a Spirit, thus preparing the way for the subsequent discussion. Divine and human personality stand or fall together. Materialism begins by denying the first, and soon finds that it cannot keep the second; the distinction between man and brute

becomes fainter, and in the end disappears. The lecturer rightly notes that the entire drift of thought in our day is away from materialism, which was so popular a generation ago, and towards a spiritual interpretation of life. After making secure the postulates of his argument, he proceeds to expound and illustrate in detail the means of this high communion—Nature, History, Christ, the Spirit, the Church, the Common Life of the World. It is impossible for us here even to indicate the line of argument pursued under each head. Each chapter is a fresh, attractive study of its theme. The lecturer, while using the work of other men, thinks and speaks for himself. The wealth of literary allusion and quotation is very great, but it does not overload the subject. The quotations are most deftly woven into the structure of the argument. To intelligent readers the lecture will be most useful in pointing out both the good and evil tendencies of present-day religious philosophy.

The allusion in the sub-title is to the fashionable heresy of the day to the effect that Christian faith is separable from the facts of the Christian story. The facts, such as the miracles and resurrection of Christ, are the mere shell, the kernel is the idea suggested or expressed. All that is essential in faith in Christ's resurrection is the idea that Christ was not and could not be held captive by death. It is needless to say that the lecture argues against this position. None hold the position more strongly than members of the Ritschlian school, often referred to and criticised in the lecture. They do not always speak out, and the reticence can only be intentional. The meaning has to be gathered by inference. The best representatives of the school seem to imply that we may argue back from the effects in experience of faith in a fact to the historical truth of the fact. No doubt experience serves to confirm faith due to historical evidence. But how experience will suffice alone we do not see. Mr. Tasker rightly says: "The inward certainty which comes from experience of the power of Christ's resurrection does not make the believer indifferent to the results of historical inquiry into the trustworthiness of the facts of the gospel history." He also rightly disagrees with the Ritschlian rejection of all arguments for religion drawn from nature. Certainly nature in all its forms cannot teach us all we need to know of God. For our complete knowledge we turn to Christ. But we need not on that account deny to nature all claim to be a witness to its Maker. "The teachings of history may supplement the teach-

ings of nature, whilst both are preparatory to the final revelation of God in Christ. Mr. Tasker is grateful to Ritschlians like Herrmann and Harnack for the stimulus and suggestion of their teaching. The former's *Communion of the Christian with God* is excellent in many respects. But we may be allowed to doubt whether the words mean the same to Herrmann and the Fernley Lecturer. Detailed exposition of the need and means and contents of the Communion would bring out great differences. Not the least effective parts of the lecture are those which show how Wesley's teaching anticipates the modern emphatic appeal to personal experience. On page 139 words of Wesley are quoted, which curiously anticipate a certain argument of Dr. Dale: "If it were possible (which I conceive it is not) to shake the traditional evidence of Christianity, still he that hath the internal evidence (and every true believer hath the witness or evidence in himself) would stand firm and unshaken," doubtless a true position, but one needing much qualification. We have said enough to show that the new Fernley Lecture is highly suggestive. It would be difficult to name a book in which, for its size, there is less to criticise and more to commend. A full table of contents does not make an index unnecessary.

J. S. B.

The Christian Doctrine of Immortality. By Stewart D. F. Salmond, M.A., D.D. Fourth Edition. Revised throughout and reset. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 9*s*.)

Professor Salmond has lavished his care and learning on this study of the Christian doctrine of immortality. In each successive edition all new material has been gathered up, and advantage taken of every important critique to perfect the presentation of the subject, and to make the book still more worthy of its position as a theological classic. In the preface to the present edition Dr. Salmond says that the stream of writing on the great subjects with which he deals has flowed on untiringly, as it is likely always to do. Scarcely any part of the inquiry has been left untouched. Every light which other writers have to give has been eagerly welcomed, and the whole book has been reconsidered and revised. It is a noble presentation of the doctrine, and the fine Christian temper which marks it may be understood from its concluding sentences: "Finally, let it be said that a true theology will confess its own limitations, and will not

presume to give an answer to every difficulty. It will recognise that the Christian revelation is given, not to utter all the secrets of another world, but to make God known to us and bring Him near. It will seek to be positive up to Christ's word. It will not be ambitious to be wise beyond it. It will be satisfied to be silent where Christ's voice has not spoken, and it will leave much that is dark in man's life, here and hereafter, to the Eternal Wisdom that keeps so much in reserve. It will be content to see that all is in the hand of a God of grace, and its assurance will be that the farthest future can discover nothing that will not be consistent with the love and righteousness which are revealed in Christ."

Dr. Salmond shows that our Lord's words on the punishment of sin are the more impressive because, as a rule, His teaching was a corrective of contemporary Jewish opinion, if not a confutation of it. But in this instance He confirmed the belief "in an irreversible retribution in Gehenna for the wholly wicked, the unrighteous among the Gentiles, and those of Israel who became like them." After a careful consideration of the whole subject, Dr. Salmond reaches the conclusion that our Lord's teaching "points to a future without hope for the sinner who passes in perverse sin into the other world." As to conditional immortality he holds that it is opposed to "the whole force of those ineradicable sentiments, quenchless convictions, profound cravings, and persistent reasonings which have made it natural for man, as history shows, in all the ages and in every part of the world, to overleap in thought the incident of death and anticipate a *hereafter*." The merit and fascination of this book come out in the striking exposition of the dark passage in the First Epistle of St. Peter.

Studies in Christian Character, Work, and Experience. By Rev. W. L. Watkinson. First and Second Series. (London: Charles H. Kelly. 2*s.* 6*d.* each.)

These papers sparkle like a diamond, but they also probe like a lancet. The secrets of the soul lie bare to the writer, and into whatever corner he comes he brings light and healing. The brevity and point of the studies fit them pre-eminently for the circle to which they were addressed, and many a class-meeting would be redeemed from monotony if one of them was read to provoke thought and draw forth experience. But the volumes ought to have a wide field of usefulness for devotional reading

in the home and in the sick-room. Mr. Watkinson throws a halo round common things. Unconscious goodness will feel a throb of joy as its future reward comes into view ; drudgery will realise its own blessedness ; weary hearts will revive under the breath of hope. The illustrations are often very felicitous, and throw new light on everyday experience. The volumes are very attractive, and can be had in special bindings suitable for presents.

Witnesses to Christ. By William Clark, M.A., Professor of Philosophy, Toronto. New and Revised Edition. (Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 4*s.*)

A very effective "contribution to Apologetics." The several lines of argument worked out are the evidence of History, Personal Character, Unity of Doctrine, Insufficiency of Materialism and Pessimism, the Resurrection of Christ. All are treated in a broad, genial spirit with many criticisms of opposing theories. A good contrast is presented between Goethe and St. Francis de Sales, one the impersonation of egotism, the other instinct with charity. The last argument for the Resurrection occupies two chapters. The spirit of the work is excellent, the knowledge of literature full, the style flowing and pleasant.

Journal of Theological Studies. Vol. II., No. 7, April, 1901. (London : Macmillan & Co.)

For the first time work by a non-Anglican writer appears in this magazine—Part I. of an article by Dr. James Drummond on "The Use and Meaning of 'Son of Man.'" The most striking article is one by Dr. Moberly respecting the Fulham Conference on Communion with the Atonement. The mere fact of a High Churchman trying to come to an understanding with Evangelicals is very significant, and the contents of the article are more remarkable still. Apart from the overstrained subtlety some of the positions are a surprise. One point is that in the Eucharist our communion is not with Christ as dead but as living. Westcott's Commentary on Hebrews is appealed to in support. "Nothing in the Church of Christ has its own real meaning or being, save in and through Pentecost. . . . What is pre-Pentecostal is preparatory merely." So the institution of the Eucharist was incomplete. It must be viewed in the light of the consummation. "The essence of the divine Atonement consisted not in the slaying of humanity, but in the

presenting of humanity—through death quite triumphantly, truly and eternally alive—in the face of the all-holy God. Here is indeed an atonement." This aspect of the subject is not a new one, but its adoption in such a quarter and for such a purpose is new. The other contents of the number are full of recondite learning, such as even German scholars and reviewers might envy. J. S. B.

The Study of Theology in India. A Proposal to Institute Diplomas and Degrees in Theology for Indian Students. By Rev. Geo. Howells, B.D. (Cuttack. 1901.)

The author, an Indian missionary, argues cogently in favour of such a proposal, and suggests methods in which it could be done. The very proposal is at least evidence of the wide extension of Christian influence in India.

The Miracles of Unbelief. By Frank Ballard, M.A., B.Sc., etc. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 6*s*.)

The author has used the opportunity of a second edition, which has been called for so soon, not only to correct and improve details, but to reply in a new preface to objections of critics. One of the objections is the want of a moderate and conciliatory tone,—an objection that would more fitly apply to some members of the critical school; witness the scandalous language used by Mr. Moffatt in his Historical New Testament, and justly rebuked by Dr. Sanday, language amounting to far worse than ill manners. Mr. Ballard is not charged with personal discourtesy. His strong language is reserved for what he regards as false, mischievous teaching. The demand for a second edition is pleasing evidence that a good, strong book has found an audience. The author's scientific knowledge stands him in good stead. His fairness and candour and logical keenness give weight to a case good in itself. The two chapters on Physical Science and the Character of Christ are admirable examples of apologetics.

Apocrypha Arabica. 1. "Kitāb Al Magāll, or the Book of the Rolls." 2. "The Story of Aphikia." 3. "Cyprian and Justa" in Arabic. 4. "Cyprian and Justa" in Greek.

Edited and Translated by Margaret D. Gibson, M.R.A.S., LL.D. (London: C. J. Clay & Sons. 1901. 10*s.* net.)

This is No. VIII. of the *Studia Sinaitica*. The first two parts are in English, as the title indicates. It is difficult to say much of the intrinsic worth of the works. De Lagarde says of the first, that "it is important, even though it may be worthless in itself, because of the influence it has exercised." It is found in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic in Asia and Africa. It is another version of the early stories of Genesis. The second work contains a story of a kind very common in the East. Aphikia is the wife of Jesus the son of Sirach, who is said to be a minister of Solomon, though Solomon's date is eight centuries earlier than Sirach. Solomon has communications with Aphikia, which are innocent. But Jesus discovers them, and there is estrangement between husband and wife, but matters are cleared up. The works have interest to us as specimens of early Christian literature. The editing and printing are excellent.

The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text, printed in colours exhibiting the composite structure of the books, with Notes. By Hermann Guthe, D.D. (London: David Nutt.)

This Polychrome Bible is well known to Hebrew scholars. It puts the verdict of the advanced critics upon the text before one's eyes at a glance. Some whole pages of Ezra and Nehemiah have only a couple of words uncoloured to indicate that they have escaped revision or alteration. Modifications by the compiler, subsequent additions of older or later date, are indicated by various shades of colour. The notes show what scholarship has been lavished on this edition, but we are very far from accepting the verdict of the critics. We believe that in another generation many of their colours will have faded.

The Century Bible. "St. John." By J. A. McClymont, D.D. "Romans." By Alfred E. Garvie, M.A. "Pastoral Epistles." By R. F. Horton, D.D. (Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack. 3*s.* and 2*s.* net.)

Dr. McClymont's summary of the evidence for the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel preserves the judicial temper, but shows with much lucidity the strength of the established opinion. The notes are full and suggestive. It is altogether a very helpful and attractive volume.

The introduction to "Romans" discusses Paul's personal development, the Church in Rome, and the history and contents of the epistle in a singularly fresh and vigorous style. The notes on the text are very clear, and they grapple honestly with every difficulty. The volume is a real treasure for Bible students.

The volume on *The Pastoral Epistles* has been put into the competent hands of Dr. R. F. Horton, and it is one of the best little commentaries we possess on these letters. The notes are admirably clear and direct; the discussion of the authorship and setting of the letters faces all the facts, and after unprejudiced consideration of everything that modern critics have advanced accepts the traditional view that St. Paul was the writer. It is far easier to admit that some words and expressions are unusual than to explain how the letters could have come from any other hand.

The Biblical Illustrator. "Proverbs." By Rev. Joseph S. Exell, M.A. (London: Nisbet & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

The Book of Proverbs lends itself well to Mr. Exell's method of treatment, and he and his helpers have gathered abounding material. Some of it is discursive, but hints and illustrations for preachers and teachers abound, and will be of real service to those who know how to use them wisely.

The Clarendon Press has published *The Souvenir Bible*, with portraits of Queen Victoria in 1837 and 1901, and full-page representations of the Seven Virtues by Sir Joshua Reynolds. It is a dainty volume in royal blue binding, and with red under gilt edges. Young people would prize such a souvenir very highly.

The Development of Doctrine from the Early Middle Ages to the Reformation. By John S. Banks. (London: Charles H. Kelly. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

This is a continuation of Professor Banks's *Development of Doctrine in the Early Church*, and it is marked by the same fulness of knowledge and logical grasp of the subject as the earlier volume. If taken with Mr. Workman's *Church of the West in the Middle Ages* and *The Dawn of the Reformation*, a view of Church life and thought will be gained that will be of the deepest interest and value. Professor Banks begins with Pope Gregory, through

whose eyes the Middle Ages read St. Augustine's theology. Then we watch the rise of scholasticism, which showed the impossibility of keeping apart religion and philosophy. The chief names of the period are Anselm and Abailard. The decline of scholasticism, the Reformation, and the counter Reformation are described in a way that cannot fail to attract everyone who has a taste for that most charming branch of theological study—the development of doctrine. It is a great advantage to have such a masterly volume at so modest a price.

A Key to Unlock the Bible. By Joseph Agar Beet, D.D. (Religious Tract Society. 1*s.* 6*d.*)

This is a precious little book for young people. Dr. Beet has a limpid style, and he has never written anything more clear and full of instruction than this guide to the Bible. After some introductory pages on the Bible as a book, an ancient book, the book of God, he takes the New Testament and the Old, giving particulars as to contents and purpose, authorship and date, copies and versions, the art of interpretation illustrated by the Epistle to the Romans, metaphor and parable, etc. The notes on the Revised Version will repay study. The value of the book is enhanced by the fact that it avoids controversy and the problems raised by the Higher Criticism. It is an altogether admirable handling of a noble subject. Those who use it carefully will find it a true helper to intelligent devotion.

Thoughts for the Sundays of the Year. By H. C. G. Moule, D.D. (London: Religious Tract Society. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

Dr. Moule's papers are full of rich thinking and deep spirituality, and his style is so homely that the humblest reader may understand and rejoice in the great truths here set forth. The papers are brief, but each is a gem of Bible truth. A strong practical sagacity marks the whole volume, and anyone who uses it will find every Sunday of the year brightened and enriched. What a fine saying is this: "The peace of God is made for wear. Its texture is such that it need not be torn, even by the toothed wheels of this world. And it shall not be torn by them, if for us its secret is not an abstraction, but a Person, the Saviour and Master of Paul—Jesus, our Peace." Methodism owes much

to the gifts of Dr. Moule's two great predecessors at Durham, and his appointment to that see has given unfeigned satisfaction and pleasure to our whole Church.

The twelfth volume of *The Expository Times* (T. & T. Clark, 7*s.* 6*d.*) is full of articles, expositions, and book notices which no preacher can afford to lose sight of. Professor Findlay pleads for due attention to our Lord's coming. Professor Tasker writes on Herzog's *Realencyklopädie* (Vols. VIII. and IX.). We note that Dr. Davison has written the article on The Psalms for the fourth volume of Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*. *The Expository Times* was never more needed or more thoroughly abreast of all biblical scholarship.

The Story of the Turkish Version with a Brief Account of Related Versions. By Rev. A. A. Cooper, M.A. (London: British & Foreign Bible Society. 1901.)

The brief story is an excellent illustration of the kind of work done and methods used by the Bible Society. The chief agents in the work so simply and tersely described are American missionaries, who have done so much for the sacred lands of Christianity. The writer limits himself to the bald facts, and yet it is a moving story he tells. The reader's imagination can supply all that the writer omits.

Darwin Considered mainly as Ethical Thinker, Human Reformer, and Pessimist. By Alexander H. Japp, LL.D., F.R.S.E. (London: Bale, Sons, & Danielsson. 1901.)

Dr. Japp continues to attack Darwin and Spencer on their weak side—the logical and ethical. He writes with ample scientific knowledge, and is never dull. Indeed, he is always making points and hits. He quotes with great delight the words of a "young girl friend," who says, "I am tired of that tiresome old Darwin. What do I care where I came from by a line out of the long past—from monkey or from jelly-fish. I am not a monkey or a jelly-fish now, that is certain. What I think is that if he had got up in the morning early and gone to see and help all the sick and suffering people about him he would have done better than pottering always among climbing plants and worms." Withal the argument is serious and strong.

II. HISTORY.

The Early Age of Greece. By William Ridgeway, M.A., Disney Professor of Archæology in the University of Cambridge. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. (Cambridge University Press. 1901. Pp. xvi, 684. 21*s.*)

PROFESSOR RIDGEWAY is one of our most learned and original scholars, endowed with an amazing gift for attacking established theories, and destined in not a few cases to see his own established in their room. The thesis of the present volume is so daring and, at the same time, so convincing that I venture to sketch it for the general reader, hoping that such a sketch may lead some to study for themselves one of the most fascinating books I have read for a long time.

The question from which the book starts is, Who made the Cyclopean walls of Mycenæ and Tiryns, and the elaborate pottery and other works of art associated with that civilisation? The reigning theory is that the Mycenæan age, unveiled by Schliemann and his successors, is simply the same as the Homeric. Professor Ridgeway shows that there are irreconcilable differences in every direction, and that the Mycenæan and the Achæan were two wholly distinct types. In the first two chapters, which take up nearly half the book, he describes the Mycenæan culture and discusses its *provenance*. The result is to re-establish the much-abused Pelasgian—it takes some courage to bring him out again!—and show that in the earliest times a great indigenous race calling themselves Pelasgi occupied Greece and the islands and much of Italy. Their tribal god was Poseidon, from whom most of their chiefs professed to be descended. They reached a very high degree of skill in ceramic and other arts. Above all, they developed a supreme gift in song. Upon this people descended a rude, strong, fair-haired tribe from the north-west, the Achæans, who became the dominant race in most parts of Hellas. The Pelasgians resisted conquest successfully in Arcadia and elsewhere, most notably in Attica, where the autochthonous race lived on and became the

brain of the ancient world. Two centuries after Homer came the Dorian hordes and dispossessed the Achæans in their turn. The successive strata are perfectly shown in Laconia, where lived together the Dorian Spartans, the Achæan Perioeci and the Pelasgian Helots. A further inquiry leads to the conclusion that the Achæans belonged to the Keltic race of Northern Europe, and came into Hellas through Epirus, where the sanctuary of their tribal god Zeus at Dodona was famous in the Homeric age. They adopted, as usually happens, the "mother-tongue" which their "Pelasgian" wives spoke, at the same time effecting as they mingled with them certain modifications in the ancient language which establish a link with one side of the Keltic dialects extant to-day. The philologists will have to discuss the distinguished archæologist's highly ingenious suggestion: it is not without considerable difficulties, and its acceptance or rejection does not vitally affect the main thesis of the book.

It is of course impossible to indicate here the lines of Professor Ridgeway's proof, but one or two interesting details may be mentioned. The northern origin of the Achæans explains at once the existence of very early Greek traditions of Arctic or sub-Arctic summer days and winter nights; also the finding of Baltic amber in Greek tombs, and Heracles' quest of the "golden-horned hind," *i.e.* the reindeer. We understand the Homeric pictures of gigantic heroes with fair hair, who certainly were not indigenous in Greece, and who must have rapidly dwindled in numbers in their southern home. We understand also the great mass of features in which the Homeric Achæans differ from the Mycenæans as evidenced by their tombs, and from the Athenians as seen in their literature and monuments. The institutions will figure in the second volume, soon to follow, and it is easy with this key to anticipate some of the main lines of the contrast to be drawn. In some points, notably the status of women, Homer's Achæans were far in advance of the later Athenians; and it is interesting to remember how the Germans of mid Europe, as witnessed by Tacitus, approximated to the Achæan conditions. Professor Ridgeway remarks on the contrast between the Achæan heroes' names and those of the Pelasgian Greeks, the former being outside the range of the etymologist, while the latter are transparently clear. It happens that in one point we can support his thesis by contradicting him. *Achilles* (shortened from Ἀχιλο-λυκος) is shown by Fick to be identical with the Germanic name *Agilulfs*, which is a pretty

little piece of additional evidence for the origin of the hero of the *Iliad* as argued in this book: for this purpose Kelts and Germans may be taken as almost convertible terms. The general picture of the Homeric age which results from these researches may be thus described. The bard or bards are of the Pelasgian race, and compose in Central Greece, in a dialect nearer to that of Arcadia than to any other. They are dependents at the courts of Achæan princes, and they describe an Achæan civilisation, naturally with traces of Pelasgian life at every turn, though the court poets are as far as possible from descending of purpose from chiefs and nobles to tell the simple annals of the subject population. The Trojan War was a struggle between Achæan and Pelasgian in one of the outlying fortresses of the weaker people. The failure of Athens to take any noticeable part in the war, which grieved Athenian pride so much in later years, was of course natural: the part played by the purest representatives of the Pelasgians was likely to be small in such a strife. However, if Athens failed to produce an Achilles, she gave birth to an Aeschylus and a Plato, and a score of other great men, anyone of whom was worth all the soldiers of ancient and modern times together.

An extremely interesting chapter is that which discusses cremation and inhumation, and the bearing of both on the conception of the other world. The Achæans burnt their dead, and believed that the spirit fled after the burning of the body to Hades and never returned: Hades was not underground, but over the sea to the west. This is successfully compared with the customs and beliefs of the Kelts. On the other hand, the Mycenæans buried their dead, and there is various evidence to prove that the really native belief in Greece was always that the spirit remained near the tomb, powerful to help or to harm, and could be propitiated by offerings at the tomb, and especially by blood poured through a funnel into the grave. The two theories were naturally fused to some extent, and the result is a tangle which only this recognition of syncretism can unravel.

Let me close a review which only pretends to be scrappy with a word on Professor Ridgeway's refreshing attitude towards ancient writers and old stories. He is always extracting a kernel of historical fact out of myths which other historians wave aside as mere nursery tales; and it is delightful to read the corroborations he can bring to support Herodotus and other much-maligned

authors whom the extravagant sceptics of to-day will hardly believe on their oath. He trounces vigorously the hypercritics who know exactly where the earlier and later strata of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* begin and end; and he makes properly ridiculous the archæologist who reconciles the Homeric and the Mycenæan civilisations by the simple process of ejecting from Homer's text every line that will not fit his theory. Happy man! he can exercise his Irish wit against sceptics and revolutionists unreproved, and no youthful fanatic will accuse him of a "leprosy of incompetence" because his learning brings him to views which have the fatal disadvantage of being traditional! We could almost wish that the Cheynes and the Moffatts of latter-day "criticism" might find a Ridgeway to subject their extravagances to a similar castigation. But after all it would be of little use, for anyone who believes in less than a dozen Isaiahs is an "apologist" nowadays, and it would be better to break all the ten commandments than incur such a reproach. Professor Ridgeway really almost seems to imagine one Homer. Splendid audacity! Perhaps after that our pundits may come back to one Luke some day! JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

The English Church. From the Norman Conquest to the Accession of Edward I. (1066–1272). By W. R. W. Stephens, B.D., F.S.A., Dean of Winchester. (London: Macmillan & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

This volume covers a period of profound interest and significance. "The Norman Conqueror brought the English Church and nation, which had hitherto been insulated in a kind of backwater, into the main stream of European civilisation just at the opening of one of the most eventful periods in the history of Christendom." Lanfranc was on the happiest terms with the king. At the beginning of his work in England he was querulous and despondent, but by degrees the scholar and the monk became the statesman and man of affairs. "He had too little originality to merit the name of genius, and too much of worldly wisdom and lawyer-like craft to entitle him to be called a saint. But if he had been either a genius or a saint, it is probable that his administration as primate would have been less successful than it actually was." Anselm was both saint and genius, and his struggle with William Rufus shows that the man pre-eminent for gentleness was also a moral hero. The story of that long

controversy furnishes Dean Stephens with some of the most dramatic passages in this history. Canterbury had a noble succession of archbishops, and whatever judgment we form as to some of their quarrels with the throne, Thomas Becket, Stephen Langton, and other great archbishops certainly form picturesque figures on Dean Stephens' canvas. The closing chapters on the Monastic Orders, Bishops, Clergy, Friars, Popular Religion, Learning, and Art are the best helps we have met to the real understanding of the period. Dean Stephens' book is a mirror of the times, which allows us to see the life and destiny of the English nation moulded and shaped by the Church during one of the most eventful periods of English history.

The Dawn of the Reformation. By Herbert B. Workman, M.A. Vol. I. "The Age of Wyclif." (London: Charles H. Kelly. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

Mr. Workman's new book is enriched by the same wealth of reading, and the same skill in reproducing its results, as his earlier volumes. The papal exile at Avignon, with which a study of the Reformation should always begin, is the subject of the first chapter. "The transfer of the Papacy to Avignon marks the close of all that was brightest and most inspiring in the life of the Mediæval Church, and the beginning of a period of decadence and gloom,—the night, as it proved, before the dawn of new forces and new hopes." The world was conscious of a great loss when the Popes retired from Rome. The corruption of their court at Avignon was the scandal of Europe. Petrarch describes the city as "false, guilt-laden Babylon, the forge of lies, the horrible prison, the hell upon earth." Mr. Workman shows how the Popes became French bishops and lost their hold on other nations. The chapter on "Seers and Dreamers" points out how the forces of revolt gathered strength, till Wyclif arose to sum up in himself the movements and forces which had gathered round Lewis of Bavaria for the attack of their common foe—the Pope. Two chapters are given to Wyclif. Mr. Workman has devoted special care to his life, and though he regards him as the morning star of the Reformation he feels that the failure of his premature reformation was, on the whole, for the good of the Church. He would have made the Church a mere department of the State. "The enlightened public opinion, the action and reaction of the Puritans, the

political liberty which modified the Erastianism of the later Reformation, could have found no place in the England of the century after Wyclif. The Wars of the Roses had yet to do their work of destruction, the power of a brutal nobility had yet to be broken, the towns must grow in consciousness of rights and liberty, the serfs had yet to win their freedom by other means than revolt, before the England of Wyclif should be ripe for the Great Revolution." Mr. Workman's book is a valuable contribution to the study of a memorable period.

Authoritative Christianity. The Third Œcumenical Council, Ephesus, A.D. 431. Part I., Acts II. and III. A Translation from the Original Greek. By James Chrystal, M.A. (2 Emory Street, Jersey City.)

Mr. Chrystal is devoting strength and fortune to this self-imposed task. His work is of great value to a select circle of scholars, and he has lavished his skill in his notes. His attempt to lead back the Church to these œcumenical decisions has no unimportant bearing on the question of real bases of union. It is somewhat pitiful to see a work like this languishing for lack of funds.

A Short History of the Hebrews to the Roman Period. By R. L. Ottley. With Maps. (Cambridge University Press. 5*s.*)

This is an attempt to furnish teachers or students of the Old Testament with a sketch of the actual course of Hebrew history "somewhat more consistent with the present state of our knowledge than the text-books now in use." From the standpoint of the Higher Critics it will be regarded as a very sober and well informed epitome, and it is written in an attractive style; but many will feel that Mr. Ottley is too apt to describe Bible stories as naïve legends, and to attribute them to Hebrew folk-lore. The book can scarcely be recommended to those who do not know how to exercise their own judgment; but if the Higher Criticism is accepted, such a restatement was necessary, and it could scarcely have been entrusted to more reverent or capable hands.

III. BIOGRAPHY.

Girolamo Savonarola. By E. L. S. Horsburgh. With Sixteen Illustrations. (London: Methuen & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

THE Little Biographies are a very promising series. The subjects are chosen from acknowledged leaders of thought and action in all countries and all ages. The writers combine knowledge and literary skill with the power of popular presentation. The publishers have dressed the books in most attractive covers, and the illustrations of this volume on Savonarola add charm to the whole story. Mr. Horsburgh has given an impressive study of the great preacher of Florence. He says that in Savonarola's case, as in that of Wesley and Whitefield, there was "the sense among his hearers of being individually addressed, with the individual effects of swoons, tears, hysteria or indifference, according to the temperament or self-discipline of each, and when the fiery and dramatic imagination of the orator conjured up some vision which seemed to pass in visible shape before his eyes, few failed to catch the contagion of his enthusiasm or to be impressed with the reality of things unseen." Savonarola, however, was a man of deep and wide learning, whose appeal was as much to the intellect as to the emotions of his audience. Michael Angelo and Botticelli were deeply influenced by him. Savonarola's struggle with Alexander VI. could only have one end. He was not a reformer like Luther; he acknowledged the Pope's authority, though his attempt to discriminate between the man and the pontiff seemed to many to be setting up the right of private judgment against the authority of the Head of the Church. The most questionable side of Savonarola's life was the revelations on which he based his pretensions as a prophet. They seem to have originated with Fra Silvestro, a nervous and excitable friend with whom he established a kind of partnership in revelations. Any mistakes that he made were terribly expiated, and history "only marks the ironic incongruity

of a period which saw Girolamo Savonarola burned as a heretic and Roderigo Borgia sitting in the chair of St. Peter."

Oliver Cromwell. By Samuel Rawson Gardiner, M.A. (London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 5*s.* net.)

It is a boon to students of Cromwell's work and character to have a cheap edition of this work, which was first published by Messrs. Goupil with extensive illustrations. As a study of the Protector's motives it is unrivalled, and it is distinctly more favourable than Mr. Morley's estimate. The details of the biography are not given in such detail as in Mr. Firth's book, but Cromwell's position in the earlier stages of the Civil War is very finely sketched, and the whole picture of the man grows more lifelike. The sketch of his relations to his daughters is particularly pleasing, and the lively Lady Claypole is specially attractive. Cromwell's career is a significant illustration of his saying, "No one rises so high as he who knows not whither he is going." The man, Mr. Gardiner says, "was greater than his work. In his own heart lay the resolution to subordinate self to public ends, and to subordinate material to moral and spiritual ends. He was limited by the defects to which all human character and intellect are subject, and was still more limited by the unwillingness of his contemporaries to mould themselves after his ideas. But the blows that he struck against the older system had their enduring effect. The explanation of his failure to erect an enduring system of government was mainly due to umbrage at his position as head of an army whose interference in political affairs was gravely resented, and to the reaction which set in against the spiritual claims of that Puritanism of which he had become the mouthpiece." The book takes its readers to the very springs of thought and action during the Civil War and the Protectorate. The frontispiece is a very fine copy of Samuel Cooper's painting in Sidney Sussex College.

The History of Herod. By John Vickers. New Revised Edition. (London: Williams & Norgate. 6*s.*)

Mr. Vickers has set himself a hard task. He holds a brief for Herod the Great, and presses the defence with no little audacity and pertinacity. Josephus is discredited to vindicate Herod. The Massacre of the Innocents is dismissed as a legend copied

from an older legend as to the birth of Moses. Mr. Vickers ventures to say "we should scarcely be going too far if we said that all Herod's reputed cruelties may be resolved into other people's calumnies," and tells us that "the sudden deaths of Ananias and Sapphira, like some other tragic occurrences reported by the same writer, can only be reasonably explained as either a dramatic or a mythical illusion." The fact is Mr. Vickers overshoots the mark. There is, no doubt, a better side to Herod, but it is no use to set him on a pedestal as this book seeks to do.

Anselm and his Work. By Rev. A. C. Welch, M.A., B.D. (Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 3*s*.)

Mr. Welch has come under the spell of Anselm as a man of entire sincerity who dwelt with God and fought not for his order, but for what he believed to be the interests of the kingdom of heaven. "The man's real interest was in inward religion. There he was at home. If he turned away to consider other interests, it was because he must." His confidence in the power and validity of human thought lends an extraordinary boldness to much of his speculation. His fame and influence as a thinker rest on his *Cur Deus Homo* and his *Proslogium*. As a man of affairs he was not adroit like Lanfranc. He formed no party ; his weapons were not those of this world. "In an age which believed in material force he flung himself with a superb confidence on the might of a meek and quiet spirit. Content to suffer for his principles, he enriched the religion of England not only by his work but by his personal character. Mr. Welch's book is a careful study ; well written and full of good sense. We are glad to note his tribute to another biographer : "Rigg's *St. Anselm of Canterbury* is marked by the virility of thought and individuality of judgment which characterise all his work."

IV. BELLES LETTRES.

The Book of the Horace Club, 1898–1901. (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell.)

THE company that draws its birth and inspiration from the Roman poet may be said to repay long years of schoolboy hate by this "elaborated love." In their verse life is as many hued as in their master's, and the smile from his face lingers over theirs as they stand in his pulpit. They sing the changing seasons, the delights of good company, the charm of female grace and beauty. Sometimes, as in the little pieces which Mr. Beeching contributes to this volume, a graver note is struck. "Fatherhood" is a pathetic thing; "A Son of the House" goes almost deeper. "Lucrezia at Ferrara" brings out the contrasts held in a single lifetime. The epigrams by Mr. St. John Lucas are smart and pointed; whilst the lines "To George Borrow of Blessed Memory" and the "Sussex Drinking Song" have a flavour caught from the "Dearest of worldings, grave and gay!" The lines to "Horace" by the Rev. A. G. Butler are really a portrait of the poet's mind:

> We greet thee first, the sober judge of life,
> With pregnant saw, and homely wisdom ripe;
> Then seat thee on the lyric throne
> Of Sappho and Anacreon,
> With great Alcæus, all in one:
> And in these days of lavish praise
> We learn from thee our careless aim to raise:
> For life is short, art only lives and stays.

Letters of Matthew Arnold, 1848–1888. Collected and arranged by George W. E. Russell. Two Volumes. (London: Macmillan & Co. 10*s*.)

It is a pleasure to have a cheap edition of these charming letters. Mr. Russell has done his work with so much taste and right feeling that the volumes will not offend anyone's susceptibilities. Matthew Arnold's theology, which, as Mr. Russell puts it, was "once the subject of some just criticism, seems now a matter of comparatively little moment; for, indeed, his nature was essentially religious. He was loyal to truth as he knew it,

loved the light and sought it earnestly, and by his daily and hourly practice gave sweet and winning illustration of his own doctrine that conduct is three-fourths of human life." His genuine amiability, his sunny temper, and inexhaustible fun are very attractive in these letters, and they reveal his delight in children, his love of nature, his family affection, and his rare unselfishness. The drudgery of his work as inspector often galled him, and he tells John Morley in 1882 that he has given notice of his intention to retire. "I have no wish to execute the Dance of Death in an elementary school." He spent his last days at Pains Hill Cottage, Cobham, and says, "I do love this Surrey country and climate, and even this small old cottage." It would be possible to gather a whole sheaf of sparkling sayings and criticisms from these volumes, but we hope that everyone will give himself the pleasure of a personal perusal of them.

Colloquies of Criticism; or, Literature and Democratic Patronage. (London: T. F. Unwin. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

The writer of these lively colloquies maintains that modern literature suffers by having as its direct patron an enormous middle and lower middle class. If novelists had to please the few before they could reach the many, he holds that fiction would gain very greatly. He sighs over the mannerless style of historians like Green and Freeman when compared with Gibbon or even Macaulay. "When one reads Gibbon one feels one is being addressed by a man who has the manners of an accomplished diplomatist, and the dignity of a statesmen whose coat is covered with orders. When one reads Freeman one feels one is being addressed by a man in his shirt-sleeves. When one reads Green one feels one is being addressed by a bank-holiday clerk." Such a verdict shows that this book is pungent, and will make some readers angry if it does not improve the style of our novelists and minor poets.

The Lady of Lynn (Chatto & Windus, 6*s.*) is Sir Walter Besant's last romance, and it is as graceful and sweet as his other stories. The girl heiress, whose ships and farms have been managed with wonderful skill by her old guardian, is one of the richest women in England. Lord Fylingdale, a discredited and ruined gambler, comes down to win her hand, and soon gets the simple-minded girl and her guardian into his toils. Molly promises to marry his lordship, but on the eve of the wedding she discovers his true character. Lady Anastasia, who loves the

Earl, takes Molly's place, and then a plot is formed against the Lady of Lynn. The Earl asserts that he had really married her, and the evidence is so strong that he is able to plunder her at will. Her old lover, aided by the jealousy and revenge of Fylingdale's victims, unravels the plot, and Molly's ships are saved, though her estates are lost. The victims are too easily victimised, but Molly, her lover, and her guardian are pleasant company for a leisure hour, and the sketch of a provincial town a hundred and fifty years ago is excellently done.

A Soldier of the King (Cassell & Co., 6s.), by Dora M. Jones, is a Kentish tale, of which the chief scenes are laid at Maidstone in the year before the execution of Charles I. The local colour is the work of an artist who knows the whole region by heart, and special interest is given to the tale by the fact that Major John Gifford, who afterwards became pastor of the Baptist Meeting-house at Bedford and one of Bunyan's spiritual guides, plays a large part in its most stirring scenes of love and war. Miss Jones' readers will scarcely forgive her for allowing Grace Wilson to fade out of life. The story is full of historical interest, and it is scarcely necessary to add that it is gracefully and brightly written.

Alice of Old Vincennes (Cassell & Co., 6s.), by Maurice Thompson, is a stirring tale of life in the Wabash country at the time of the American War. The little French-English picket is transformed into a full-fledged American fort and town, and the struggles with the Indians, the scalping and fighting will satisfy the most bellicose reader. The society of the settlement is described with great skill and with many delightful touches. Alice is a girl worth winning, and she has a happy fate. We do not wonder that the book is so popular in America, for it is a life-like picture of a vanished world.

Tristram of Blent, by Anthony Hope (Murray, 6s.), describes the fortunes of a man of old family, over whom hangs the fear of losing all that he has through illegitimacy. Tristram is a new creature when he escapes this nightmare, and resigns all to the girl whom he supposes to be the real heiress. He is on the way to success both political and commercial when he discovers that he is Lord Tristram after all. He marries the next of kin before he tells her of the network of blunders and deceits, and her pride is conquered by her love. Mr. Disney, the prime minister, with his scorn of the conventions, is a fine figure in the story, which is one of absorbing interest. There is a great deal of

human nature in the book, and it makes one think better of the world.

Flander's Widow (Longmans, 6s.) is a tale of Dorset farm life written in Mrs. Blundell's most charming style. The girl wife and widow is a delightful creation, and one's heart goes out to the two old farmers who behave so nobly to her in her loneliness. Then there are the farm hands, sketched with Mrs. Blundell's wonted skill, and at last Richard Marshall appears as the prince who wins the young widow's heart and hand. The last scene, where Farmer Sharpe resigns his matrimonial intentions in favour of his nephew, is delicious; but so is the whole book.

There is much food for wonder in Mr. E. F. Benson's *The Luck of the Vails* (Heinemann, 6s.), and some bright, sparkling talk. The insane uncle makes much mischief, but all comes right in the end. The tender side of the tale comes out in the young wife's happiness over husband and baby. "The whole point of the world is the darlings. A person with no darlings is dead—dead and buried; and the more darlings you have, by so much more is the world alive." Mr. Benson has a warm heart, and this story is very human and very exciting.

Messrs. T. Nelson & Sons send us *Waverley* and *Guy Mannering* in their "New Century Library." The volumes are the smallest size, the boldest type, the thinnest paper possible, and are a treasure for the traveller or holiday-maker. The get-up is very attractive, and the "New Century Scott" ought to have a place on the shelves of every lover of our greatest novelist. The edition is simply delightful. Everything that can be done to make Scott attractive is a real gain to those who wish to get the purest and healthiest literature into the hands of the people, and we wish this spirited venture all possible success.

Sixpence could not be invested better than in the cheap edition of *Rab and his Friends*, and other papers by John Brown, M.D. (A. & C. Black). The first story never fails to find a way to one's heart, and the volume will be an unfailing delight to lovers of dogs and of Scotch life in some of its most attractive phases. The type is excellent.

Mr. Broadbent, of Manchester, is publishing a set of Selections from the Poets in neat booklet form at the price of threepence. His *Mackenzie Bell Treasury* has been prepared with taste and skill, and will be welcomed by lovers of simple but genuine and unaffected poetry.

V. GUIDES AND LOCAL HISTORIES.

The Story of Bruges. By Ernest Gilliat-Smith. Illustrated by Edith Calvert and Herbert Railton. (London: J. M. Dent & Co. *4s. 6d.*)

BRUGES has lost her glory and her prosperity, but she has kept her beauty. Mr. Smith has dwelt there for years, but feels that the sum of her loveliness has not yet been revealed to him. The decay of her commerce no doubt saved her from the hand of the eighteenth-century "restorer," and though her splendour vanished she kept her charm as the fairest city in northern Europe. In the middle of the fifteenth century the people of Bruges, who had worn out their strength in struggle with their overlords, turned their attention to building. Those who had just amassed fortunes vied with the old aristocracy in erecting sumptuous mansions. "Even working men, humble members of the great guilds of smiths, or masons, or carpenters, were making their homes beautiful with the fruit of their handicraft; constructing canopied niches in street corners, or over the doorways of the hovels in which they lived, and placing in them graven images of our Lady or of some favourite saint; hammering out exquisite lanterns, which it was their delight to hang before them, from brackets of no less dainty fashion; fabricating, of wrought-iron, those quaintly beautiful trade signs by which it was their wont to call attention to their avocations; making door, and lintel, and chimney, and rafter comely with fruit and foliage, fascinating with heraldic devices, and grotesque and leering heads, and the images of devils and of saints." We can well understand Mr. Smith's boast that there is hardly any spot within the magic circle of the ramparts of Bruges which is devoid of interest. Its guildsmen were masterful and jealous of their rights, and the story of their wrestling with the counts of Alsace and dukes of Burgundy is told with so much spirit that we feel ourselves almost in the midst of the long struggle. The burghers were not often worsted, though they sometimes found their master. Their girl sovereign, Marie, is the sweetest figure in the portrait gallery of the city. As she skated on the Minne

Water or rode down the streets every citizen felt as proud of her skill and grace as though she had been his own daughter. She married Maximilian in 1477, but was killed by a fall from her horse four and a half years later, and the city never really recovered from the blow. Mr. Smith is painfully fond of that ugly word "anent," and his style is sometimes obscure; but he has a subject of such absorbing interest, and enters into it with such zest, that his book is simply delightful, and its illustrations are really dainty work.

Walks in London. By Augustus J. C. Hare. Seventh Edition, Revised. Two Volumes. (London: George Allen. 12*s.*)

Charles Knight's *London*, which he found on the bookshelves at his tutor's in Edmonton, made Mr. Hare an enthusiast on all matters affecting our great city. He spent every sixpence he could save, and used up all his holidays in visiting the places described. Those expeditions laid the foundation for these charming volumes. A great love for the subject appears in them, and Mr. Hare deals with things new and old in a way that is contagious. The arrangement into *Walks* makes one feel as though he were being personally conducted through the streets, galleries, and churches. The pages are packed with incident and enriched by quotations drawn from all sources. Mr. Hare's exquisite drawings make the volumes something like a picture gallery of London, and their size is most convenient for pocket or satchel. The first volume is devoted to the City, the second to the West End and Westminster. No book better deserves its popularity.

Surrey. By Walter Jerrold. With Illustrations by J. A. Symington. (London: J. M. Dent & Co. 4*s.* 6*d.*)

Dent's County Guides made an excellent beginning with *Norfolk* and *Hampshire*, and Mr. Jerrold's *Surrey* well maintains their high standard. He is an enthusiast for his county, and takes us with him in a set of rambles from the chief centres, pointing out charming bits of scenery and giving new interest to familiar scenes by recalling their links to famous men and great events. The stiffness that is the nightmare of guide-books has no place in these bright pages; the book is a happy specimen of the guide as literature, and we are only sorry that there is not

more of it. We fully share Mr. Jerrold's feeling as to Guildford. "The beauty of its situation, the quaintness of its houses, the richness of its history, combine to attract us and hold our affection." Dorking is the centre of what is described as the heart of Surrey, and lovers of the county will feel that they are comparing notes with the writer all through the rambles. The brief chapters on bird life, flowers, entomology, geology, and cycling are the work of experts, and are full of delightful detail; the Gazetteer is well done, the maps are specially convenient. Mr. Symington's pictures are well chosen and delicately executed. The book will satisfy even a Surrey enthusiast, and that is no easy task.

The Pilgrim's Way from Winchester to Canterbury. By Julia Cartwright (Mrs. Henry Ady). New Edition. Illustrated by A. Quinton. Frontispiece by Percy Robertson. (London: H. Virtue & Co. 10*s.* 6*d.*)

This is a very fine edition of a book that appeals strongly to every lover both of history and of scenery. It begins at Southampton, where the French pilgrims, especially those from Normandy and Brittany, landed, and leads us on by Winchester and Farnham through the heart of Surrey towards the martyr's shrine at Canterbury. The text has caught the spirit of the times and the scenes, and is delightful reading. Mr. Quinton's illustrations gain greatly by being printed as full-page pictures. Some of them are specially attractive, and Mr. Robertson's etching of Shere Church is most attractive. The pilgrim's way through Hampshire and Surrey is comparatively little known, but Mrs. Ady shows that it was never so worthy of a pilgrim's feet. This is a gift-book which everyone will delight in.

The Malvern Country. By B. C. Windle, D.Sc., F.R.S., F.S.A. Illustrated by Edmund H. New. (London: Methuen & Co. 3*s.*)

Nothing could be better than this "Little Guide" to one of the most beautiful bits of England. The view from the Malvern hills is "not easily matched in a district rich in pleasant prospects," and Worcester, Hereford, Tewkesbury, and Pershore, to which Mr. Windle acts as guide, seem to be woven into the very web of English history. He has the key to all the treasures of the region, and it is an unfailing pleasure to follow him from point

to point of the Malvern country. Mr. New's pictures are a feature of these "Little Guides," and they are fine specimens of his work. Hints as to geology, botany, scenery, architecture, historic and literary associations make this a little volume full of charm and instruction.

Some Literary Landmarks for Pilgrims on Wheels. By F. W. Bockett. With many Illustrations by J. A. Symington. (London: J. M. Dent & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This is one of the gems which come from the publishing house of Dent & Co. Its graceful cover, gilt edges, and the delightful drawings with which Mr. Symington has enriched it make the volume very attractive. Mr. Bockett guides us in the most charming fashion to such haunts of the literary pilgrim as Wargrave, where Thomas Day, the author of *Sandford and Merton*, is buried; Farnham, the birthplace of Cobbett; Moor Park, the home of Sir William Temple; Chawton and Selborne; Eversley and other places famous in English literature. He has a keen eye for beautiful scenery, for antiquities, and for local colour, and discourses very pleasantly about books and their writers. He will teach cyclists to use their eyes and to enjoy "all that Nature is so ready to give to all who love her." We cannot agree with some of the verdicts which he passes, and there is a singular reference to George Eliot's union with Lewis; but the little book is very bright reading and very good company.

Handbook for Northamptonshire and Rutland. Second Edition. With Maps. (London: Stanford. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

Mr. Stanford has taken over the publication of Murray's famous Handbooks, and he is sparing no pains to increase their accuracy and general usefulness to the tourist. The maps are very clear and well arranged, the volume itself gives a mass of information about everything worth seeing or knowing in the two counties, and all is put in the most compact form. The editor has received the help of distinguished authorities on local architecture and archæology; almost every rector and vicar in Northamptonshire and Rutland has given information, and so have the owners of the principal country houses. The result is everything that the most exacting or inquiring tourist could desire. The account of Peterborough is very full, and the index and directory shows at a glance what stained glass, brasses,

paintings, and sculpture are best worth seeing. The sections on geology and architecture deserve special praise.

An Itinerary of the English Cathedrals for the use of Travellers. Compiled by James G. Gilchrist. Revised and edited by Rev. T. Perkins. With Forty Illustrations and a Map. (London: George Bell & Sons. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Dr. Perkins prepared these notes for the use of American visitors to our cathedrals, and they are succinct and reliable. The chief merit of the book is Mr. Perkins' introduction, which is the most informing description of cathedral architecture that we have met in brief compass. The illustrations are excellent, and the volume is uniform with Messrs. Bell's delightful Cathedral Series.

Black's Guide to Buckinghamshire, by G. E. Mitton (A. & C. Black, 2*s.* 6*d.*), is arranged with a view to roads—the London roads and those radiating from Aylesbury, Buckingham, and Newport Pagnell. Its index enables a traveller to trace his route to any part of the county; its maps are excellent, whilst the full-page views of Stoke Poges church, the Jordans, where William Penn is buried, Cowper's house in Olney, Burnham Beeches, Aylesbury Market Square, and other places are a special feature. The letter-press is vivacious, and the volume has manifestly been prepared with the utmost care and with excellent judgment as to the wants of the cyclist and tourist. Buckinghamshire abounds in literary and historical associations, which give constant interest to this guide-book.

Messrs. Dulau have just issued a fourth edition of their guide to *Yorkshire*, Part II. (3*s.* net). It covers the West and part of the North Ridings, with all the country west of the North-Eastern railway. Mr. Baddeley knows the ground intimately, and everything that a tourist needs to be told about roads, railways, hotels, and the associations—literary and historical—of the places he wishes to visit will be found in this volume. There is no better guide to the district, and its twenty maps and plans are in every sense to be relied on. It is a treasure which no traveller should overlook.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

Lectures on the History of Physiology during the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries. By Sir M. Foster, K.C.B. (Cambridge University Press. 9s.)

SIR MICHAEL FOSTER delivered these lectures last autumn at the Cooper Medical College in San Francisco. He does not pretend to give a complete history of physiology, but has chosen certain themes which are both important and striking, and has woven into the story of ideas incidents from the lives of the men who gave birth to those ideas. The book appeals mainly to medical men and students of physiology, but anyone with a taste for such subjects will find it a fascinating volume. It is a history of man's search into the mysteries of his own constitution, and no record of discovery is more full of marvels. Vesalius, who lived in days when the Roman Catholic Church taught the sacredness of the human corpse, was driven to all manner of shifts in order to pursue his studies. Medical men trusted Galen more than they did their own eyes, but Vesalius insisted on searching into all things for himself. He robbed the gallows of its victims, and ingratiated himself with the judges, who gave orders that executions should be conducted in such a manner as would further his researches. The bigoted opposition of his medical brethren, however, made him throw up his studies in disgust, and he became Court Physician to Charles V. A fine tribute is paid to Harvey's work. He no doubt availed himself of previous research, but "in science no man's results are wholly his own, like other living things they come from something which lived before. Vesalius, Servetus, Fabricius, and the rest led up to Harvey; but they were not Harvey. He was himself, and his greatness is in nowise lessened by its having come through them." The history is full of striking incidents. De Reaumour's experiments on the stomach of a favourite kite, and Spallanzani's experiments on himself, show with what ingenuity these physiological researches were carried on. Lavoisier brought our knowledge of respiration very nearly to its present condition, and when he perished in the French Revolution the

guillotine robbed science of a great master who might have drawn aside other folds of the veil of man's ignorance. The whole subject is one of the deepest interest, and Sir Michael Foster has lavished his research and learning upon it.

The Heart of the Empire. Discussions of Problems of Modern City Life in England, with an Essay on Imperialism. (London: T. F. Unwin. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

This book is an honest attempt to grapple with the chief problems of our time. Before the Victorian era closed new problems were beginning to emerge, and it had become evident that the evils of national life could not be cured by the old remedies. In these essays various aspects of the subject are handled by specialists. Mr. Masterman discusses "Realities at Home" in a sagacious paper marked by a fine Christian temper. A new city race has sprung up, and modern civilisation hinges on the question whether "any background, illuminating to intellect, stimulating to emotion, and impelling to resonant action, can be imparted to the masses that now choke up the dwellings of our great towns." The Housing Problem, the Children of the Town, Temperance Reform, a paper which follows in the track of Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell, the Distribution of Industry, Some Aspects of the Problem of Charity, the Church and the People, Imperialism, the Past and the Future are the subjects discussed in the other papers. Some of the opinions and suggestions in the essay on Imperialism will be strongly controverted; but, speaking generally, there is a moral earnestness and a breadth of view about the papers which make them a real contribution to the study of present-day problems.

Wit and Humour in the Parson. By Rev. F. J. Mallett, B.D. (London: T. Baker. 2*s.* net.)

This is a typical American book, with many good and sharp things, but with some curious blunders. Some of its stories are ancient, some are badly told, but there are some that will raise a smile. The chapter on the Humour of the Negro Preacher is fresh. Luther, Latimer, Sydney Smith, Rowland Hill, Beecher, and Spurgeon fill a large space in the book. It ought to brighten some leisure moments for both parsons and people, though the humour in it is not always very elevated or worthy of remembrance.

The Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne. By Gilbert White. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by L. C. Miall, F.R.S., and W. Warde Fowler, M.A. (London: Methuen & Co. 6*s.*)

This is an ideal edition. The biographical sketch contains the chief facts of the naturalist's uneventful life, whilst details given about Selborne prove that it is no commonplace village, but full of birds, flowers, and insects which go far to explain the making of our great naturalist. Mr. Fowler's notes on birds are of real value to the reader of this classic. White's theory of hibernation shows that even his keen eyes failed to read nature aright. He thought that the stragglers of the migrating host were swallows that had gone into hiding, and been tempted forth by the genial sunshine of October or November. The book is so compact and the notes are so thoroughly abreast of present-day discoveries that this ought to become the popular edition of White's Selborne.

Poisonous Plants in Field and Garden. By Rev. Professor G. Henslow. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

This book supplies a series of danger signals to those who have charge of children. It describes the plants of field and garden which are poisonous, and gives hints as to domestic remedies which may be useful in an emergency. The introductory sections on the structure and classification of flowers furnish a brief course of botany, and the descriptions of flowers and plants are most interesting. Nature seems to be full of snares, and beasts and birds get into trouble as well as children. The oleander is very poisonous. A child died in two days after eating a few of its flowers, and when a French soldier made skewers for a piece of meat from some oleander boughs seven of his comrades died and the rest became dangerously ill. The strength of the acrid juices in plants varies according to locality and season; and though animals may sometimes be nourished by poisonous plants, their flesh and milk convey the poison to those who consume them.

From the British South Africa Company's *Reports* on the Administration of Rhodesia for 1898–1900 we see that the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society has 320 whites and

1,080 coloured persons in its congregations there. Considerable extracts are given from the report of the Rev. W. G. Mitchell, who expresses his appreciation of the kindness and generosity shown by the British South Africa Company in the varied operations of Methodist work. In spite of the unparalleled difficulties of the past two years, an undoubted advance has been made in Rhodesia. The position of the mining industry has improved, trade is sound, cultivation is extending, live stock increasing, and a prosperous era seems to be opening for the settlers. The facts and figures given will be of the greatest interest to all students of South African affairs.

Temple Bar for April has an article by Miss Dora M. Jones on "The Journals of John Wesley." The neglect by the reading world of these masterpieces is in some measure due to the common view of Wesley as a restless evangelist, and even Mrs. Oliphant describes them as "the notebooks of a physician—a curious, monotonous, wonderful narrative." Miss Jones has no difficulty in showing how unlike the revivalist of convention Wesley is "in his love of letters and of life, in his interest in history and antiquity, his taste for natural beauty, his readiness to be pleased with what was pleasing, and to love what was lovely." The extracts given from the journals ought to tempt many readers to make a closer acquaintance with one of the most delightful books in the English language.

The big Blue Book of *Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand for 1899* is packed with facts and figures. The population of the colony is now 800,000, and the rate of increase is about 13,000 per year. Every set of tables has its story of growth to unfold.

Advice to Twentieth Century Juniors (Horace Marshall & Son, 4*d*. and 1*s*.) is a sensible and practical little volume, which young people of both sexes ought to read and follow. It is terse, homely, and full of wise hints on the conduct of life.

A fourth edition of Sir H. Thompson's *Modern Cremation* has just been published by Smith, Elder, & Co. (2*s*.) It is a complete explanation of the system pursued at Woking, with the arguments which have made Sir Henry their convinced friend and champion. There is no doubt that cremation is gaining favour in many quarters, and there is much weight in some of the reasons here given for that method of disposing of the dead. The book is illustrated, and is the best popular treatise on the subject.

Government or Human Evolution. Volume II., "Individualism and Collectivism." By Edmond Kelly. (London: Longmans. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This book is a strong "appeal to men of reason"; a searching revision of the scientific grounds of Herbert Spencer's Individualism on the one hand, and the fallacies of Socialism on the other. Mr. Edmond Kelly was a prominent member of the Social Reform Club of New York, and a lecturer on Municipal Government at Columbia University in that city. He has studied the subjects he deals with at first hand, and has arrived at very definite conclusions. He is an enthusiastic exponent of Collectivism—not the ideal Collectivism which belongs to an unattainable Utopia, but those collectivist principles which can be applied and are being rapidly applied to the practical problems of to-day. He strongly repudiates an immediate application of a thorough-going Collectivism to present conditions—that would be "dangerously premature"; but he appeals for the slow adoption of collectivist principles "step by step as our weakness will permit, rather than by leaps and bounds as enthusiasm might prefer." He maintains that our present institutions stimulate selfishness and greed, and produce all the evils and all the waste of the competitive system. We may escape these evils in one of two ways: (1) politically, by the adoption of a collectivist programme; or (2) economically through "Trusts." While these attain the maximum of economy in both production and distribution, they undoubtedly constitute a grave menace to the State—"they present an occasion and a power for political corruption unexampled in history." We need not look to America for examples—think of the political influence of "the Trade." The author holds, as against Herbert Spencer's doctrine of the "least government possible," that it is the duty of Government to modify and minimise the inequalities imposed on us by nature and by unwise legislation in the past. Nobody who has followed recent debates in the House of Commons will deny that the drift of public opinion is rapidly moving in that direction. There is less talk of "grandmotherly legislation," and the old distrust of state action is fast disappearing. The Post Office and the great municipal undertakings in most of the large cities on both sides of the Atlantic are the best proofs of the wisdom and practicability of adopting a quasi-collectivist programme. Mr. Kelly has given us a most timely and instructive

book, free from the technical language of many works on Economics. The style is fresh and crisp, with a welcome flavour of Shakespeare. The illustrations are most apt, and show a wide knowledge of literature and life. Whatever we think of the author's conclusions we cannot but admire the sanity and self-control with which he advocates them. A. MOORHOUSE.

We heartily welcome the first number of the *Transactions* of the Congregational Historical Society, which is intended to do similar service to that rendered by our Wesley Historical Society. The Rev. G. Currie Martin is its secretary, and a very promising beginning has been made. Inquiries for original records have been sent to all Congregational Churches founded prior to 1750, and a mass of interesting information has already been obtained. The present number contains a valuable article on "Non-Parochial Registers in Yorkshire," some most interesting extracts from *Dr. Watts's Church Book*, and other papers which throw light on Nonconformist history. There is a fine field for such a society as this, and we hope that Congregational ministers and laymen will support it vigorously.

VII. SUMMARY OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

METHODIST REVIEW (SOUTH) (July).—Bishop Hendrix gives an interesting account of *Wesley's Original American Journal*, which he purchased last year from Mr. Thursfield Smith. After Wesley's death it came into the hands of Henry Moore, who gave it, in 1817, to Miss Elizabeth Taylor, of Carmarthen, who left it by will to Rev. J. G. Avery. Mr. Smith purchased it in 1897. The Rev. Richard Green, who had the MS. for six months in his care, regards it as one of the most interesting relics of Wesley that we possess. The volume is six and a half inches long by four wide, stoutly bound in calf. It has one hundred and eighty-six pages, each of the one hundred and seventy-five numbered pages is devoted to the doings of a single day and each line to the work of a single hour save when Wesley was voyaging in rough weather between Savannah and Frederica or Charleston. "It is not strange that some of Wesley's spiritual children, following the example of Rev. Richard Green, on first seeing a book most closely connected with Wesley's person, have kissed it. It is John Wesley's best portrait painted by himself. There is nothing in all literature comparable to this self-revelation—a life written by hours!" Wesley comes very close to us as we read the bishop's extracts, and Charles Wesley wrote in the volume his farewell instructions on leaving America in 1736. "Half of ye callico to Mrs. Davison; ye other half to Mrs. Calwell. Half of ye cloath to Mrs. Patison. Desires Mrs. Delamotte to give Reed a penknife, Give Mr. Twait one of Mr. Burton's sermons."