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No. CXCVI.

The

NEW SERIES.
No. 19.

London Quarterly Review.

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London,

CHARLES H. KELLY,

2, CASTLE ST., CITY RD., E.C.; AND 28, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

PRICE HALF-A-CROWN

THE
LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1902.

BAALBEC.

1. *Histoire de Baalbek.* Par MICHEL M. ALOUF. (Beyrouth.)
2. *Murray's Handbook of Palestine.* Article "Baalbec."
(London : Murray & Co.)
3. *The German Excavations at Baalbec.* By F. J. BLISS,
Ph.D. (Palestine Exploration Fund. April, 1902.)
4. *The Germans at Baalbec.* (From "The Builder,"
January 11, 1902.)

TWO of the most famous cities of antiquity were built in honour of the sun. They were both called Heliopolis, the City of the Sun. The one was in Egypt, the other in Syria. The Egyptian Heliopolis was known as the City of On by the natives, and as Bethshemesh by the Hebrews. Joseph married a daughter of the chief priest of this sun-worship at On, who became the mother of Ephraim and Manasseh, two of the most powerful tribes of Israel. On was a magnificent city in the far-back dawning of Egyptian

civilisation. It was the seat of the oldest university in the world, in which Plato was educated, and Moses was doubtless taught all the wisdom of the Egyptians. But all that now remains of its magnificence is a solitary obelisk about five miles north of Cairo, half buried in the mud of the Nile, and with many of its hollow carvings filled up with the clay nests of the mason-wasp. This lonely column looks like the gravestone of the ancient city, and has stood in its present position for more than four thousand years. It was raised a century before the marriage of Joseph with the fair Asenath, and is the sole survivor of the avenue of sphinxes, the temples, palaces, colleges, and obelisks described by Greek historians as dedicated to the worship of the sun in this place.

The other Heliopolis is situated more than five hundred miles away to the north, among the Syrian mountains. It is called Baalbec, the city or gathering-place of Baal, the god of the sun in its life-giving and fertilising influences. This name probably corresponds with Baal-gad, the troop of the sun, mentioned more than once in the Book of Joshua as the northernmost point of the conquests of Joshua : "So Joshua took all the land from Mount Halek, that goeth up to Seir, even unto Baal-Gad in the valley of Lebanon, under Mount Hermon." Baalbec, according to tradition, traces its origin to the Egyptian Heliopolis. A few migratory priests from On came there and built a temple to the sun, and removed to it a statue of Osiris, which was afterwards carried on festive days in solemn procession through the streets of the city. The architectural style of the substratum or oldest part of the ruins would seem to corroborate this tradition, for in its massiveness and solidity it is much more Egyptian than Phœnician. Another link of connexion between the two places is the survival in both of the ancient ceremony of the Dosey, which is doubtless a relic of sun-worship. In Baalbec, as in Cairo at the present day, whenever the annual pilgrimage to Mecca takes place, a number of dervishes stretch themselves on the road side by side, so as to form a living

pavement, over which the leader of the expedition walks on horseback.

Baalbec is situated in the midst of a vast plain, between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges, known of old by the name of Coële-Syria, or hollow Syria, and by the modern equivalent of Bukáa. This plain was originally a gorge-like depression, filled up by successive strata of moraine matter, and by the detritus brought down from the mountains by the streams. It is the commencement of one of the most remarkable rifts on the surface of the earth, extending southward through Lake Merom, the Sea of Galilee, the course of the Jordan, the Dead Sea, the Gulf of Akabah, on through the Red Sea and the Nile Valley to the great equatorial lakes of Central Africa. At one time this immense rift was open throughout its whole course, and the animal and vegetable productions of the continuous area were in consequence similar. It is owing to this geological rift connecting the Sea of Galilee and Lake Victoria and Nyanza that the fishes and molluscs of these two now isolated sheets of water are very nearly the same. For ages the Coële-Syria, as we can judge from present appearances, was the bed of an extensive lake. It is one of the most fertile tracts of land in the world, well watered by copious streams. A great variety of productions was fostered by this temperate climate. Corn was grown in vast quantities to feed not only its own population, but also to yield a large surplus for exportation. The fields were planted with vines which produced wines that had acquired a great reputation, even in the palaces of the kings of Egypt and Assyria; and mulberry-trees were grown in every household plot, whose leaves fed the silkworms that produced the raw material of the splendid fabrics woven in the looms of Damascus. The region was therefore a peculiarly appropriate site for the worship of that sun-god whose gifts to this favoured locality were greater and more varied than to any other place in Syria. The inhabitants had an instinctive sense of the fitness of things. Without knowing anything of geology they had some dim recognition of the enormous chasm which had

rent the earth at this point ; and chasms and rifts, we know, were regarded as a part of the symbolism of sun-worship in its life-giving or fertilising aspect ; and therefore they erected here those great primitive temples which gave to the city which they adorned the name of Baalbec, the city of Baal, the god of abundance.

Baalbec is watered by the fountain of the Ras-al-ain, which rises a little beyond the town. This stream flows past the ruins of the temples, and supplies the inhabitants with most wholesome and never-failing water. It falls into the Litany or Leontes, which was considered a sacred stream, and received its name of Lion river from "the ancestral god" that was worshipped at Baalbec. It is interesting to notice that the old name of Dan, the great Israelite sanctuary at the source of the Jordan, was Laish, which means a lion. Thus the Syrian river and the river of the Jews both sprang from sources sacred to the lion-god. The connexion of lions with streams is still continued in the case of the obelisks at Rome. In the Piazza del Popolo, the great obelisk there has four Egyptian lions carved in marble, one at each corner of the fountain at its foot, pouring water out of its mouth into the basin. This might be said to commemorate the annual inundation of the Nile, which took place when the constellation Leo was in the ascendant. The fountain of the Ras-al-ain widens into large reservoirs of clear sparkling water, paved with bright pebbles. At the point where a copious stream issues from the reservoirs there are the remains of two mosques built by Melek-el-zahir and his son in 1330. The larger mosque was constructed out of the materials of an older Christian church which occupied the spot, and seems to have been dedicated to St. John the Baptist. The smaller mosque had a minaret erected as a memorial of the famous Abulfada, Prince of Hanah, in Syria, whose name has survived to our day on account of his works on history and geography, which are trustworthy and written in a fine style. This prince belonged to the family of Ayubites, and was a relative of the famous Saladin, who was the founder of it. It was interesting to

recall on the spot, which he must have often visited, the memory of one of the greatest of the Arabian writers, who, amid the cares of government, devoted himself with zeal to study, and drew the learned around him, and made power and wealth subservient to the cause of science. It was interesting also to see this abode of the Muses, associated, as was so often the case in ancient times, with a fountain of fresh water ; the Hebrew name for prophet signifying the mysterious bubbling forth of a spring from the depths of the rocks, symbolic of the mode of his inspiration.

The Hotel Palmyra, at the west end of the town, where our party stayed, was kept by a Greek with a classic name, Pericles Mimikaki. It was built in a somewhat primitive fashion on the foundation walls of an old temple, of rude blocks of stone, evidently taken from the ruins. The interior was as rough as a moorland dyke, and the plain stone stairs and unplastered walls looked like those of a mountain chalet. But the rooms were nicely furnished and exceedingly comfortable. Being considerably fatigued with our long and exciting day's journey from Damascus, I retired to my room soon after dinner. But as I passed upstairs I was attracted by the beauty of the moonlight, shining in through the large uncurtained window at the end of the lobby. Putting out my candle, I seated myself beside the window and gazed out on the most romantic sight I ever beheld. Right before my eyes stood the famous six columns of the Temple of the Sun, resting on their huge platform of ruins, and supporting an enormous entablature. They rose out of a mass of green foliage and snowy blossoms of fruit trees silvered by the moonshine. Each pillar was clearly defined against the dark purple sky, with the full moon just a little space above them, lighting up their shafts and casting their long shadows on the billowy foliage at their base. Beyond, the western range of Lebanon reposed on the horizon ; the snow of its peaks, which at sunset had a lovely rose-blush on them, had now faded to a death-like pallor, relieved by the moonlight against the background of darkness. In the sky overhead palpitated the solemn Syrian stars, which had

looked down unchanged on so many changes on this spot. All the fables, all the religions of the East seemed to be inscribed in the hieroglyphics of those glittering groups. It was the familiar night-sky of home, but the old constellations which I had been accustomed to see on the rim of the horizon were high up towards the zenith, and looked far brighter and larger in the amethystine depths of space. I could not have seen the ruins of Baalbec under more favourable auspices. They looked to far better advantage under the tender veil which the moon-goddess in pity threw over them, than exposed to the cruel garish light of the sun-god in whose honour they were erected. The mystery of the night suited them admirably; and I could hardly believe that the fairy vision before my eyes was anything else but a dream of my own imagination. How long I sat beside that window gazing out fascinated I could not tell. I seemed to be part of what I saw, part of the perished past, insensible to the present. All the poetry of the scene, all the grandeur of its associations seemed to have melted into my soul. Raised high above the level of the life of the ordinary years, my mind at last lingeringly descended from the height of feeling, and thought of my candle and pillow.

Rising very early next day I went out for a short walk on the Damascus road. The morning was cloudless; the sun shone brightly on the white masses of blossom in the gardens and orchards in the outskirts of the town, making them as dazzling as the snows on the Lebanon peaks; and the green fields, wet with dew, glistened in the all-pervading radiance. Every sight was a picture, and every sound in the still clear air was musical. It was deliciously cool, and yet warm like a June day in England, and the freshness of everything was most inspiring. Even the solemn shrine by the road-side in a grove of dark cypresses, one of them of vast dimensions, in which was buried Khabat, the great grand-daughter of the prophet Mahomet, did not cast a shadow upon the universal brightness, but rather enhanced the interest of the scene, giving it the pathos of a long ago human sorrow. The great ruins were hardly visible from

this part of the road ; only the upper portion of the pillared portico of the Temple of the Sun rose out of the mass of foliage and bloom, with its time-worn shafts relieved against the eternal youthfulness of the blue sky. I turned aside and wandered over rugged and broken ground, enlivened by myriads of scarlet anemones and small blue irises, to the little chapel of the prophet Elijah, which the Greek Christians have built at the top of the old quarries from which the materials of the temples were taken. Seating myself near it on a fragment of rock, I surveyed the romantic scene, and let my imagination play over the impressive historical associations which almost every object recalled. The shrine of Khabat, a short distance below, reminded me of the terrible struggle that was carried on between her father, Hossein, the grandson of the prophet and the legitimate sovereign of the Mahometan world, and the Omeijads of Damascus, who had usurped the Caliphate. This ill-fated son of Fatima, the only survivor of Mahomet's eight children, fell in a battle with the Omeijads at Kerbala, and his family were taken in chains to the Syrian capital, with every indignity that could be offered to them. Khabat, his daughter, died of grief and pain while the sad procession was passing Baalbec ; and the inhabitants buried her in this spot, and raised a monument over her, and planted a cypress beside it, which might well be the present tree, judging by its extraordinary size and evident marks of great antiquity. Crowds of pilgrims continue to pay their annual devotions at this shrine on the day of Hossein, her father, which is an anniversary of weeping and lamentation.

My mind dwelt upon the war-like times when the temples of Baalbec were converted into one huge Saracenic fortress, and the only value of the ruins was to furnish massive defences against the attack of tribal foes ; upon the awful visitation of Ghengis Khan, who swept down upon Baalbec with his wild hordes from the deserts of Tartary, and ruled over the town for six years with iron sway ; and upon the still more awful scourge of the fierce Timour or Tamerlane, who turned aside to pillage it on his way to besiege

Damascus. In the midst of these stormy musings the silence around me was broken by a slender indescribable sound, like a mixture of all the still sounds of nature on a quiet summer day—the sigh of the breeze, the murmur of a stream, the soft shimmer of leaves filling all the place, the hum of insects all in one. I looked around, and saw not far off a shepherd seated on a stone, with his black long-eared goats cropping the grass beside him. He was playing the Syrian flute, a small instrument composed of two reeds, and drawing from it the buzzing tune which seemed in such perfect accord with the harmony of the scene—the untutored music of nature, and not of art. I had several times before heard this simple instrument in different parts of Palestine, and it interested me much to think that it must have been the same which David played upon when tending his father's flocks on the hills of Bethlehem, and the same also to which our Lord alluded when He compared His generation to children sitting in the market-place, saying, "We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced." This slender sound has united all the ages of pastoral life on the hills of Palestine, and has connected the sunny poetry of Pan with the solemn religion of the God of Israel. On the present occasion it soothed my mind from all its thoughts of storm and strife connected with the locality, and deepened the universal peace of nature around. I could see from the place where I stood the part of the Lebanon range immediately beyond which was the site of the far-famed cedars, but it was quite inaccessible on account of the snow. On the opposite or Anti-Lebanon range I could make out in the far distance the blue spot where the alpine village of Malulah was concealed in the midst of the most picturesque scenery in Syria. To every Bible student this last locality is intensely interesting, for it is the only place in the world now where the old Syriac or Aramaic language is still used. This was the colloquial language of Palestine in the time of our Lord, in which He taught the common people. We have familiar relics of it in the words which have remained untranslated in the gospels, such as *Abba*, *Talitha*

cumi, Ephphatha, and our Lord's dying words, "Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani." In the remote secluded region of Malulah the inhabitants were beyond the reach of the Moslem conquest of the land, which everywhere else supplanted the old dialect by the language of the invaders. One would go a long distance, and take a good deal of trouble, to have an opportunity of hearing the actual sounds of a spoken language which possesses associations to which no other language can lay claim—the very words which our Lord's own lips uttered when He was on earth, pronounced as He pronounced them. It was therefore very tantalising that when we were so near the spot we could not visit it. But Aladdin's palace must ever have a window unfinished !

On my return to the hotel, the guide, Michel M. Alouf, who conducted us to the Ras-al-ain on the previous night, was now ready to escort us through the ruins of the temples. He was a very intelligent young man, a native of Baalbec, and had written a history of the place in French and English, which had earned the approbation of the French Geographical Society and of the University of Upsala in Sweden. He spoke our language wonderfully well, but the English translation of his book is a remarkable production. He was busy correcting the proofs of a second edition at a desk in the corner of the salon, alternating this task with acting the part of waiter at the hotel, and serving us with our meals. The original portico and flight of magnificent steps by which the temples were approached having been destroyed by the Saracens when they converted the ruins into a fortress, there was no other way of getting into the enclosure than by a dark tunnel of cyclopean masonry. At the mouth of this tunnel was seated a Turkish official in full uniform, appointed to receive the entrance fees and to protect the ruins from spoliation. It is only within the last few years that the sluggish Turkish Government was roused up by the remonstrances of distinguished visitors to make this arrangement. Previously every stranger was allowed to wander at his will

and to do what he liked ; and the consequence was that not only were large pieces of valuable carvings lying on the ground carried off, but the exquisite medallions which were the great charm of the buildings, the capitals of the Corinthian pillars, the rich mouldings of the architraves, and even the bronze dowels uniting the drums of the columns, were chipped off and removed by hammers, and when beyond reach of the hand, even by pistol-shots. In this way the most deplorable devastations took place, and many of the most characteristic features and ornaments of the temples were defaced if not altogether destroyed. The grounds also were defiled by the populace, who, like all Eastern people, had no reverence for the great works of antiquity. Not a day too soon did the authorities interfere and put an end to this intolerable state of things ; and they proceeded at once from the extreme of neglect to the extreme of jealousy. No one is allowed to take hammer or pistol into the enclosure ; and the visitors are carefully watched lest they should abstract any valuable relic. But every properly-minded person must rejoice to conform to such rules for the safe-guarding of the ruins.

Entering the spacious subterranean vault, about sixteen feet wide and thirty feet high, through which we could see the light coming from the other end, nearly four hundred feet distant, we found about the middle a transverse vault leading to another tunnel of the same kind as that which we were traversing and parallel with it on the other side. This was the crypt or substructure of the platform on which rested the great temples above. The lower part of the walls was built of gigantic stones that had been laid upon one another in a rough state, and afterwards hewn, for some of the stones were squared on one side and left undressed on the other. The roof, judging by the fresher colour of the stones and the different style of architecture, seemed to have been added at a much later period, and bore traces of Roman construction. To this later date must belong the much damaged figures of Hercules and Diana which still remain on the face of the vault ; the rest of the sculptures

which adorned the roof having been removed to European museums.

We emerged from the huge tunnel into open daylight in the heart of the roofless ruins. This enclosure is called the Kuleh or Castle. We had now to follow our guide and examine the temples in a particular order, lest we should get confused by their complexity. Crossing the great court and turning to the east, we began our exploration by entering the portico. This must have been the original entrance, but the magnificent flight of steps which led up to it from the ground to a height of thirty-three feet was destroyed. The portico had three doors, one on each side; and the middle one, twenty-two feet high and nineteen feet wide, was marked by the remains of pilasters and a grand frieze. Through this middle doorway we passed into the first court, which forms a regular hexagon, having six domed alcoves, richly carved and decorated, and once containing statues, though now empty. Between each alcove there were stately columns, whose shattered bases and shafts lay among the heaps of rubbish that cumbered the floor. From this hexagonal court three lofty doors, similar to those of the portico, of which only one now remains, led out into the great court or Pantheon, which is the centre of the whole mass of buildings, being nearly in the form of a square, four hundred and fifty feet long and four hundred feet wide. This is a splendid quadrangle, having Exedras in the walls on both sides, with beautiful fluted Corinthian pilasters between them. Part of the cornice of one of them is composed of blocks in the rough state left unfinished, showing that the stones were first built into position and afterwards sculptured by the artist, as is often done in our own modern buildings. In these Exedras the priests lectured to the neophytes, as in the academies or public groves of Greece.

In the middle of the quadrangle there is an elevated platform, where may be traced the foundations of the Christian church which the Roman emperor Theodosius caused to be built about the end of the fourth century. This building was in the usual basilica style of the period; and though it

would have been a huge building standing by itself in an open space, it must, judging from the lines of its foundations that are left, have looked diminutive in that immense enclosure. Part of its apse remains, and the curious thing is that, contrary to all other Christian buildings, it faces the west. This opposite orientation, or disposition of the edifice, may have been owing to the fact that the temples of the sun were made to look eastward, towards the rising sun which was the object of worship. This was the case also with the Temple of Jerusalem, which was made to face the west, to mark the abhorrence of the Jews of the idolatry of the surrounding nations. Consequently, when in Ezekiel's vision men were seen in the porch of the temple bowing their heads to the east, they were thereby turning their backs upon God's holy altar, and throwing contempt upon the religion of their fathers. The Christian church of Theodosius must have been built with the materials found ready to his hand on the spot, if we are to judge by the ruthless way in which he destroyed the beautiful Serapeum at Alexandria. To us it might seem an incongruous thing to erect a Christian church in the very heart of a heathen temple ; but all early Christian churches were built on such sites, and economised the pillars and marbles found on the spot for their own adornment. The Christianity of the first centuries was but a cuckoo in the nest of paganism. It was sheltered by paganism, and it baptized and consecrated many of its practices as well as materials for its own use. This was the case with the early Scottish Church. A very large number of the old parish churches are built on the sites of heathen sanctuaries. In Spain there is an ancient dolmen enclosed in a modern hermitage of St. Miguel near Bilbao ; and a dolmen forms the crypt of a church in Asturias. This would seem as strange to us as if St. Paul's in London were built so as to include Stonehenge. Pope Gregory in an encyclical letter, preserved by Bede, exhorted the missionaries of the Roman Church to reconsecrate to Christianity the ancient temples of the land. This was a natural as well as a convenient principle ; for the places to

which a feeling of sacredness had been attached from time immemorial, and where the people had been accustomed to meet for religious worship, were best adapted for the purposes of the new faith, carrying on the continuity of sanctity, and giving the new religion the advantage of all the old associations and habits.

Since the visit of our party, the site of the temples has been explored by a German expedition, under the leadership of Professor Puchstein of Berlin, which has been working continuously for more than a year upon the spot. Dr. Bliss has given us a graphic account of these excavations, so far as they have gone. The vast accumulations of débris have been removed, and the ground cleared of later constructions, including mediæval and Arab dwelling-houses, enabling the spectator to form a good idea of the original design of the vast enclosure. The chief discovery made was a great altar, composed entirely of masonry resting on a built foundation, about twenty-eight feet square and seven and a half feet high, approached by steps, buried beneath the pavement in the centre of the Christian church. On each side of it were two large tanks or pools, whose sides were ornamented by panels carved with wreaths, human heads, and marine monsters, some of which were roughly blocked and others as delicately finished as a cameo. The altar and the tanks used in its ceremonial rites were probably the central figures of the whole group of buildings. In all likelihood their site originally was that of a cromlech or Druidical circle, where the rude people of the district met to worship the sun, and which gave a sacredness to the whole region. It would be a sanctuary or safe dwelling-place amid the incessant warfare of the aboriginal tribes. When a more civilised race obtained possession of the spot, they constructed the altar and excavated the ponds which we now behold, and built around them the magnificent temples which for so many ages have adorned the place. What an extraordinary contrast there was between the first altar raised on this spot to the worship of the sun, between the rough boulders, shaped and carried by

the ice, and covered with a few cup-shaped hollows, with circular rings round them, and conduits leading from one to the other, carved by flint implements, in which libations were poured to the sun, and the splendid temples built afterwards to surround and enclose them by the Romans, in which the massiveness of the architecture seemed to distract the attention from the exquisite beauty of the sculpture !

From the quadrangle we passed into the area of the great Temple of the Sun, the largest and most celebrated of all the temples of antiquity. It stood upon a grand esplanade forming a parallelogram two hundred and ninety feet long from east to west and one hundred and sixty feet wide, raised so high above the level of the other buildings that it formed a conspicuous object at a distance. It was originally surrounded by colonnades of fifty-eight magnificent Corinthian pillars, surmounted by a richly sculptured architrave, making the whole height nearly a hundred feet above the platform. Of this colonnade only six pillars are now standing, the others lying broken in pieces on the ground, or built into the walls of the Saracenic fortress. These six weather-beaten columns, still carrying on their heads a portion of the splendid old architrave, are well known to every visitor, and are the first objects which he sees from afar when coming to Baalbec. Each column is seventy-five feet high, including the capital and pedestal, with a diameter of seven feet. It is composed of three enormous blocks or drums, laid upon the top of each other with such consummate skill that the joints can hardly be distinguished, and the pillar even close at hand seems as if composed of only one stone. The natives have cut away nearly the half of several of the pillars to abstract the metal core which joined the shaft to the base, so that their standing is very precarious, and a storm more severe than ordinary might knock them down at any time. So symmetrical and graceful are these pillars that one does not realise at first how vast is their size. It is only by standing beside their base and finding that it is higher than yourself that you can form an

idea of their great height ; and it is only by measuring your own stature against the smooth diameter of one of the fallen drums on the ground that you can appreciate its enormous bulk, for it rises considerably above your head. It seemed to require superhuman power to lift these huge masses into position. The raising of the Egyptian obelisks vertically must have been an easier task, for they were monoliths, than the piling up of these huge drums on the top of each other, with bronze dowels or clamps between. The Romans built their colonnade on the foundations of the primitive Temple of Baal, which formed the platform ; and just as the old substructure was not finished, so neither was the superstructure, for there are no traces of a cella. It is supposed that the Roman building consisted only of the exterior columns ; the hypæthral Temple of the Sun being simply a large quadrangle, with a single row of pillars on each side, and without either roof, interior walls or inner colonnades, and in this way it was the highest development of the primitive Druidical circle, in which hewn pillars of the utmost classical perfection took the place of the original rough masses of boulder stone. Venice was the completest perfection of the prehistoric lake-dwelling ; Petra the completest perfection of the prehistoric cave-dwelling ; and Baalbec the highest reach of the primordial Druidical circle.

Like most of the temples dedicated to Phœbus Apollo, this one at Baalbec acquired a high reputation for divination. It had an oracle that was consulted not only by the people of Syria, but also by strangers from Greece and Rome. It was the Syrian Delphi ; and a large part of the revenues of the temple was derived from this source. Trajan, the Roman emperor, wished to get a response from it. But in order to test its power, he sent in the first instance a blank paper sealed, and addressed to the local deity. In return he got back a blank paper, sealed and addressed to the Roman Emperor. Convinced in this way of the wisdom of the oracle, he asked plainly what would be the result of a second campaign against the Parthians, which he was meditating at the time. The response he received was a bundle of dead

vine twigs wrapped in a cloth. The interpretation was afterwards found in the death of Trajan and the transportation of his remains to Rome in a coffin. The seat of the oracle was the statue of Jupiter at the end of the sanctuary, close to the southern wall. From the mouth of this statue the people received oracular sayings. Exactly under the place where this statue must have stood a hole was discovered in the stone floor, communicating with a small room by means of a concealed subterranean passage. It is supposed that the statue was hollow, and that the priest going into it from beneath by this passage communicated with the person who consulted the oracle, literally by word of mouth. The hole is now hidden by the large quantity of rubbish that has fallen over it. In this Temple of the Sun a black conical stone was worshipped, like the black stone of the Kaaba at Mecca, which the Moslem pilgrims kiss, and the stone which fell from heaven at Ephesus, over which the great Temple of Diana was built. All these were meteoric stones, which were considered divine because they had been seen falling down blazing hot from the home of the gods. Heliogabalus, the Roman emperor, brought this black stone, along with the darkest orgies connected with the worship of the sun, from Baalbec to Rome; and some years ago, when the ruins of the shrine which he erected for its reception, beside his palace near the Arch of Titus, were excavated, the black stone was discovered, but ignorant of its value the workmen allowed it to disappear among the rubbish.

The Temple of Jupiter is situated to the south of this Temple of the Sun, and stands on a lower level; consequently it does not figure so largely in distant views of the ruins as the six columns of the Temple of the Sun. It is also a good deal smaller than that gigantic temple, but is much better preserved. Originally it was surrounded with a peristyle of forty-six Corinthian columns, of which ten were fluted and formed the vestibule. Only nineteen pillars now remain standing, each sixty-five feet high and upwards of six feet in diameter, with one huge shaft leaning against

the wall, its three drums still adhering firmly together. The entablature is joined to the cella by large slabs of stone, forming a soffit or ceiling, divided into panels, in each of which is represented, in elaborate sculpture, the figures of gods and goddesses. Large masses of this entablature and soffit, greatly damaged, cover the ground, along with the broken drums of the fallen pillars. It looks like a battleground of Titans hurling rocks at each other. The most picturesque part is the famous doorway, which is the admiration of all who behold it, on account of the wonderful beauty and minuteness of its carving. It is twenty-one feet wide and at least double that number of feet high. There is all round it a broad band, covered with all sorts of decorations, representing fruit, flowers, ears of corn, and vine branches borne up by human figures. The lintel is in three huge blocks; the keystone, weighing upwards of sixty tons, had been shaken loose by an earthquake, but owing to its wedge-shape was caught by the two side blocks, and now hangs suspended in mid-air. At the suggestion of the late Sir Richard Burton, when he was consul at Damascus, a wall was built beneath the keystone to support it; but while that wall adds to the security of the portal it takes away from its picturesqueness.¹ When the underside of this suspended keystone was visible it was seen to be carved with a huge wide-spread vulture, such as is invariably placed upon the lintel of the doorway of Egyptian temples as a symbol of the sun, and is thus a link of connexion between the Syrian Heliopolis and the Heliopolis of the Nile. It suggests the Bible image, which was no doubt derived from this source, about putting our trust under the shadow of God's wings. There is no piece of sculpture in the world to be compared with this doorway in elaboration of detail and exquisite beauty of design and perfection of workmanship. It looks like fairy lace work. It would

¹ It may be remarked that during the recent German excavations this rude supporting pier has been removed, and the keystone forced back to its old place.

take weeks to examine the vast variety of objects of interest in this temple. The smallest detail in the sculpture is sharply cut ; the arabesques, rosettes, and mouldings almost stand out separately from the stone. And the rich tracery of the roofs and cornices is not more remarkable than the charming rusty hue which the storms of ages have imparted to the compact limestone resembling marble. This exceeding richness and profusion of ornamentation, hardly a bit of stone being left undecorated, is considered a sign of decadence in art. But so vast is the size of the materials that without such profuse adornment, which helps to relieve the massiveness, the effect of the whole enormous group of buildings would be gloomy and oppressive in the extreme. It is this marvellous combination of the immense and the graceful, of magnitude that overwhelms and minuteness and perfection of sculpture that delights,—two opposite feelings in one,—that constitutes the peculiar characteristics of Baalbec.

A short distance south-east there is a small detached building called the Temple of Venus. It is wonderfully well preserved, although, being surrounded by houses, you come upon it unexpectedly, and do not see it to advantage. It reminds one of the well known little circular Temple of Hercules on the banks of the Tiber at Rome. The interior consists of two stories, the upper surrounded by small Corinthian pillars, and the lower by Ionic ; while between the pillars there are niches, from which the statues have disappeared, and the whole building seems to have been covered by a cupola. The eye is fascinated by this architectural gem, which presents such a striking contrast to the colossal piles with which it is associated. The carving is as carefully and minutely executed as in a cameo ; and it seems as if the builders wished to show that they could work upon a gigantic and a minute scale, and in both cases produce equally perfect results. It is called the Temple of Venus from the figure of a dove, the bird sacred to the goddess, carved on the vault of one of the outside niches ; but it is more likely to have been a shrine dedicated to

Vesta, in imitation of the round domed temple in the Roman Forum, the primitive hearth of old Rome; for there was a close connexion between the worship of the sun and the worship of fire, presided over by the vestal virgins. In the time of Maundell's visit to Baalbec in 1699, this little temple was used as a Christian church, dedicated to St. Barbe, by whose name, Barbéret el Atikah, the building is known at the present day to the inhabitants of the town.

Nature has intruded into the heart of these sanctuaries, and hung her garlands of wild flowers and ferns on the cornices and friezes, thereby increasing the romantic look of the ruins. Many of the prostrate pillars were covered with a grey vegetable bloom, imparting to them a still more venerable appearance; while others were gilded with golden lichens as with a halo of sunset glory. It was touching to see the green grassy carpets laid over the heaps of rubbish as if to hide their deformity with a pall of beauty, and to bring back the works of human pride to the bosom of the great mother. Among the elaborate tracery of the fallen blocks little cushions of soft moss intruded themselves, as if seeking to compare the works of nature with human art. Gazing upon these flowers and mosses and lichens in such a place one felt that man is more than a mere copier of nature, and has a wide range of free action independently of nature. Art is not man's antagonism to nature, but his co-operation with her, his imitation of her; the aim of his free power with hers to produce that which neither of them could produce without the other. It is a ladder that, resting on earth, reaches up to heaven. It fills us with a sense of something nobler than we see, and purer than we feel. Nowhere is the Corinthian thistle or acanthus carved with such exquisite delicacy as on these gigantic stones. The rude thought acquires in its transmutation by art a purity and refinement far beyond nature. The architecture of Baalbec is indeed an embodied dream, a poetic thought in stone, frozen music.

The group of ruins thus described was surrounded and isolated by a Saracenic fortress, with huge towers at the

corners, a square citadel in the centre having loop holes and battlements ; the walls being a perfect patchwork, made up in the most barbarous manner of broken columns, pieces of cornices and architraves, and hewn stones of all kinds. The fortifications were still further guarded by a continuous fosse, through which, by canals, the waters of the fountain of Lajouge were led. The moat had long since been dried up, and its bed converted into gardens and orchards. Here grew the famous and unique yellow roses of Baalbec in great quantities, looking at a distance like banks of solid sunshine. The effect of the rich orange tones of some parts of the ruins, and the cool grey and purple shadows of others, was enhanced by the roses growing beside them. They were of a most exquisite deep golden yellow, had a most delicious scent, and each blossom was twice the size of our wild dog-rose. The bushes were so covered with these flowers that the green of the foliage was quite hidden. It is a curious coincidence that there should be among the Temples of Pæstum, in Italy, also a unique rose growing, *Rosa borrieri*, which was celebrated by the Latin poets Virgil, Ovid, and Propertius for its beauty and fragrance. It flowered twice in the year, and gave a great charm to the ruins.

In order to form a complete idea of the ruins of Baalbec the visitor must go round the walls outside. It is there that the greatest marvel of the place is to be seen. Walking upon the broad top of a high wall which surrounds the dry moat we came to the western side of the ruins, which is intact, and there we were lost in admiration. The lower part of the wall consists of drafted stones from fifteen to twenty feet long ; but the third course from the ground, at a height of twenty feet, is composed of three enormous blocks, each sixty-two feet long, thirteen feet wide, and thirteen feet high. No mortar or cement was ever used in any part of the buildings, and yet the stones are so perfectly adjusted that the blade of a knife cannot be inserted between the joints. These three stones gave the name of the "Trilithon" to the temple, by which it was known in

ancient times. On the northern side of the outer wall there are nine stones, each one of which is from twenty-five to thirty-two feet long, ten feet wide, and eight feet thick. But the three stones of the "Trilithon," making together a part of the wall one hundred and eighty-two feet long, with proportional depth and width, are the most colossal masses that human power ever built into a structure. What manner of men were they who thus hewed down mountains into blocks, and hung them in the air? Children like to build something big; the same love of bigness is characteristic of the childhood of the world. Our moors have their megalithic circles, like Stonehenge and Callernish; Italy and Greece show to us the ponderous cyclopean masonry of Volterra and Tirhyns; Egypt has its pyramids and its colossal Memnon; and of the builders of Baalbec the idea of stupendous magnitude seems to have taken a firm hold. Among mountains man's grandest work is dwarfed by nature's majestic piles; but on the level plains man's work must be huge in order to make any appearance, and the builders of Baalbec, like those of the Nile Valley, wanted on the great level plain of Coële-Syria to make their structures conspicuous by making them tremendously large; while the mountains were too distant to belittle their work, and yet sufficiently near to form a standard of comparison to stimulate them to make their work as large as possible.

In the quarry where the stones of the structures were hewn, about a quarter of a mile from the town, there is a block of stone larger than any in the temple wall, which was prepared for the building, but was never removed. This stone is called the Hajarel-Hubleh, "the stone of the pregnant," from the superstitious use made of it after its architectural abandonment, like that to which the great column of the Huldah Gate in the Temple of Jerusalem was subjected. I went up to this stone and found it carefully hewn and finished, with the lower surface still attached to the living rock. It was covered with a dark lichen stain, showing that it had been exposed to the weather for a very long period. Its upper surface had evidently been used for

sliding upon it, and was somewhat inclined. I climbed up to the top, and found it so smooth and slippery that I had considerable difficulty in keeping my footing. I was much interested in noticing this peculiarity, for it is one of much significance. The custom to which it relates was very widespread in ancient times. In many parts of Scotland there are stones on whose smooth, slippery surface a slide has existed from time immemorial. They are generally found beside Druidical circles or boulder stones with cup-shaped hollows on them, used as altars for libations in the worship of the sun. School-boys are very fond of using them, continuing the old practice as a mere pastime, in utter ignorance of its old meaning. We have reason to believe that they formed part of the ritual of solar worship, and were resorted to as a means of quickening the vital powers by those who desired offspring. On the rock of the Parthenon at Athens there is a slide, which was much frequented by the old Greeks for this purpose; and the meaning of the Syrian name given to the stone in the quarry of Baalbec bears a reference to this curious superstition. When encamped at a strange Drusic village on the shoulder of Mount Hermon, called Mejdal-el-Chames, I saw from the top of a knoll at sunset the children of the village playing at a sliding game. They climbed up the side of a steep hill near at hand, evidently an old glacial moraine, with a deep furrow worn down its face by constant use from the top to the bottom, and shining white and dry in the sun. They arranged themselves on the summit in a line, one behind the other, and in a crouching attitude, and at the word of command from the leader, they let themselves slip down the furrow with increasing velocity, till they reached the soft ground at the foot. It was a most exciting sport, for they frequently lost their balance and turned upside down and on the top of each other in the rapid descent; while the air as they shot past shook with peals and shrieks of merry laughter. This sliding game, in which boys and girls took part, seemed appropriate to the place, and was doubtless a survival of the old sun-worship for which Mount Hermon

was renowned in ancient times. On its highest point there are the remains of a solar temple, and the Druses of the village still retain many of the old nature-rites which used to be carried on in this locality.

To say that I was astonished when I saw the enormous stone in the quarry is but to feebly express the feeling that took possession of me. I stood spellbound, lost in awe and wonder. It seemed as if, instead of hewing a stone from the quarry, the Titanic workmen had hewn away the rock of the quarry and left the stone. I had seen drawings and photographs of it. I was told that it was seventy-two feet long, and fourteen feet wide, and fifteen feet high, and was supposed to weigh more than 1,500 tons. But all these representations utterly failed to give me an adequate conception of its vastness. No description or drawing can bring its huge mass before your mind's eye. You must actually see it in order to grasp its gigantic dimensions. It is by far the biggest hewn stone in the world. The daring of the people who carved it, and were confident that they could move it to its appointed place, filled one with admiration. How they were able to achieve this stupendous triumph no one can tell. But that they did actually move such colossal blocks is proved by the fact that three of them only a little smaller than this specimen may be seen built, as I have already mentioned, in the wall of the Temple of the Sun, twenty feet above the ground. And as they had treated these stones, so they were ready to treat this one, when something stopped them, and compelled them to leave the work unfinished. It has been calculated that it would require 20,000 horse-power, or the strength of 150,000 men, to move it in the least degree. But by what contrivance or mechanical means could such a force be utilised and concentrated upon the stone, we know not.

There is a strange mystery about the temples of Baalbec. Who built them? The tradition of the common people on the spot says Solomon. But Solomon knew nothing of the Corinthian style of architecture which predominates in these buildings, and was invented long after his time. And it is

not in the least likely that he would have dedicated to a false god structures so vast that they would have more than exhausted all the resources of his kingdom. The common supposition is that they were the work of Antoninus Pius, the Roman emperor, founded upon a doubtful inscription on the building, in which his name occurs. But how comes it that the Roman writers should be completely silent upon the subject; and while the making of an obscure road at the Dog River near Beyrout is commemorated by a tablet on the spot, this, his far greater achievement, is not noticed at all? Why, too, should he have constructed, in a remote province of the empire, buildings with which there is nothing to compare in Rome or in Italy? The Romans, indeed, built the Temple of Jupiter at Athens, but it was far inferior in size to the Temple of Jupiter at Baalbec. The Temple of Antoninus Pius and Faustina his wife, at the corner of the Roman Forum, is a splendid work, but it could be put inside one of the courts of the Baalbec temple. It might be said that an imperial builder was cramped for want of room in the limited area of Rome, and especially of the Roman Forum, and it was only on such a vast plain as that of Coële-Syria that the daring of his architectural ambition could have full scope. But surely there were hundreds of more important places nearer home where he could have built as spacious temples as he pleased! Nor is the mystery solved by the extraordinary fascination which the Mithraic worship of Syria exercised over the religious sentiment of the Romans. For in the time of the Antonines this worship was not in the ascendant, as it became in the later reigns of Severus and Heliogabalus. Is it not a striking proof of the vanity of human pride, when even such a gigantic monument as this—one of the seven wonders of the world—surpassed in size only by Karnac in Egypt, and in beauty only by the Parthenon of Athens, could not perpetuate its founder's name?

And if the superstructures of classic architecture that are of comparatively recent origin are so silent regarding their builder's name, the huge cyclopean substructures are even

more mysterious. In the syenite quarry at Assouan, the visitor is shown a huge obelisk which has been shaped out of the rock, and partially detached. It was never removed and set up upon its intended site, owing to some change of dynasty or revolution that had frustrated the design of the monarch who had ordered it. And there it remains, a monument of unfulfilled purpose to give the traveller a better idea, by its recumbent posture, of the dimensions of an obelisk than he could have got if it had been set up perpendicularly upon its pedestal. So was it with the enormous block of stone in the Baalbec quarry. What could have arrested the purpose of those who hewed it, and caused them to leave it unappropriated on its native rock? It must have been some remarkable event indeed, which amounted to a revolution. Possibly there may have been some close connexion between the fates of the Egyptian obelisk and the Syrian stone. On the rocks at the Nahr-el-Kelb or Dog River, about seven miles north of Beyrout, along the ancient road overhanging the sea, I saw the tablet which Rameses II. had ordered to be hewn in order to commemorate his conquests in Palestine and Syria as far as this point. We know, indeed, from representations on the Rameseum in Egypt, and from the descriptions of the oldest of Epics, the poem of Pentaur, that Rameses conquered the Hittites and took Hamath, one of their chief cities, not far distant from Baalbec. Rameses was not only a great warrior, but also a great builder, and particularly vain-glorious. He would naturally, therefore, wish to leave behind him some monument of the success of his arms more imposing and enduring than that small obscure rock-hewn tablet at the Dog River. Having taken a vast number of prisoners in his battles he would employ them as his manner was in Egypt in building a monument like this. May we not suppose, then, that the substructures of Baalbec, those enormous foundations which are so different from the upper buildings of the Roman period laid over them, and which have been attributed to the Phœnicians, were actually executed by Egyptian architects at the command of Rameses,

employing for the purpose the prisoners he had taken in the Syrian wars? The style of these substructures is certainly much more like what we find in the huge monuments of the Nile Valley than any Phœnician work of which we have any surviving specimen or even record. There is the same massiveness of material piled up by sheer muscular force, regardless of time, cost, or suffering. This is the theory of the Rev. Mr. Haskett Smith, and it seems to me exceedingly plausible. So long as Rameses remained on the spot the work went on. The gigantic stones were quarried, and men in thousands were spurred on by the lash to raise the huge foundations. But the Egyptian despot could not always remain in Syria. Affairs of the state demanded his presence at home; and when he turned his back upon the scenes of his conquest, and began his march home to Egypt, though he left overseers to carry on the work, we can easily understand how it would slacken when the master's hand was withdrawn. In a short time the work was abandoned; Rameses had weightier matters to engage his attention; the huge stone that had been squared in the quarry ready for removal was left there, and the monument of pride and renown of Rameses rose scarcely higher than the foundations. The Romans came afterwards, and made this stupendous platform which the Egyptians had constructed the pedestal as it were for their ornate pillared temples, which showed more the power of intellect than mere strength of arm.

Such, then, are the principal features of the greatest temples erected by the proud pagan world, not in its palmiest days, but shortly before its decline and fall. The whole group seems like a final flash of expiring genius in the socket. It seems more like the ruins of a great city than the ruins of two temples. Standing in solitary grandeur, these temples seem to measure their dimensions only with the wide plain around, the high dome of heaven above, and the lofty range of Lebanon on the horizon. The power of the storm, the virulence of war, and the rage of human barbarism have tried their strength on this prodigious citadel of art, like waves beating upon the solid

rock ; and Baalbec might have defied all the ordinary causes of decay, had it not been for the three terrible earthquakes in succession which devastated it in 1139, 1157, and 1170. Whatever may be the origin of the temples, they form an architectural palimpsest, a sublime cenotaph of all the civilisations of the world, the Phœnician, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Saracenic, and Turkish ; and of all the great religions of the world, the prehistoric Baal or Nature worship, the mythology of the Greeks and Romans, the Christian faith, and the Mahometan propaganda. Here we have a combination of Egyptian strength and Grecian beauty, and Roman majesty and Moslem pride. Baalbec stands amid the everlasting hills, the snow-clad Hermon on the right and the snow-clad Lebanon on the left, a fleeting dream of the night compared with their enduring steadfastness. And as I looked back when I turned away from the spot, and saw the sun concentrating his rays, welling over the brim of a dark thundercloud, on the ruins of what was once his mightiest fane, lighting them up with a lurid splendour, I felt thankful that all the false systems of human superstition, and the awe-inspiring prisons in which the human intellect and heart had so long been held in bondage, had been overthrown by the earthquakes of human progress and divine evolution, and on their shattered relics the Sun of Righteousness had arisen to flood the world, with healing in His wings !

HUGH MACMILLAN.

OVERCROWDING AND EMIGRATION.

1. *No Room to Live : The Plaint of Overcrowded London.* By GEORGE HAW. With an Introduction by Sir WALTER BESANT. (London : Wells Gardner, Darton, & Co. 1900.)
2. *Poverty : A Study of Town Life.* By B. SEEBOHM ROWN-TREE. Second Edition. (London : Macmillan & Co. 1902.)
3. *Public Health and Housing.* By JOHN SYKES, M.D. Milroy Lectures delivered before the Royal College of Physicians, 1901. (P. S. King & Co. 1901.)
4. *Statistical Tables relating to Emigration and Immigration from and into the United Kingdom in the year 1900, and Report to the Board of Trade thereon.* (London : Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1902.)
5. *Emigrants' Information Office Handbooks, 1902.* (London : Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1902.)

THOUGH they treat of the same subject, the three works which head the list of authorities for this article differ considerably in character. The first is a graphic account of overcrowding in London and of the various means adopted for remedying its evils, which fully merits the description given of it in the Introduction, written by the late Sir Walter Besant, as "a book which will have to be quoted and consulted by anyone who writes and speaks upon the question." The second records the results of an investigation of the conditions governing the life of the wage-earning classes of the typical provincial town of York, similar to and suggested by that undertaken by Mr. Charles Booth with respect to the Metropolis, which has been conducted by the author with a thoroughness which should

entitle *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* to rank as an authority with *The Life and Labour of the People of London*. The work of Dr. Sykes is an exhaustive examination of the influence of overcrowding and of the structural defects of streets and of houses upon the health and vigour of the people, and it thus serves as a valuable supplement to those of Mr. Haw and Mr. Rowntree in the study of a problem which the increase of population is now forcing on the attention of every nation in Europe, and which has nowhere assumed more serious proportions than in this country.

Though it exists in the half-deserted villages as well as in the towns to which the rural population is flocking, this problem is far less serious and far more easy of solution in the former than in the latter. In the first place, the inadequate and insanitary housing accommodation of the agricultural labourers, to which the Royal Commission of 1892 on the subject first drew attention, is largely attributable to the fact that the old houses available for such as remain have ceased to be a profitable investment, and have therefore fallen into decay at a more rapid rate than the great migration to the towns has been conducted; and also, in a lesser degree, to the limited powers given to district councils by the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, for dealing with such as are habitable. As, however, these powers have now been extended and additional ones conferred on county councils by the amending Act of 1900, there can be little doubt, having regard to the low rate at which both land and building materials are procurable in the country, that the question of rural housing would be speedily solved if agriculture were to revive sufficiently to attract the labourer back to the villages.¹ In the next place, the rural popula-

¹ As regards rural housing, the reader may be referred to the various reports of the Assistant Commissioners for the Royal Commission on the Agricultural Labourer; two reports to the Local Government Board by Dr. St. George Mivart in 1900 on the Sanitary Condition of the Axminster and Biggleswade Rural Districts; and two papers, by Mr. Clement Edwards and Miss Cochrane, on *Houses for the Working Classes*, published by Messrs. King & Son.

tion possesses the inestimable advantages of the open-air life which render it the healthiest and most long-lived portion of the community, in spite of insanitary conditions¹; while the urban population, which has to pursue avocations always less healthy, and often extremely unhealthy, in a vitiated atmosphere, suffers equally from defective and overcrowded dwellings and infinitely more from the overcrowding of dwellings upon area.² If, for example, we contrast the village of Axmouth, in the Rural District of Axminster, the sanitary condition of which recently formed the subject of a Local Government Board inquiry,³ with Mile End Old Town, the least crowded of the fifteen most crowded parishes in London, we find that the 615 inhabitants of the former occupy only a corner in an open space of 4,244 acres, while the number of persons per acre in the latter is 154·00, and that per house 7·80. In Whitechapel the number of persons per acre is 201·78, and per house 12·56; while many of the 600 block dwellings in London, which are tenanted by over 200,000 people—a population almost equal to that of Leicester, where it is 25 persons to the acre—have 1,000, and some 2,000 or 3,000, persons per acre.⁴ Similar conditions prevail throughout the kingdom, and the universal prevalence of overcrowding is sufficiently evidenced by the various housing schemes in operation in the majority of large towns—in Edinburgh and Dublin; in Metropolitan suburbs like Richmond and Hornsey; in commercial centres like Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham, and Glasgow; in ports such as Liverpool, Plymouth, Portsmouth, and Swansea; and in watering-places like Brighton, Folkestone, and Llandudno.⁵

This compression of urban population with its injurious concomitants—the reduction of house accommodation, the

¹ *Public Health and Housing*, pp. 14, 15, 26. ² *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 67, 68.

³ See Report by Dr. St. George Mivart, already referred to.

⁴ *No Room to Live*, pp. 40, 41; *Houses for the Working Classes*, p. 14.

⁵ See an interesting account of such schemes in *Housing of the Working Classes*, by Alderman W. Thomson, pp. 8–16, 43, 48; cf. *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, p. 167.

overcrowding of dwellings, the raising of house rents, and the enhancement in the value of land—is due to the combined effects of the rural immigration into the towns, and the expulsion of their inhabitants from the central to the outlying districts through the expansion of commercial activity. Greatly as its complexity has been increased by modern civilisation, it cannot in any sense be regarded as a new phenomenon, for it had, as pointed out by Dr. Sykes, acquired an equal predominance three centuries ago at the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, which, next to that of her late Majesty, may be regarded as the most prosperous period of our history. Then, as now, increased prosperity stimulated the growth of towns to such an extent that the crowding of population into space and of houses upon area became dangerous to the well-being of the community; and the Lord Mayor of London, the Master of the Rolls, and other authorities were commanded by the Privy Council to enforce statutes against the excessive erection of new buildings, the subdivision of houses, and the taking in of lodgers, “whereby groweth infections of deadly sickness . . . and the city hath been largely increased to the decrease of other towns, boroughs, and villages within the realm.”¹ In the Victorian era the evils produced by defective housing were fully demonstrated sixty years ago by two reports of the Poor Law Commissioners, in 1839 on the Sanitary Condition of the Metropolis, and in 1842 on that of the Labouring Population of Great Britain, which were followed by those of the Royal Commission on the Health of Large Towns in 1844, and of the Metropolitan Sanitary Commission in 1847. The numerous Acts on the subject resulting from these reports, about sixteen of which were repealed by the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, which, with the amending Act of 1900, now governs the law on the subject, appear, however, to have been almost entirely ignored by the local authorities to whom their administration was entrusted. The most

¹ *Public Health and Housing*, pp. 3-6.

important of them—the Labourers' Lodging Houses Act, 1858, which was substantially re-enacted in the Act of 1890—is believed to have been only adopted once in the forty years during which it was in force ; and the Report of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes in 1885, presided over by his Majesty King Edward, then Prince of Wales, showed that, as stated by Lord Shaftesbury in his evidence, the evils of overcrowding throughout the country, and especially in London, were still a public scandal, and were becoming more serious every day. Since the issue of that report, public and private enterprise have combined with ever-increasing activity to remedy these evils. Many large slums have been cleared away, thousands of model dwellings have been erected by philanthropic agencies, municipalities, and co-operative societies ; local authorities have vigorously enforced the general sanitary law, and begun to avail themselves with some frequency of the provisions of the Housing Acts, 1890 ; but it is evident from the works under review that we have but touched the fringe of the problem.

The overcrowded population of London is divided by Mr. Haw into five great classes, the first of which is the "*houseless*," who are absolutely unable to get rooms anywhere. So great is the dearth of houses that men in receipt of good wages have often to wait for weeks before they can obtain accommodation, and are frequently obliged to house their families in the workhouse in the interim. In their keen competition for houseroom workpeople outbid each other for rent, understate the number of their children, and will deposit two or three pounds as security for the key ; and those intending to leave levy blackmail on those wanting to come in. They will take any house, however insanitary, and can often only be got out of condemned houses by being evicted ; and when evicted the workhouse is often the only place available for them.¹

¹ *No Rooms to Live*, pp. 1-6, 52.

Next come the "*overcrowded fifth*," numbering 900,000—a population greater than that of any other city in the United Kingdom—who are to be found throughout the East-end, and Central, North, and South London, and all of whom are living in direct contravention of the requirements of the Public Health Act, 1891, and the Model By-laws of the Local Government Board, with respect to the sleeping accommodation and amount of cubic space per room available in small tenement houses. The standard prescribed by these by-laws, which it may be added is considered insufficient by many medical officers and sanitary inspectors, requires that in a room used for both living and sleeping each adult must have four hundred, and in one used solely as a bedroom three hundred cubic feet of space, two children under twelve counting as an adult, and also that children over twelve shall not sleep in the same room with their parents. The census of 1891—since the issue of which the population of London has increased by about 300,000 people—showed, however, that 3,000 people were living eight and more in a room, 9,000 living seven and more in a room, and nearly 26,000 living six and more in a room, while a number of families were living more than twelve in a room.

The largest proportion of the overcrowded are, however, to be found amongst the "*one-roomed tenth*," a class which exists in every quarter of the Metropolis, but is most numerous in the great inner belt lying between the City and the suburbs. Fully 26,000 of these are living six and more, and some more than twelve, in one room, in which, after the family have washed and dressed, the women cook and do their washing, while children too young to go to school crawl about the floor. In thousands of cases this one room—which in many cases is underground, and sometimes is a cellar—is also used as a workshop by women who make fancy work, artificial flowers, match-boxes, etc., or by cobblers, small cabinet-makers, bird-fanciers, and fish-curers; and sometimes, and especially by costermongers, it is used as a store. And at night in this room, saturated with the steam and fumes of

the day, as many of the whole family as can crowd into it sleep in a single bed, while the overplus sleep under it, because it is warmer than the rest of the floor.¹

It is scarcely to be wondered at that husbands and grown-up sons fly from such homes as these to the public-house, or that children on leaving school in the evening remain in the streets instead of returning to them. But the "*homes*" of the two remaining groups of Mr. Haw's classification, the "*half-housed*" and the "*horribly housed*," are worse even than these. The former, which chiefly inhabits the inner belt, comprises families living in half a room divided by a sheet of sacking, a stable-loft, or an outhouse; and also nightworkers, such as bakers and watchmen, who rent a bed during the day from people who occupy it at night, the bed in some districts being rented on the eight-hours principle to three different sets of sleepers every twenty-four hours.² The latter, members of which are to be found in a large majority of streets, consists of those who having hopelessly failed in the struggle, "*bury themselves*," to quote Mr. Haw, "*in life*." It is possible to live a more lonely life in London, where occupants of different floors of the same house may remain strangers for years, than in remote country districts, and it is frequently only when they die that the existence of the "*horribly housed*" is discovered, and the grim tragedy of their lives revealed by an inquest—such as that recently held on the body of a half-starved woman found in a room in one of the best parts of Canonbury, in which she had lived with four children for two years amidst horrible surroundings, without ever leaving it or admitting a neighbour.³

A population obliged to submit to these conditions of housing must inevitably fall an easy prey to the class of extortionate landlords whom Mr. Haw terms "*property*"

¹ *No Room to Live*, pp. 24-31.

² *Ibid.*, Mr. Haw instances Spitalfields, Chelsea, Kensington, and Mayfair. See pp. 8-14, 38.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-39.

sweaters," who, in addition to exacting crushing rents and deposits, which may amount to two pounds, for the safe return of the key, sometimes charge two shillings a week as a rent for blinds and fixtures. The average rent paid by the overcrowded, which at the time of the report of the Commission of 1885 was one fourth, has now risen to nearly one third of their income, and many six-roomed houses in Bermondsey and Bethnal Green are producing six shillings a room or ninety-three pounds a year, nearly double the rent of well built eight-roomed villas with gardens in Highgate or Dulwich.¹ There are, however, worse evils resulting from overcrowding. It destroys home life, and causes and encourages drink, immorality, and crime; and the deterioration of the atmosphere resulting from the aggregation of such a vast community, and the want of light, which causes anæmia and retards the growth of the young, not only produce a debility which has been estimated to cause an average loss of twenty days a year to every worker, but also serve to foster consumption and all the zymotic diseases. In 1897, for instance, the death-rates per 1,000 from consumption and from zymotic diseases were 0·74 and 1·10 in Hampstead, where the population is 32 per acre; while in St. Giles's, with a population of 177 per acre, the death-rate from consumption was 3·11, and in St. George's, Southwark, with a population of 211 per acre, it was 4·35 from zymotic diseases. While the total death-rate for the year in Hampstead was 11·8, that in St. George's, Southwark, and in St. George's-in-the-East, which has a population of 187 per acre, were respectively 23·7 and 26·4; and the fatal effects of overcrowding on children—who are also the worst sufferers morally from its evils—is shown by the fact that while the deaths of children under five numbered only 264 out of a total of 1,064 in St. George's, Hanover Square, in St. George's-in-the-East they amounted to 661 out of a total of 1,295.²

¹ *No Room to Live*, pp. 37-93.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 94-105; *Public Health and Housing*, pp. 66-68, 76, 80-83.

If we now compare this description of the Metropolitan housing problem with Mr. Rowntree's account of the conditions of the working classes in York, which, viewed from an industrial standpoint, may be taken as a fair type of an ordinary provincial as distinguished from a manufacturing town, we find that 10·1 per cent. of the working class, or 6·4 per cent. of the total population—which in 1899 was 75,812—are living under overcrowded conditions. While the average number of persons to the acre is 20·5, that in the district of Skeldergate, with a population of 2,009, is 349 per acre, or higher than that of all the most overcrowded parishes in London, except Bethnal Green (North), where it is 365. No less than 6·4 per cent. of the population are living more than two persons to a room, and there are slums as filthy as any in the Metropolis. Although—perhaps owing partly to the fact that 680 out of the 11,560 working-class families in York own the houses they live in—rent is lower than in many towns, the total proportion of earnings spent under this head ranges from 9 per cent. in a few favoured cases, to 29 per cent. of the income of the very poor. Lastly, while the total death-rate of York is 18·5, which is about equal to that of 33 largest towns, but higher than that of England and Wales exclusive of the 100 large towns, it is 20·71 amongst the middle and largest of the three sections into which Mr. Rowntree divides the working class, and no less than 27·78 amongst the poorest.¹

In Mr. Rowntree's work, however, these points are of necessity treated as subsidiary to his main inquiry, and its chief value lies in the revelation it gives of the nature and scope of the poverty of the working classes, which, while itself largely due to the pressure of population—which lowers wages by increasing competition and raises prices by increasing the demand for necessities—augments all the other evils arising from it. The test of "poverty" on which his conclusions are based is the inability to meet the expenditure on food, rent, and clothing necessary to maintain a

¹ *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, pp. 166, 169, 170, 301, 302.

family of moderate size in a state of "*bare physical efficiency*," and it is important to realise the full meaning of this phrase. A family living on this scale must buy only necessities, of the most economical description, for the maintenance of health, and the wage-earner must never be absent from his work for a single day. They must forgo railway and bus fares, newspapers, sweets and toys for the children, pretty clothes for the mother, tobacco and beer for the father, and even postage for letters to absent children, as prohibited luxuries. They cannot contribute to church or chapel, or help a neighbour, or join a sick club or trade union, or open a savings-bank account ; and they are dependent on the parish both for medical attendance in their sickness and for their burial when they die.¹ Mr. Rowntree estimates the weekly sum required for the maintenance of bare physical efficiency under these conditions at 21s. 8d. ; and he shows, after an exhaustive examination of wages, rent, and the price of necessities, that the earnings of 7,230 members of the working class, or 9.9 per cent. of the total population of York, whom he describes as living in "primary poverty," fall below it. In addition to this, there are 13,092 persons, or 17.93 per cent. of the population, who are living in "secondary poverty," because their earnings, which would otherwise be sufficient, are reduced below this amount by other expenditure, useful or wasteful ; and the total number of persons living in poverty in York is therefore 20,302, or 27.84 per cent. of the population.² As this proportion is regarded by both Mr. Rowntree and Mr. Charles Booth as practically identical with that of 30.7 per cent. arrived at by the latter in his inquiry with respect to London, we are therefore faced by the startling probability that from 25 to 30 per cent. of the town populations of the United Kingdom are living in poverty—a conclusion the significance of which is seriously

¹ *Poverty : A Study of Town Life*, p. 133.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 36-118, 395-397. Most of Mr. Rowntree's information as to expenditure in diet is derived from family budgets of working-class families, of which interesting details are given in chapter viii.

enhanced by the fact that the census of 1901 shows that no less than 77 per cent. of the population of England and Wales and 75·3 per cent. of that of Scotland are urban.¹ It means that—setting aside the injury to the higher side of their nature—the physique of probably more than one fourth of the nation is being steadily impaired by want of fresh air and light, bad housing, and insufficient food and clothing ; and the extent of this deterioration may be estimated by the fact that 960 of the 3,600 recruits applying for enlistment at York, Leeds, and Sheffield between 1897 and 1901, and 23,105 of the 88,402 applicants throughout the United Kingdom during 1900 were rejected on account of physical unfitness.²

One of the most hopeful features in connexion with the housing problem is the earnest spirit in which its evils are being attacked not only by the authorities, and philanthropic organisations such as the Artisans' Dwellings Company and the Peabody Trust, but also by co-operative societies, two hundred and forty-four of which expended £5,147,526 in building 24,038 houses during 1899,³ a noteworthy indication of the growing determination of the working classes to help themselves in this respect. Still further progress may be anticipated should Parliament comply with the demands now being made by local authorities for powers to acquire land within and without their boundaries for present and prospective use, to purchase and convert into working-class tenements middle-class dwellings in populous areas which have ceased to be in demand, and to control the action of slum owners and property sweaters. There seems also

¹ *Poverty : A Study of Town Life*, p. 301.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 216–219, 302–304. Cf. Annual Reports of the Inspector-General of Recruiting.

³ Of these houses 4,247 are owned by the societies, 1,370 were sold to members, and the remaining 16,082 have been built by members on advances from the societies. At Lewes the co-operative society has spent £160,000 during the last thirty years in helping 780 members to become owners of their houses. See a statement presented to the Cardiff Congress of 1889 by the Co-operative Union, for which the writer is indebted to its secretary, Mr. Gray.

ground for hoping that the congestion of population may be further relieved from an increase by the transfer, which has recently begun, of manufactures from London to country districts, where ground-rents and rates are low, and the erection of cottages near them for the workpeople.¹

Excellent, however, as these methods for dealing with the problem are *per se*, the application of them is of necessity very limited in comparison with its dimensions, and must in each case be always outstripped by the growth of population. London has swallowed up an area of six hundred and eighty-eight square miles, and accumulated a population greater than those of Paris, Berlin, and Vienna combined, which has during the last fifty years increased at the annual rate of from 40,000 to 50,000 persons.² In a lesser degree all our great cities and more important towns are gradually absorbing all the surrounding villages; and the industrial settlements in country districts, which seem the most promising of modern housing experiments, must inevitably share the same fate as they expand into towns and become united with the parent city by the chain of houses which always spring up beside the railway and tram lines constructed for carrying the artisan to and from his work. The total population of England and Wales, which has increased by more than twenty-three millions during the last century, has rather more than doubled itself during the late Queen's reign.³ During the last decade the rates of increase of the urban populations of England and Wales and Scotland were 15·2 per cent. and 15·12 per cent. respectively, and those of the rural districts were only 2·9 per cent. and 0·87 per cent., while the decrease noticed in previous census reports in the population of purely agricultural counties is still continuing.⁴

¹ *Health and Housing*, pp. 145, 146; *No Room to Live*, pp. 172, 177.

² *No Room to Live*, pp. 115, 116; *Public Health and Housing*, p. 144. An average of 68,500 of the population of London is in workhouses.

³ *Census, 1901*, p. viii.

⁴ *Ibid.* In 1892 the London County Council estimated the amount of the population which would require to be supplied with water

The bulk of the nation is thus being concentrated in those parts of the kingdom which are suitable for trade, mining, or manufactures, and the most obvious mode of relieving the pressure of population thus occasioned would seem to lie in the promotion of emigration and colonisation—a remedy recommended by a Select Committee on the subject,¹ and also advocated in this REVIEW about ten years ago, and which was again pressed on the attention of the public by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in his speech at the banquet given to him in the City in December last, on his return from his colonial tour.

The benefits to be derived from the adoption of this remedy are so obvious that it is a serious reflection on our reputation as a great colonising race that they should require any advocacy. The area of our colonial empire, exclusive of India, is more than eighty times greater than that of the mother country, while its population of twenty-four millions is little more than half; and it therefore stands as greatly in need of men to develop its immense natural resources as the mother country does of the raw material for manufactures, and—owing to its increasing dependence in this respect on foreign sources—of the foodstuffs which it can so abundantly supply. It is evident, however, from the official returns with respect to emigration that both the mother country and the colonies have hitherto practically ignored the reciprocal advantages they might derive from co-operation in the systematic development of the latter by colonisation. The total number of British and Irish emigrants between 1853—when British subjects were first distinguished in the emigration tables—and 1901 was 9,036,471; and throughout this period, during which the population increased from twenty-seven to forty-one millions, the proportion of emigration to population per cent.

fifty years from that date as probably 17,500,000—an estimate which makes that of the whole kingdom 100,000,000, or 1,872 to the square mile.

¹ Select Committee on Colonisation, 1891. See LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1893 (clviii., N.S. No. 38), Art. III. on "Britannic Confederation and Colonisation."

has never exceeded that recorded for the three years 1853-55, when it was 0·84, while for the quinquenniums 1891-95 and 1896-1900 it was only 0·51 and 0·38 respectively. As, moreover, 5,989,646 of these emigrants went to the United States and 658,669 to other places, the number of emigrants to the various groups of British colonies in North America, Australasia, and South Africa was only 2,388,156; and out of the 171,715 British emigrants during 1901 no less than 104,195 went to the United States and 13,270 to other places, while British North America received 15,757, South Africa 23,143, and Australasia only 15,350. It is evident, therefore, that such emigration as has taken place has been principally for the benefit of the United States, which, for example, received 4,909 of the 5,492 agricultural labourers, 1,637 of the 3,562 farmers, 11,264 of the 16,237 general labourers, 5,423 of the 5,917 mechanics, and 15,699 of the 17,324 female domestic and farm servants and nurses who emigrated from this country in 1901.¹

The preference thus shown for the United States is doubtless partly accounted for by their propinquity, but it appears to be also largely due to a want of concerted action between the mother country and the colonies which has prevented the development of any organised system of emigration. While the Home Government rejected colonisation schemes proposed by New Zealand in 1884 and by British Columbia in 1888, the majority of the colonies refused the request made to them for grants of land in 1887 by a Committee of both Houses of Parliament formed for promoting State-aided colonisation; and though an agreement was concluded in 1888 between Great Britain and Canada for establishing colonists from the Scottish Highlands and the congested districts of Ireland in Manitoba, one of the two small settlements resulting from it has been a partial and the other a complete failure. In Ireland, where boards of guardians have since 1838 had powers to

¹ *Statistical Tables relating to Emigration and Immigration, 1902*, pp. 6, 24, 31, 32. The same proportion will be found all through the other forty-five classes of emigrants.

assist poor persons and small occupiers to emigrate out of the rates, and large grants for the purpose have been made under the Land Purchase and other Acts to Government departments, such as the Congested Districts Board, the volume of emigration has been unduly large in proportion to its population, and amounts to 37 per cent. of that from the United Kingdom between 1853 and 1900. Both in England and Wales, which has contributed 53, and Scotland,¹ which has contributed only 10 per cent. of the total emigration, county councils were authorised to make advances for emigration and colonisation purposes, but have never hitherto utilised these powers, and in both managers of reformatories and industrial schools may "dispose by emigration" of children detained in them.² In England and Wales, however, emigration is also facilitated by boards of guardians, who are empowered by the Poor Law Acts to assist poor persons settled in and orphans and deserted children under sixteen chargeable on any parish to emigrate; and 2,525 persons, of whom 2,209 are children, have been emigrated in this way during the last ten years.

This important provision with respect to children was enacted as long ago as 1850,³ but remained practically inoperative until 1888, when an agreement on the subject was arrived at with Canada, the only colony in which they are received, and two of the provinces of which—Ontario and Manitoba—have provided by statute for the care and periodical inspection of those sent out by boards of guardians or by the numerous children's emigration societies, some of which, like the Children's Home and Orphanage Society, have been carrying on their valuable work for over

¹ Under two Acts of 1851 and 1856, Inclosure Commissioners in Scotland were authorised to make advances to landowners in the Highlands, but these advances only amounted to £5,349, and all statutory assistance under these Acts has long since ceased.

² Under the Reformatories and Industrial Schools Act, 1891.

³ In 13 & 14 Vict., c. 101 (Poor Relief Act, 1850). See as to statutory provisions with respect to emigration, *The Emigrants' Information Office Handbooks*, 1902, footnote on pp. 2, 58.

thirty years. Among London societies, the last-named society, which has several branches, has emigrated 1,632 children; the Church of England Society for Waifs and Strays, 1,000; Miss Macpherson's Home of Industry, 7,100; and Dr. Barnardo's Homes, 12,604; while the Birmingham Children's Home has sent out 3,432; the Manchester and Salford Boys and Girls' Refuges, 1,300; the Liverpool Sheltering Home, 4,000; and the Salford Catholic Protection and Rescue Society, 707—a total, amongst these societies alone, of 21,411. This work is especially noteworthy, because it appears to be one of the most practical modes both of relieving the pressure of population in the mother country and of promoting the development of the colonial empire. The colonies, as will be seen from the excellent *Handbooks for 1902 of the Emigrants' Information Office*¹—the establishment of which in 1886 has been one of the most useful services hitherto rendered to emigration by the legislature—offer most liberal terms with respect to the acquisition of land, and considerable facilities for obtaining employment; but they not unnaturally endeavour to prevent, by provisions which are by no means unduly stringent, the admission of unsuitable emigrants. On the other hand, owing to the same increasing distaste for rural life which prevails throughout Europe and even in the United States, they appear to be making but little effort to develop the internal resources of their vast territories, and we find that more than one third of the population of Australia is crowded into the three large towns of Melbourne, Sydney, and Adelaide.² This development can only be effected by "pioneers" of the same type as those who opened up the western territories of the United States, and were largely drawn from our own agricultural classes—healthy, vigorous, and resourceful men and women, with the enterprise and endurance requisite for the rough life of the settler in a new country. Owing to the depression of agriculture Great Britain now possesses but a slender supply of such pioneers,

¹ *Handbooks*, Nos. 1–10; and No. 12, 43–58.

² *Colonial Office, 1901*, p. xxiv.

but the success achieved by societies such as Dr. Barnardo's Homes shows that it is possible to prepare the children of our overcrowded cities for conversion into useful colonists in the country of their adoption ; and the extension of this work, by means of colonial training schools in country districts and the establishment of corresponding institutions in the colonies, seems well worthy of the attention of the legislature. Training schools of this description might also supply a useful basis for the development of State colonisation advocated by the Select Committee of 1891,¹ and they would at least constitute a first step towards answering the eloquent appeal on behalf of the colonies made by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in the speech already referred to, which demands the serious attention of his fellow-countrymen :

No one who had the privilege of enjoying the experiences which we had during our tour could fail to be struck by one all-prevailing and pressing demand—the want of population. Even in the oldest of the colonies there were abundant signs of this need. Boundless tracts of country yet unexplored, hidden mineral wealth calling for development, vast expanses of virgin soil ready to yield profitable crops to the settlers. All these can be enjoyed under conditions of healthy life, liberal laws, free institutions, in exchange for the overcrowded cities, and the almost hopeless struggle for existence which alas ! too often is the lot of many in this old country. But one condition, and one only, is made by our colonial brethren, and that is, “send us suitable emigrants.” I would go further, and appeal to my fellow-countrymen at home to prove the strength of the attachment of the motherland to her children by sending to them only of her best. By this means we may still further strengthen, or at all events pass on unimpaired, that pride of race, that unity of sentiment and purpose, that feeling of common loyalty and obligation which, knit together, alone can maintain the integrity of our empire.²

URQUHART A. FORBES.

¹ *Report*, pp. x., xi., xiv., xv.

² See *Report* in the *Times*, December 7, 1901.

A NEW CHRISTIAN APOLOGIA.

The Philosophy of the Christian Religion. By A. M. FAIRBAIRN, D.D., LL.D. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1902.)

IT is an open question with many whether a philosophy of religion is possible. Philosophy, they say, is a construction of the reason, religion is a direct revelation to the spirit; philosophy is elaborately articulated, religion is simple, immediate, and intuitive; philosophy is human, religion is divine. To attempt to build up a philosophy of religion is to construe the infinite in terms of the finite, to mete out the heavens with a span, to compress the ocean into a shell which can lie in the palm of a man's hand.

Where reason fails with all her powers,
There faith prevails and love adores.

There is much of truth in these contentions, urged as they are alike by the divine and the man in the street. At the same time, a philosophy of religion, in the true sense, is an imperative necessity of devout thought. It is well, therefore, to define our terms. Religion, in the full sense of the word, can neither be manufactured nor demonstrated. It did not take its rise in ideas of the reason, still less in conceptions of the understanding. It cannot be adequately explained in terms of lower truths, or proved by appeals to processes of argument which are more superficial than its own deeply rooted instincts and axioms. Religion, whether considered as subjective and denoting man's thoughts and feelings in relation to God, or as objective and denoting the embodied beliefs, the creeds, the worship, the institutions and customs which are based on these fundamental ideas, is the deepest and most potent factor of human nature and

human life. Any attempt to "explain" it is like an attempt to explain a mother's love. To philosophise upon it is to degrade, perhaps to destroy it.

But these statements taken alone are so one-sided as to be misleading. True religion is not contrary to reason, it is above reason and beneath reason and around reason ; subsuming all that is rational in itself, while it transcends the bounds of the rational and refuses to give a full account of itself to the empirical understanding. None the less, no religion that is worthy of the name declines to commend itself to reason, to make so much of its content as is within the scope of the intellect not only intelligible, but credible ; not only credible, but the one thing credible, on the topics of which it treats. Philosophy professes to give an explanation of nature and of man which in a sense is ultimate. Religion does the same. What is the relation between these ? To deny that there is any relation is to reduce man's intellectual constitution to an absurdity. To make religion sovereign despot over philosophy may satisfy the dogmatic theologian ; to make philosophy an irresponsible critic and arbiter in religion may satisfy the rationalist. A less superficial answer than either of these to a difficult question is called for, and the attempt to furnish it is the business of a writer who undertakes the supremely difficult task of writing a " philosophy of religion."

In these days a satisfactory philosophy of the Christian religion is for many purposes of apologetics the one thing needful. Christian evidences do not make Christianity evident. Biblical criticism and replies to biblical critics are alike unsatisfying food to the spirit. The limits of physical science have been learned, and men know that not to her must they look for light upon the deep secrets of life. The authority of the Church over large areas of thought has disappeared, the authority of the Bible is in too many regions fast disappearing. What remains is not to reassert the supremacy of the reason, but so to expound the truths which the Bible reveals and the Church conserves, as to enlist all the powers of the reason in their defence, their

maintenance, and their propagation. The science of religions may furnish us with facts concerning the forms which religious beliefs have taken in various countries and various ages, it may arrange these in such wise as to show an orderly progress or a marked degeneration in their history, and it may trace out in that history certain laws of growth, of advancement, or decay. It is for the philosophy of religion to go deeper still. And it is for the Christian philosopher, for the thinker who believes in Christianity as the one absolute, universal religion of mankind, to justify his belief and strengthen that of others, by exhibiting the reasons for this faith of his; by manifestation of the truth commending himself and it to every man's conscience, to every man's heart, to every man's intellect, in the sight of God.

This is work that can never be done once for all. It needs to be continually repeated, as men change, as habits of thought and conditions of life and problems of existence change, with the changing years. In our own time—understanding by the phrase the last thirty or forty years—it has been frequently attempted, more in Germany than in this country, and more frequently in a rationalistic than in a reverently Christian spirit. The literature of the subject is copious. It would answer no good end to sketch it in outline, but we may refer to four books as useful to the student, all of which may be read in English. Pünjer's *History of the Christian Philosophy of Religion* is neither constructive nor critical, but as its name indicates, strictly historical, and for the most part scrupulously fair. Pfeiderer's *Philosophy of Religion on the Basis of its History* is in its former half historical, in its latter half both critical and constructive. Caldecott's *Philosophy of Religion in England and America* has remedied a notable deficiency in the two German books we have mentioned, and has provided in our opinion a clearer, better, and more useful survey of the area the author undertakes to describe than his more celebrated predecessors have done in relation to their wider field. Lindsay's *Recent Advances in Theistic Philosophy of Religion* may be mentioned as a useful

supplement to Caldecott, within its narrower sphere of time and subject.

But it is comparatively easy to write a history of other people's opinions. A constructive philosophy of Christianity from the point of view of a believer is another matter. The writer of such a treatise must, of course, be both an historian and a critic. He must be competent to survey the work of his predecessors in this department, as Dr. Flint has done in the field of the philosophy of history. He must be keen enough to analyse that work, to detect its weaknesses, and to appraise and expound its excellences. But all this is preliminary to his main task, which is to build upon the ground thus carefully surveyed and laid out. No wonder that wise men hesitate about undertaking such an enterprise—so easy to plan and to begin, so desperately hard to finish. But an honest attempt should not provoke the taunt levelled in our Lord's parable against the man who had not counted the cost of the tower he undertook to raise. Rather may every labourer in this great field quote the rabbi in the Talmud, "The task is great and the day passes quickly, but the command of the Master is urgent. It is not incumbent on thee to complete the work, but thou must not therefore cease from it."

It is in this spirit that we give the most cordial welcome to the last and greatest book from Dr. Fairbairn's pen, described at the head of this article. His qualifications for such a piece of work are too well known to our readers to need any rehearsal of them from us. He has been engaged in kindred studies all his life. Only a short time ago his *Christ in Modern Theology* proved his power to survey and criticise, and in considerable measure to construct, in the field of Christian philosophy. That Dr. Fairbairn should exhibit the defects of his qualities was inevitable. The encyclopædic character of his knowledge, his power of broad generalisation, and his love of antithetic statement combined to produce a book more brilliant than convincing. His readers were often treated to results when they desired to travel more slowly through processes ;

and many of them instinctively distrusted a writer who dazzled their eyes more than he illumined their understandings, who criticised in epigrams, and taught in apophthegms.

These characteristics may only mean that as Dr. Fairbairn is immensely more learned than most of his readers, so he is able to condense into a sentence what many of them would wish to have spread out into a page. Or they may mean that even so erudite a scholar and effective a writer needs to be carefully read and wisely interpreted—perhaps sometimes criticised—by men every way his inferiors, if the full benefit of his teaching is to be gained. But the mature thoughts of such a mind upon such a subject as the philosophy of the Christian religion will be eagerly read and thoughtfully pondered by the Christian public of this country, and in order to help our readers to appreciate the value of this *magnum opus* we propose to describe, so far as may be possible in an article, some of its leading features, and to examine some of its chief conclusions.

The book seems to have originated in the lectures which Dr. Fairbairn delivered in India on the Haskell foundation. Finding himself face to face with Hinduism, not as a speculative system described in books, but as a living entity, a strange amalgam of pantheistic theories, complicated cults, and social laws and observances, this accomplished student of religions was confronted by new problems, and found that he had new questions to answer. Especially was the question pressed home, What is the real distinction between local and universal religions, those which are missionary and those which are not? And—most important of all—how is Christianity related to other religions that have moved millions of men through the generations, and how can its claims be set forth without granting to it any exceptional consideration, either on its historical or its philosophical side? Dr. Fairbairn disclaims all attempt to construct either a philosophy or a history of religion. But he does seek, as a student of history and philosophy, to

view with his own eyes, apart from all traditional props and supports, the central fact and idea of the Christian faith, and so to present Christianity that it may be shown to be the one absolute, universal religion, gathering into itself the truths of all other religions, and explaining to those who would understand them their true significance. "The Son of God holds in His pierced hands the keys of all the religions, explains all the factors of their being, and all the persons through whom they have been realised." How can this great thesis be established and made good?

Dr. Fairbairn rightly fastens upon the Incarnation as at the same time the central fact of Christian history and the central doctrine of Christian faith. He speaks of "the Person of Christ as the mystery of the Christian religion," and the kernel of the problem which Christianity presents to mankind. The problem is not a literary one, to be explained by a critical analysis of the gospels or epistles, which professes to leave hardly anything of the history of Jesus remaining. It is not an historical problem, to be solved by a description of the way in which the Jesus of the Sermon on the Mount became the Son of God, one Person and two Natures, of the Nicene creed. Doubtless there are such problems, both literary and historical, to be faced. But grant what you please to the critics, whether of the New Testament or the history of dogma, and it remains true that "it is not Jesus of Nazareth who has so powerfully entered into history; it is the deified Christ who has been believed, loved, and obeyed as the Saviour of the world." How has this come about? Is it an apotheosis accomplished by the imagination of a few Galilæan peasants? Is it a series of illusions or a chapter of accidents which has exercised such a unique and potent influence upon the history of mankind? And if not, what solution is to be given of the problem raised by the Person of Christ—"the place He holds and the functions He has fulfilled in the life of man, collective and individual"?

The first of the two books into which this volume is divided deals with "Questions in the philosophy of nature

and mind which affect belief in the supernatural Person." It attempts to "explain religion through nature and man." It includes difficulties occasioned by the apparent incompatibility of the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation with the scientific view of nature. These difficulties are to be met, as Dr. Fairbairn shows, by a true explanation of the meaning of "nature." If the system of forces around us is to be viewed as the method and measure of the interpretation of man, both nature and man become unintelligible. The process should be reversed. The "personality which makes nature was not made by the nature it makes." An exposition of the relation between "nature" and "the supernatural" as understood by the best philosophy of the time, leads us to the conclusion that "so far from the idea of a supernatural Person being incompatible with the modern idea of nature, it is really involved in it." The surest thing in nature is the thought which explains nature, but which nature is powerless to explain.

These few sentences will give an idea of the lines along which Dr. Fairbairn seeks to meet some initial difficulties of Christian theism. He proceeds to deal with problems raised by man as an ethical being, and the chapters in which he deals with evolutionary ethics and the ethical universe, as expounded by Butler and Kant, are very instructive. Closely akin to these questions are those concerned with the problem of evil, and about seventy pages are devoted to a theodicy which, without answering half our questions, sheds perhaps as much light upon an insoluble problem as on this side of the grave man, by the aid of natural theology, is likely to attain. We must content ourselves with indicating the conclusion :

Nature cannot here speak the last word ; we must wait the revelation of the Son of God. To allow evil to become and to continue without any purpose of redemption—*i.e.* to leave it as an ultimate fact and the final state of created existence—were to us an absolutely inconceivable act in a good and holy and gracious God. And so we may conclude this chapter with two questions :

(a) May not the existence of evil explain and justify the event which we call the Incarnation? and

(β) How can we conceive the justice and the goodness of God in relation to evil if His continued and final action towards it be excluded from consideration? ¹

The next chapters take us from the abstract to the concrete, from ethics and metaphysics to history. Is there any meaning and order in human history? The question is more easily asked than answered, but the human mind refuses to meet it with a direct negative, and investigation shows that certain ideas have arisen in the course of history with power to raise man above himself, to elevate and transform human nature, and organise an increasingly higher and more ethical society. The chief source of these inspiring ideas is religion, and so we are introduced by the philosophy of history to the philosophy of religion. What are the chief religions of history, and how are they related to each other? What are the causes of variation in religion? Race, region, history, society, great personalities—what part do these severally play in the long and fascinating story? What is meant by the classification of religions into local and universal, missionary and non-missionary, spontaneous and “founded”? How are Confucianism, Buddhism, Judaism, Islam, and Christianity related to each other in the light of these classifications? Such are some of the questions discussed by Dr. Fairbairn with his wonted clearness, comprehensiveness, and power. But of set purpose we do not enter upon them, only drawing attention to the all-important topic of the relation of Christ to Christianity as its “Founder.” That relation cannot be briefly and succinctly described. The order of Buddha is his personal creation; Islam is a creation of positive law, the work of the man Mohammed; but Christianity is not a mere sequel to the teaching of Jesus. The historical person of Jesus determines the religion in some of its aspects, but it is the ideal significance of the Christ, Son of man and Son of

¹ Page 168.

God, which determines its permanent and essential value. The religion cannot be understood without a right idea of the Person of the Founder, nor the Person of the Founder without a comprehension of the history of the religion. And so we are brought back once again to the fundamental problem and mystery of Christianity—the Founder's Person and history in its relation to the entire process which created the Christian religion. Our views on this subject will determine our conclusions as to the value of Christianity in the history of the world—the validity of its claims to be the absolute, universal, and permanent religion of man.

We have given some account of Dr. Fairbairn's argument in this first book, because it is absolutely necessary to an understanding of the volume. But we have touched it very lightly because, after all, it forms but the prolegomena to his main argument. And the chief criticism we have to pass upon the whole work should be mentioned here—it undertakes too much. At page 288, with half his space exhausted, Dr. Fairbairn does but begin to grapple with his main theme. We could hardly wish a single page of the former part away: all the discussions are germane to his main argument; the preliminary objections dealt with in these pages needed to be removed; the way is being prepared throughout for the chief topic of the book—and yet it is quite clear that the elaboration of the earlier portion makes the book top-heavy. It is impossible to deal adequately in a single volume with all the topics Dr. Fairbairn has crowded into this; and whether we regard artistic proportion, or the effect produced upon a reader anxious to obtain a clear outline of the argument, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the author has needlessly cumbered his ship, which would have sailed more steadily and more safely had he lightened it of a considerable part of its cargo.

Let us pass on to the subject proper, which occupies Book II., with its three parts and twelve chapters—the Person of Christ and the Making of the Christian Religion.

The problem to be solved is this—how to commend to the

higher reason of man the idea of a supernatural Person glving Himself in human history to man and for man, as not only possible and credible, but as the one credible doctrine which solves the problems, meets the aspirations, and secures the salvation of mankind, thus providing for humanity an absolute, permanent, and universal religion. It is clear that in the New Testament an historical person, Jesus of Nazareth, is interpreted as a transcendent Personality. The truth of the Christian religion depends upon the soundness of this interpretation. The modern spirit seeks to go behind the process of creative interpretation which was only formulated at Nicæa, but which is substantially complete in Paul and John. Many critics contend that we get nearer to facts by ignoring the faith of the apostles, and taking our stand upon a supposed residuum of actuality in a fragmentary and mutilated Jesus of Nazareth, the creation of critical analysis. This was the idea which lay at the root of *Robert Elsmere*, as it is the ruling principle of Professor Schmiedel in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. The literary controversy thus raised is for biblical critics to determine. We are quite persuaded that a healthy criticism can show the unsoundness of the methods pursued by men who think that the more paint they remove from the canvas by the knife the more "real" will be the picture, or who imagine that a Jesus described by nine negatives is more "actual" than the Jesus of the gospels or the Christ of the epistles. But many in our time instinctively feel that the chief problem is not literary, and all the documentary criticism of biblical scholars, whether sceptical or orthodox, leaves them cold. They desire that in an age when the methods of physical science dominate almost all departments of thought, the idea of a supernatural Person in history, such as they find in the New Testament, shall not so much be made to fit in with the idea of the universe and man now prevailing, but be shown to be its only possible interpretation and consummation.

Here Dr. Fairbairn comes splendidly to their help, and here lies, as we think, the chief value of a book which is

valuable in many other respects as well. How many difficulties as to the supernatural would be removed if, for example, the ideas underlying the following sentences were fully assimilated and applied :

The supernatural is not identical with the extraordinary, the abnormal, or the miraculous ; nor is the natural synonymous with the regular, the orderly, or the uniform. Each may be said to be the other under a different or changed aspect. The supernatural is the ideal, the universal, the causal existence, the permanent reality, or however we may choose to name it, which binds nature and man together, and determines the tendencies that reign in history, as well as the ideas that govern men. . . . Hence the natural by itself, if by itself it can be conceived, is uniform, therefore unprogressive and uncreative ; its changes can be expressed in the terms of physical equivalence, but not of moral motive or spiritual impulse. But when it becomes the visible image of the supernatural, the body to its soul, it grows creative, progressive, ceases to be uniform, and becomes as varied yet as orderly as a movement of the reason. . . . Without the natural the supernatural would have no foothold in history, no means of translating its ideals into realities, or of guiding and impelling upward the life of man ; without the supernatural the natural would constitute no order and know no movement towards a moral end. Whether, then, there is anything supernatural in a history is not a matter to be decided by the play of critical formulæ on a literature, nor by the study of periods or events in isolation. It belongs to the whole, and is to be determined as regards any special person by his worth for the whole and by the degree in which he is a factor of its good.¹

The importance of the principles enunciated in the last two sentences is fundamental and far-reaching, and their application to the problem of the Person of Christ would change the centre of gravity of the whole controversy. So long as natural and supernatural are too sharply distinguished, or even violently opposed to one another, so long will difficulties attach to Christian belief which do not necessarily belong to it, and it is at points like these that a " philosophy

¹ Pages 307, 308.

of Christianity" finds its true scope and use. Instead of wondering how an historical person whose actual environment is so graphically described in the Synoptic Gospels, can be one with the transcendent personality of the Epistle to the Romans and the prologue to St. John's Gospel, we are led to see the reasonableness of this portraiture of a supernatural person in an historical framework. Though there may be much that transcends reason, there is nothing that contravenes reason in the representation "in a literary medium which is amenable to the fixed canons of criticism of a Being who transcends nature even while He lives under the forms and subject to the conditions of the nature which He transcends."

We need not follow Dr. Fairbairn into the detailed exposition of this theme. In some parts of it he is moving over familiar ground, as in his treatment of the mythical hypothesis of the gospel history, the "sane supernaturalism" of the gospel miracles, and the simplicity and verisimilitude of the gospel portraiture of the character and life of our Lord. Even when plying familiar arguments, Dr. Fairbairn never presents them in a conventional form, nor does he tread in the well-worn steps of professed apologists. We can, for example, commend his treatment of the working of the mythical imagination in contrast to the sober delineation of Christ in gospels and epistles, even to those who have travelled over this ground again and again in the writings of Westcott or Bushnell, Liddon or Sanday. But the drift of many pages may be summed up in the words which Dr. Fairbairn uses in relation to the Temptation: "The supernatural potencies which move within Jesus leave Him neither an extra- nor a contra- nor a preter- natural person, but a person to Himself and for Himself strictly natural"; yet the supernatural powers at work are real and divine, whether they imply physical transcendence over "nature" or ethical perfection of personal character. For ourselves we could perhaps employ, though we should not choose, the terms just quoted (from p. 341), but it is well to bear in mind that they are susceptible of an interpretation which would unduly

limit the supernatural element in the Person of Christ. "Strictly natural" is a phrase permissible only in connexion with the words "to Himself and for Himself." We do not share Dr. Fairbairn's well known Kenotic views in Christology, but we may add that neither here nor elsewhere are they essential to his main argument.

We should have been glad to dwell upon Dr. Fairbairn's able exposition of the sinlessness of Jesus. It furnishes an excellent illustration of the way in which fresh light may be shed upon a familiar subject. Dr. Fairbairn rightly says that the word "sinless," though negative in form, is positive in meaning; doubly positive in relation to Christ, since it applies both to His nature and His conduct. We find, however, something lacking in Dr. Fairbairn's treatment of the sinlessness of Christ's nature, for by implication he appears, if not to discard the virgin-birth of Christ, at least to underestimate its significance. But the unfolding of the exact connotation of "sinless" in relation to the terms impeccable, good, holy, innocent, and evil is very instructive. An impeccable nature is one that is incapable of sinning, the sinless is one that has not sinned. "Good" Dr. Fairbairn regards as predicable of God only, "absolute and exclusive, fixed and stable, untemptable and infallible"; while "holy" denotes a character achieved through obedience, and "innocent" a being without positive qualities, which has attained nothing, but may become anything. "Sinless" implies tested faculty, and so is stronger than "innocent"; it is more comprehensive than "holy," for a saint is one who has sinned, but has been purified from evil. "The basis or starting-point of sinlessness is innocence, as its end is holiness, which will be eminent and meritorious in the very degree it has been attained without lapse." Thus sinless is the word which best describes Jesus in the Temptation and throughout the period during which He was "learning obedience" and being made "perfect through sufferings." It is the note, as Dr. Fairbairn says, of "a being at once dependent and perfect; for as dependent he is under law and authority, and as perfect he must have completely

obeyed." It is clear how the possession of such a quality, whilst emphasising the natural, leads on to the supernatural in the Person of Him who was "tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin."

Passing by a number of topics which tempt us to linger, we must give some attention to Dr. Fairbairn's exposition of the significance of the death of Christ. The chapters devoted to this subject are full of interest, and contain specimens of careful and illuminating exegesis. The analysis of the standard passage in Matthew xx. 28 (Mark x. 45), the exposition of our Lord's words at the Last Supper, and the commentary upon the Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane are marked by tender and delicate feeling, and a considerable measure of spiritual insight. No one can read these pages without appreciating the completeness of the answer which Dr. Fairbairn gives to critics who would exclude these sayings of Christ concerning His own sorrow and death from the list of His genuine utterances, or water down their meaning into the expression of a martyr's pensive forebodings as he entered within the valley of the shadow of death.

Yet we cannot think Dr. Fairbairn's account of the significance of the death of Christ adequate or satisfactory. When in his exposition of *λύτρον* he says, "it is evident Jesus is thinking of the fitness and efficacy of His death as a method of accomplishing a given purpose," that He "does not think of buying off man either from the world or the devil, or of paying a debt to God, or of making satisfaction to law," and that it is not sound exegesis to press the full meaning of a figurative word any more than the details of a parable, we are largely in sympathy with him. When in another place he says that the lamb of the passover was not slain to propitiate a vengeful deity, that it was "the seal of a mercy which had been shown and was now claimed, not the purchase of a mercy which was withheld and must be bought," we assent, though with a reservation that in telling the truth he has hardly told the whole truth. When he deprecates the introduction of substitution pure and simple into the

Jewish idea of sacrifice, we can understand that there is a sense in which his words are true, though the attempt to eliminate all idea of vicariousness is certainly mistaken. Further, in the account of the scene at Gethsemane, Dr. Fairbairn rightly says that "the intellect in analytically handling the Passion tends to become little less than profane," and the tender reverence which these words express pervades the whole of his very fine unfolding of the nature of our Saviour's sorrow. We are sure, as we read, that the words are true :

The thing He most hates seems to become a partner with Him in the work He most loves, contributing to its climax and consummation. Or if not so conceived, it must be conceived under a still more dreadful form, as forcing itself into His way, taking possession of His work, turning it into "a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence," a means of creating sinners while it had been intended to save from sin. And there was an even more intolerable element in the situation : the men who were combining to effect this death were persons He was dying to save, and by their action they were making the saving a matter more infinitely hard, more vastly improbable, and changing the efficient cause of salvation into a sufficient reason for judgment.¹

As one of the author's studies in the life of Christ, there were much to be learned from this devout meditation upon an unspeakably sacred scene ; but as a contribution to our understanding of the significance of Christ's death, and the meaning of His sufferings, especially in their atoning character, it is notably inadequate. Of the heinousness of human sin in the sight of God, of Christ's mystic identification of Himself with it, and the atoning element Godward implied in His sacrifice and the blood shed "for many, for the remission of sins," we read little or nothing in these pages. The line which Dr. Fairbairn sinks into an ocean of mystery falls too conspicuously short of its depths. Every human line must fall sadly short of necessity in the attempt to sound unfathomable deeps ; but it appears

¹ Page 431.

to us that Dr. Fairbairn deliberately avoids certain essential features of our Lord's atoning work because of the errors into which an exaggeration of them has led certain Evangelical theologians, and in his recoil from "legal fictions and judicial processes"¹ he misses certain essential features of exposition.

The impression made by Dr. Fairbairn's explanation of the references to Christ's death in the gospels is confirmed by the treatment of similar passages of St. Paul of "Hebrews." We are not quite sure what Dr. Fairbairn means when he says that "the function which apostolic thought assigns to His death can be better described as an institution than as a doctrine."² But we find on page 500 the unqualified statement, "Whatever the death of Christ may signify, it does not mean an expedient for quenching the wrath of God, or for buying off man from His vengeance. This was a gain for religion greater than mind can calculate." The interpretation given of Galatians iii. 13 is that as the law that judged Christ proved by its very judgment that it had forgotten its moral character and function, so Christ "redeemed Paul from the law and made him for ever the enemy of juristic and statutory religion."³ A similarly superficial explanation—we use the phrase from our own point of view and without any personal disrespect—is given of such great passages as 2 Corinthians v. 21, Romans viii. 3, 4, and 2 Corinthians v. 14, 15; while an eloquent and admirable exposition is given of "the love of Christ as the new law," and of that "larger philosophy of Paul which assigns to Christ a much greater place in religion than that of the writer who construed Him through the Levitical categories." We have no desire to labour this point. Our differences from Dr. Fairbairn are perhaps not very serious, and we rejoice that so full, and so far as it goes, so true an exposition is here given of the significance of the death of Christ in His work for man. But to our thinking Dr. Fairbairn here not merely comes

¹ Page 342.² Page 485.³ Page 505.

short of what is understood as Evangelical orthodoxy, but of the full and deep meaning of the New Testament teaching on one of the cardinal doctrines of Christianity. This deficiency may be due to an excessive recoil from the exaggerations and perversions which have marred the true doctrine of our Lord's vicarious sacrifice for the sins of men and the Atonement on its Godward side—as well, perhaps, as a strong desire to protest against heathen errors concerning sacrifice such as are prevalent in India—and this may explain some of Dr. Fairbairn's language. But these considerations do not render his exposition sufficient “as pertaining to the conscience” of man, for it neither fully portrays the meaning of salvation, nor does it adequately represent the teaching of the apostles.

The third part of the second book, dealing with “The Religion of Christ and the Ideal of Religion,” contains matter enough for an ordinary volume. Its chapters raise the question whether the Christian religion as it actually exists realises the ideal of the Founder, and whether it has “the qualities or attributes by virtue of which it may claim to be the only really universal religion.” In unfolding this part of his subject Dr. Fairbairn shows that Christianity is not syncretistic. Eclecticism is not religion. Christianity lives and grows. It carries within it an immanent, dominant, and—in Dr. Fairbairn's own phrase, a favourite one with him—“architectonic” idea, which has shaped its whole history. “That idea was the belief it held concerning Jesus Christ, which double name denoted at once the historical person who was the first Christian and the transcendental idea which had transformed God and religion and man and history.” The question is whether this ruling and formative idea has become actual in a religion which may claim to be the absolute, universal religion of mankind. The answer is too full to be developed here, or for that matter in the fifty pages which are all that Dr. Fairbairn devotes to it. But the following among other fruitful ideas are suggested. A single universal religion is only possible through belief in one God : that God must be equally accessible to all

persons and in all places, and the terms on which access is granted must be capable of fulfilment by all men ; and His character must be such as all can trust and reverence.

The chief attributes of God, as interpreted through Jesus Christ, are shown to be in accord with these principles, and such a Deity as Christianity exhibits, it is contended, could not be known and worshipped without forming a universal religion. A fine contrast is then drawn between Christianity and other religions in certain important respects—the eternal Fatherhood of God, the value of individual man, and the unity of the race. Without even attempting to indicate how suggestively Dr. Fairbairn treats these themes—though we think we discern the signs as of a preacher who knows that he has at least three times as much to say as his time will permit—we give one extract from the end of the second chapter :

What precisely did Christ, by these ideas and the condition of their realisation, accomplish for religion ? It is a small thing to say, He made a universal religion possible ; it is a greater thing to add, The religion He made possible is one that ought to be universal, for its ideal is the humanest and the most beneficent that has ever come to man. He completely moralised Deity, and therefore religion ; and so made it possible—nay, obligatory and imperative—to moralise the whole life of man, individual and collective. His moral ideal expressed the beneficence of an infinite will, yet as impersonated in what we may term an actual yet universal Man. It was transcendental as God, it was immanent as mind ; and as incarnated in a religion, it concentrated the energies of the eternal for realisation in the modes of time. If this can be said of Christ, what higher work could be ascribed to God ?¹

Thus we close an inadequate notice of a noble book. It is the ripe fruit of a strong and fertile tree, and will furnish nourishing food for many in this generation. If viewed as a work of art, or as a sustained and consecutive argument, it attempts to say too much and to cover too much ground,

¹ Page 550.

that is because it contains the extended utterance of a full mind upon the greatest of all themes. If, examined as an adequate exposition of Christian doctrine in detail as well as in general, it falls short at certain points, who can be surprised, or who can legitimately expect complete and exact accord in all Christian teachers upon such questions as Kenotic theories of Christ's Person or the various aspects of our Lord's atoning work? The object of the book must be borne in mind in forming an estimate of it. This object we have repeatedly stated, and we regard it as pure gain that, in addressing thoughtful and devout persons who are not Christians, and Christians whose faith is more or less seriously affected by the conditions of contemporary thought, Dr. Fairbairn should have fastened attention upon the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation as the article of a standing or a falling Church, and devoted his whole strength to establishing and vindicating it. We have little doubt that the book will have more influence inside than outside the Christian pale. From the nature of the case it appeals more to those who admit than to those who do not admit certain great presuppositions. From the nature of the case, also, Dr. Fairbairn's arguments are more efficacious in meeting objections and in removing difficulties than in laying new foundations of faith. The book may be of use in India, it will be of the greatest use in England. It may convert agnostics, it will certainly convince many half-believing Christians. It will be read with interest by thousands of thoughtful laymen, but it will be chiefly treasured by thoughtful ministers. These, if they are wise, will use the book as a quarry whence they may hew rock which can afterwards be broken in pieces and shaped into stones that will fit their own slings. Or rather, we should say, may be shaped into buttresses which will mightily support their own convictions, prevent the rifts caused by their own nascent doubts from deepening and widening, and indirectly do the same gracious work in the minds of hundreds to whom they preach.

And now, in any case and always it remains true, "philo-

sophy seeks, theology finds, religion possesses." At the best the devout philosopher can only do the work of the sound theologian in teaching general truths and principles; the assurance which real religion gives can be attained only by experience. "He who sees without loving," says Maeterlinck, "strains his eyes in the dark." An oculist may remove a cataract, he cannot construct an eye or provide sunshine. The profound Christian teaching of this valuable and helpful book needs to be assimilated by the living mind and uttered by the living voice, after having been tested in living experience, if it is to do its own work for living men and women. Christian philosophy is good for removing difficulties that have been raised by philosophy less enlightened. An "Apologia" is useful. It is well to be "ready always to give answer (*ἀπολογεῖσθαι*) to every man that asketh a reason of the hope that is in" us, and we are thankful to every Christian sage and philosopher who will help us to make that answer clear and telling. But the readiness to give answer depends, as St. Peter shows, upon the obedience to the command to "sanctify in your hearts Christ as Lord," and the only valid philosophy of religion is to be found, not in tractates or treatises, but in the experience of men who have found out for themselves and can testify to others that Christ is the Light of the world, and they that follow Him do not walk in darkness, but have the light of life.

W. T. DAVISON.

FACT AND FICTION ABOUT ITALY.

1. *Italy To-Day.* By BOLTON KING and THOMAS OKEY. (London : James Nisbet & Co., Limited. 1901.)
2. *Italy and the Italians.* By GEORGE B. TAYLOR, D.D. (Philadelphia : American Baptist Publication Society. 1898.)
3. *Pope Leo XIII. Judged by his own Acts.* By WILLIAM BURT. (Rome : "La Speranza" Press. 1901.)
4. *Eleanor.* By Mrs. HUMPHRY WARD. Tauchnitz Edition. (Leipzig : Bernhard Tauchnitz.)
5. *The Eternal City.* By HALL CAINE. (London : William Heinemann. 1901.)
6. *The Master Christian.* By MARIE CORELLI. (London : Methuen & Co. 1901.)

IN the early months of 1902 the powerful minister in charge of the affairs of our colonies, having to state his reasons for abandoning a certain line of policy in Malta, took occasion to emphasise the extreme unwillingness of British statesmen to embark on any course which could give just umbrage to the people of Italy, those valued friends of ours, who should be our natural allies. There was something one might call touching in the response these few friendly words called forth in Italy; for they were hailed with instant hearty applause, in which a kind of pleased surprise might be seen mingling with exultation.

Here, said Italian journalism, is one of the foremost men of the foremost nation in the world recognising as highly valuable the friendship of the land which counts not yet a full half-century of true national life; here, in this unbought concession, frankly made for her sake, is proof and to spare

that the nations most hostile to Italy have little ground for their ostentatious contempt. For not to a mean nation, not to an unworthy nation, would Great Britain have assumed this attitude of sedulous goodwill; an attitude which could only take Italians by surprise, because they have been left in ignorance of the keen interest and warm appreciation with which the best informed and noblest minds in Britain have watched her, who is at once the youngest and the oldest nation of Europe, struggling valiantly to work out the fulfilment of the proud prophetic word, "*L'Italia farà da se.*"

For English observers, however, there has not lacked other recent evidence of the strong and increasing attraction which Italy and her affairs possess for the English-speaking peoples, and of the high importance attached by them to the knotty problems—social, political, religious—which she must needs solve if she would live and thrive. Works of popular fiction—those light straws and feathers which show most plainly which way the current of popular feeling is flowing—have concerned themselves much of late with these problems, and have been profuse of pictures, more or less faithful, of life as it is lived to-day in the fairest of European peninsulas; and certain British novel-writers of note have very lately indulged the public with their views on the Roman controversy. Other writers, who do not willingly deal in fiction, have devoted themselves seriously to the investigation of those same momentous questions, which more than one novelist has handled with astonishing lightness of heart; and they have given us, as the fruits of their patient toil, volumes abounding in valuable details as to the work already accomplished, and in process of accomplishment, in United Italy. Such is the *Italy To-day* of Messrs. Bolton King and Thomas Okey; and such its scarcely less important predecessor, Mr. King's *History of Italian Unity*.

But where the careful historian and statistician finds one reader, his more lightly harnessed brother of the pen, who does not pique himself on "pettifogging accuracy,"

finds hundreds. It may, then, be no useless task to analyse the most widely read recent fictions that have dealt in their way with the themes that have enlisted the earnest attention of Messrs. King and Okey; and to show how much or how little real foundation of fact underlies the glittering fanciful structures that for a season caught and held many eyes. Two of these at least made claim to be more than mere "works of imagination," and must therefore be judged with more or less indulgence, according as facts are or are not in harmony with their representations.

In his *Eternal City* Mr. Hall Caine seems to be assuming in his own person a position curiously like that attributed to Manisty, the brilliant, wayward Englishman who does duty for the hero of Mrs. Humphry Ward's remarkable story of *Eleanor*; a position of undisguised bitter hostility to the existing régime in Italy, and of deferential tenderness to the Papacy. And, again like Manisty, Mr. Caine has embodied these opinions in a book, which might well provoke such a criticism as Mrs. Ward has placed in the mouth of an intelligent Italian patriot :

What Italy has done in forty years is colossal ! not to be believed ! . . . Forty years—not quite !—since Cavour died. And all that time Italy has been like that cauldron—you remember ?—into which they threw the members of that old man who was to become young. There has been a bubbling and a fermenting ! And the scum has come up, and up. And it comes up still—and the brewing goes on. But in the end the young, strong nation will step forth. Now Mr. Manisty sees only the ugly gases and the tumult of the cauldron.

The "ugly gases and the tumult of the cauldron" make many pages in Mr. Caine's book lurid, unsavoury, and loud. We may grant that he has not greatly exaggerated this surface hideousness, and we may refrain from blaming his method in choosing to incarnate in one or two representatives all the vices, the violences, the errors of judgment, and the blindness of heart which have variously marred the character and the career of many leaders of Italian political

life. He was free to compose his portrait of a tyrannous, unscrupulous prime minister, after the fashion of the Greek artist of old who, seeking to body forth his ideal of the perfect Venus, borrowed from many faces such traits as he chose; though this method does not always give the most felicitous results.

But a true lover of Italy may well join issue with Mr. Caine as to his inadequate apprehension of the manifold, complicated, potent forces which are working together for the regeneration of Italy under the seething, discoloured surface of the Medea's cauldron wherein her life is renewing itself. He takes so few of these into his consideration that one has to suppose him largely unacquainted with them.

His quarrel does not seem to be, like the fictitious Manist's, with the overgreediness of Piedmont and the North, laying hands too suddenly on the South, seizing Rome in superb indifference to the wrath of the Church, and requiring the pontiff to remain content with his guaranteed position as a spiritual sovereign merely. Nor could his panacea for all the maladies of New Italy be stated as a mere restoring of the Papacy to its former pride of place. Yet, impossible as that retrocession must be, since

Nature brings not back the mastodon,
Nor we those times,

his vision of the future of the Catholic Church and the Italian nation is not more consonant with possibility. That vision, which unites the glowing colours with the tenuous fragility of a soap-bubble, resembles very closely the "apocalyptic dream" due to the fervid imagination of Don Davide Albertario, editor of the *Osservatore Cattolico*. Is it an accident that Mr. Caine's socialist hero bears the same Christian name as Don Albertario, who, like the fictitious David Rossi, has entertained the hope of working the overthrow of the kingdom of Italy through an alliance between the Popedom and the ultra-popular parties,—between Socialism and Clericalism? "Catholic Socialism," otherwise "Christian Democracy," was to form the con-

necting-link between the two extremes ; and when once, by their concerted action in guiding all the great movement of the working classes against the constituted (and excommunicated) authorities of Italy, a revolution should have been brought about, then "the spoils to the victors" ! and Papal Rome would rise gloriously above the waters of the deluge, and regain more than its former power, not only in Italy, but throughout the world.

Mr. Caine's imagination, however, has dared a wilder flight than Don Albertario's.

How groundless is the hope of such a working alliance between Socialism, Republicanism, and Roman Catholicism as could result in an "International Federation" of all peoples, based on the "brotherhood of men,"—how vain is the imagination that the saintliest pope who should wear the tiara after Leo XIII. would renounce the temporal power, and lead back the universal Church to the simplicity of the gospel "which forbade all formal interference of religion in worldly affairs,"—will be manifest enough if the attitude of the real pope, and that of the Church which owns him as its head, be set in a true light. Happily the means of estimating rightly the ends and aims of Rome, and the extent of her sympathy with progressive movements of every class, are not lacking.

What has been the policy and what the declared opinions of Pope Leo XIII. during the whole of his long pontificate ? with what eye has he regarded and does he still regard the rise and progress of that very socialism which—according to Mr. Caine's programme—is to work such wonders under the benign, approving eye of Leo's imaginary successor ? Let us see. His history and his beliefs and feelings lie open to the world ; he that runs may read.

"When Leo XIII. succeeded Pio Nono, in 1878, he found almost every government in Europe alienated by his predecessor's want of tact and statesmanship." Nor did the Papacy stand much better with the peoples ; for, despite all appeals to Catholic enthusiasm on behalf of the "prisoner of the Vatican," that "prisoner" had shown himself a

singularly obstinate old man, resolute in his open hostility to every form of progress. The masses appreciated his attitude, and remained aloof and suspicious. To the very able hands of Pope Leo was entrusted then a twofold mission of conciliation : he must contrive to regain the goodwill of the European Powers, and to enlist the sympathies of the peoples. And this he must do while maintaining his predecessor's hostility to the Italy that had appropriated both Rome itself and the States of the Church—an offence which the Papacy could only pardon when these possessions should be restored : but the blunders and the violence of Pio Nono must not be repeated ; all must be done with suavity and skill. So admirably has Leo XIII. discharged his task, so shrewd and supple has he proved himself, that while his authorised biographer can truly say, "He has absolutely continued the work of Pius IX., and faithfully sustained his principles," while through every winding of his sinuous course he has kept before him as his ultimate object the restoration of the temporal power, and with it an unmeasured dominion over the souls of men, it has been possible for his advocates to present him to the Protestant world as "liberal, broad-minded, tolerant to excess, intensely religious, and yet abreast of the thought of the day and fully in sympathy with the needs of the hour."

For the pontiff who to gain France stooped to recognise her Republican Government and to bear with her anti-clericalism—who, using his power over German Catholicism as a lever, secured from Bismarck the repeal of the May Laws—who acquired the goodwill of Russia by sacrificing the Catholic Poles, and condemned the Irish National League that he might win over England—has proved also equal to playing for popular enthusiasm by making demonstration of his quite real sympathy for the poor in popular fashion ; prudently encouraging the work of "Catholic" Socialism, so called, which, at once reactionary and humanitarian, was much more Catholic than socialist, and was doing yeoman's work for the Papacy ; sanctioning the action of the American "Knights of Labour" ; and

denouncing the inhumanities of capitalism in his 1891 encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*. So ably did he sustain his part that Protestant and Catholic enthusiasts alike hailed him as "the workman's Pope," loaded his pronouncement with far more advanced meanings than it could bear, and exulted in seeing a pope at last range himself on the side of social reform. And there became possible that extraordinary co-operation between two apparently hostile organisations, between ultra-socialists and ultra-clericalists—between "the priestly hat and the Cap of Liberty," as an Italian puts it—which continued during the last three or four years, each party working indeed for its own ends, but availing itself of the support of the other. *Ex inimicis salutem* was the motto of both.

How potent was the glamour with which the Vatican policy held the eyes of the popular parties, how wild were the hopes kindled by the skilful manœuvring of Pope Leo, can be seen if we look for a moment at the glowing picture painted by Mr. Caine of his imaginary pontiff Pius X., so saintly, gentle, and fatherly; impetuous and guileless, "all conscience and tender heart," sweet and generous and forgiving; who comes out before the world as the saviour of the humble, the father of the weak and the oppressed; and whose last appearance is so poetically sublime, as, white-robed, white-haired, a defenceless old man, he stands on the threshold of the Vatican confronting the attacking forces of the Italian army (an all but impossible situation, be it said), and says majestically :

Go back to your master, and tell him that the Holy See abandons all intestine resentments that are related to political passion. No longer shall it be said that the Pontiff is a king with a court and an army. No longer shall it be repeated that the temporal sovereignty of the Pope in one little city is necessary to the independence of a spiritual kingdom that is as wide as the world. The sovereignty of souls is enough for the Holy Father. Tell everybody that the Lord's injunction that the minister of His word should divest himself of worldly possessions is to be honoured at last in the history of His Church.

Having shown us how this great renunciation is not only made by word of mouth but carried into action, what wonder that Mr. Caine goes on to picture the kingdom of Italy (which he seems to confound with the kingdom of Darkness) as speedily shipwrecked in a hurricane of Christian-democratic enthusiasm, and as being followed in its headlong destruction by all existing monarchies, which disappear, in something less than a generation, from the regenerate earth, together with "war, wealth, and the ownership of land"; only the transfigured Roman Catholic Church, which apparently he considers as co-extensive with the universal, *invisible* Church of God, surviving the various Powers once so intimately associated with it.

Wonderful roseate visions! as brilliant, as flattering, as fallacious as those which dazzled the ardent gaze of young Italy in the days when her hope was strong in her Liberal Reforming Pope, Pio Nono,—"*il buon prete, il buon pastore*," whom she hymned with such exulting joy. Bitter was her awakening; an awakening scarcely less bitter has been reserved for the fond enthusiasts who ranged themselves under the banner of "Catholic Socialism," re-baptized as "Christian Democracy." These have heard with dismay and distress the voice of the Vatican sharply recalling them to a proper sense of their duty as Catholic Christians. The first warning note was sounded in the pastoral letter of his Eminence Ferrari; then a sterner and a stronger blast was blown by Cardinal Rampolla in his Circular of Instruction of this year. It is the trumpet-peal of doom, forbidding free action of every kind to "Christian democrats," who, as docile sons of the Church, must do *nothing* without the sanction of their bishops. The only lawful object of their endeavours is pointed out: steadily to assert the sacred rights and independence of the Holy See, to keep the people ever awake to its present intolerable position since the invasion of its territory, and to let no mere human or political interests beguile them from their supreme duty of re-conquering for the pontiff his rightful sovereignty. Political action other than this is unlawful for them; they

must refrain from attacks on the wealthy and privileged classes, who ought to be won for their allies ; above all, they must beware of the spirit of innovation, and forswear all ideas of a new Christian civilisation, all new aspirations of the modern mind.

This authoritative utterance, so strangely at variance with Mr. Caine's ideal pope, is in perfect harmony with the character of the actual pope,—that "old, old man," whose very lineaments give the lie to the ecstatic hopes aroused by certain of his utterances ; his "feminine, priestly, indomitable face" concentrating all its expression in the "sharply smiling eyes, the long, straight, secret mouth." It is the face of a statesman, not of a saint ; calm, astute, tenacious, this old man can follow out with infinite patience the aims that he believes to be righteous,—so righteous as to justify the employment of every means not criminal. He, whose humanitarian pose has so flattered socialists, holds Socialism in horror as a most dangerous enemy, and has classed it, along with "Communism, Anarchism, and Nihilism," among the "legitimate results" of that Reformation which he has consistently denounced. A cry of real anguish breaks from him when he contemplates the toleration which permits "the heretical sects, the multiform emanations of Protestantism," to spread freely in the Italian peninsula, and to propagate their teachings in the "sacred city which ought to be the respected centre of Catholicism." "They corrupt the faith of our sons, and that too in the name of the false principle of private judgment." So lamented, in 1901, the frankly mediæval reactionary, Leo XIII., who is consistently pessimistic in his judgment of society ; he sees only threatening evils everywhere, and only one way of averting them : the Papacy must be restored to its plenitude of power, and invested with full authority to carry out its great mission, "not only of redeeming souls, but of saving society. . . . Laws must not be made according to the erring judgment of the masses"; State and Church must work together, but always the Church must be the dominant partner in this alliance. Recent cautious tentative advances

would seem to show that the Vatican does not despair of effecting such an alliance in Italy, where the civil authorities have treated it with singular tenderness. In the interests of humanity at large it is to be hoped that the great controversy in Italy may terminate in a very different fashion, and that the fatal spiritual sovereignty of Rome may share the fate of its irrecoverable temporal power, when a better administered, more intelligent system of public instruction than that already existing, co-operating with the leavening work of those "heretical sects" so hated of the pope's soul, shall have cleansed the universal Italian mind from the old leaven of degrading and enslaving superstition, and made it wholly free with the freedom that only the truth can give.

Mr. Caine's pale sketch of the "young king" of Italy has even less verisimilitude than his elaborate picture of an ideal pope. The nervous, helpless monarch whom he has drawn, a mere wire-worked puppet obeying the impulse of an unscrupulous minister, has not one trait in common with the strong representative of the strong House of Savoy actually reigning; with the resolute, self-controlled prince, fully alive to the duties of his station and determined to discharge them righteously, whose calm, fearless attitude in the great testing-time following on the murder of his father awakened the just enthusiasm of his people; who sturdily withstood the pressure of the reactionaries, and would not allow that great crime to be made the excuse for a policy of coercion, nor to be visited on the socialists who had no share in it; and who, so far, has continued true to his spontaneous declaration, "I shall remain ever calmly confident in our free institutions, and I shall never be found lacking in strong initiative and energy of action." Hitherto his reign has made for peace, and his undisguised sympathy with the cause of progress seems to have told already on the action of his ministers.

Mr. Caine's fancy picture of a possible "young king" of Italy, so unlike the living sovereign that it cannot even be called a caricature, suggests the idea that his book may not only have been planned, but executed before the murder of

King Humbert; before Italy, in her just anger at that atrocity, had re-affirmed her confidence in the House of Savoy in a "plebiscite of grief"; and before it had been possible for the character of Vittorio Emanuele III. to reveal itself in that fulness of quiet strength which his speeches from the throne have only made more evident. Otherwise, not all the glamour with which the Eternal City has bewitched him could account for representations so remote from probability.

The author of the *Master Christian* has dared far more than the author of the *Eternal City*, not only in that the central idea of her book is a revisitation of earth by the Son of God, manifested for a brief space in the form of a mysteriously lovely child, but that she has not feared to attribute to this incarnate divinity her own views and opinions, making him say of the apostles that, when Christ died and rose from the dead,

they sought to give themselves a divine standing on His divinity. They preached His word to the world, true! but they preached their own as well! Hence the Church!

and putting into his mouth a prophecy that

the Spirit shall work in ways where it has never been found before! it shall depart from the Churches which are unworthy of its divine inspiration! it shall invest the paths of science! it shall open the doors of the locked stars!

Audacities of this description mingle with some curious mistakes as to matters Italian: *e.g.* the "Christian democrats" figure in her pages as a body entirely hostile to Rome, and working under its ban; she does not seem to know that the death penalty was abrogated years ago in Italy, and is not likely to be revived; and her information as to Italian marriage law and Italian social etiquette appears scarcely more exact. These, and cognate defects, not quite surprising in a book dedicated "To All Those Churches who Quarrel in the Name of Christ," impair the value of her work as a protest against Papist misrepresentation of Christian truth, and mar the real grandeur of her great idea

—the confrontation of the Christ Himself, once more revealed in mortal flesh, with His so-called Vicegerent enthroned amid the splendours of the Vatican. But, despite these imperfections, her appreciation of the attitude of the Papacy towards Evangelical truth, her perception of the absolute incompatibility of its claims with the free development of the human mind and the growth of true civilisation, are much sounder than Mr. Caine's; and these merits will avail to counterpoise many errors.

When we pass from the mirage-haunted air of fancy to the cool, clear atmosphere of ascertained fact, we find more cause to augur well for the future of Italy than was taken into account by either Mr. Caine or his fair rival. For we see how the desperate heart-breaking poverty too common in the lovely land—poverty which has driven many of her sons to devise desperate remedies—is on the way to obtain redress by quiet practical methods, unaided by the violent changes in the constitution of society which the political charlatan is wont to proffer as his cure-all for mortal woes.

It was a hopeful sign of the times that revealed itself in the announced intention of the Government, under kingly inspiration, to reduce the price of salt, which excessive duties, justly styled "a tax upon health," made prohibitive for the poor. King Vittorio's intention to lighten the burden of taxation was avowed early in his reign, and the promptitude with which he began to retrench needless royal expenses showed the sincerity of his resolve, now yet more evident. But apart from governmental action, sometimes in spite of it, a steady improvement has been effected in the condition of Italy since 1860; and the last decade has witnessed a surprising revival of her agriculture and her industries.

The country is richer by at least £2,000,000 a year; the savings-banks alone show annual accumulations nearly to that figure. At whatever present sacrifice, the nation has covered itself with railways and roads, has built harbours, has reclaimed large stretches of land, has given itself a system of education,

has laid the foundation of an industrial future. . . . In spite of protective tariffs, food and clothes are cheaper. In the seventies it cost forty-nine hours of labour in certain industries to buy a bushel of wheat, in the nineties it cost twenty-six. Life is longer and more healthy, clothes are better, food is perhaps more plentiful and varied. And if wants have grown faster than progress, if discontent with the present is strong, it only makes another spur to progress. . . . There is every sign that Italy is at the commencement of a remarkable industrial expansion.

She has long been one of the great silk-producing powers ; now she supplies more than one third of the whole silk crop of the world. Her exports of silk went near to double themselves between 1897 and 1901. Much of her silk thread used to go abroad to be woven ; now the great textile mills springing up about Como and Milan do that work unaided, and their export business grows fast. The comparatively new cotton industry develops even more rapidly ; it almost monopolises the home markets, it does a large export business with the Levant and South America, and competes even at Paris with English prints. The wool and the metal industries show the same expansion. Small though the exports of steel are yet, they have grown eight-fold in two years. " Before 1887 almost all railway material was imported, now almost all is made at home, and some is exported. . . . All the electric plant for home use, except some dynamos, is made in Italy " ; and great firms at Legnano and Milan are sending their electrical engines the world over, doing much trade with England. Ship-building, much encouraged by Government, thrives and grows ; Genoa and Venice bid fair to regain their past maritime importance. To Genoa the Government is lavish of aid, and private enterprise co-operates to help the city to cope with its increasing trade. " When the Simplon tunnel is opened," Genoa may become easily the first port of the Mediterranean, outrivalling even Marseilles. " Italy is fast learning to overcome her industrial drawbacks, and profit from her natural developments."

The country no longer needs to import skilled workmen or managers for her factories. Thanks to the technical schools, she now provides her own men. And the Italian artisan, quick, intelligent, sober, is prompt in understanding new machinery and in adapting himself to new methods. "Italy is made; now to make Italians," said Cavour. They are making themselves fast. It has needed less than a bare half-century of freedom and hope to call forth the wonderful vital power of this strong race, long compelled by tyranny to a spellbound slumber. Italy, the enchanted princess, is awake and alive at last.

Besides her artisans, Italy has another great commercial asset in her rivers, which, with their inexhaustible supply of mechanical energy, bid fair to free her from her dependence on foreign coal. . . . The use of steam is being rapidly superseded. . . . Already the amount of electrical energy generated from rivers equals an effective horse-power of 380,000, and possibly more. . . . Rome derives the power for its trams and lighting from Tivoli; and if the commune permitted the use of the larger falls, it might mean the conversion of Rome into an industrial city, and influence all Italian politics. . . . It is hardly rash to prophesy that, before many years have passed, Italian industries and railways will be worked almost exclusively by electricity. . . . On a general view it seems probable that Italy will soon become a very considerable competitor in the international market. . . . Her rivers will do for her much of what coal has done for England. Her artisans bid fair to be the equal of any. Her splendid harbours, her large seafaring population, her proximity to the Suez Canal, the great market open to her among the Italian populations of South America, promise a great commercial expansion. Her manufacturers are doing what they can. It lies with the Government to do the rest.

And there is hope that under the steady impulse of the young king, in whom Italians would gladly recognise "the Initiator," as distinguished from Humbert "the Conservator," and king Honestman "the Emancipator," Government may prove equal to its splendid task.

As remarkable as the revival of Italian industry, and

even more desirable, is the revival of Italian agriculture. Despite the natural infertility of Italy, fully six tenths of her existing population are employed on the land. Their patient industry in the past has wrought wonders; has made rough mountain and sandy plain fruitful; has terraced the steep hillsides and set them thick with olive and vine, and turned bare limestone cliffs into glorious lemon gardens. Too often their toil has been cruelly ill-paid; and to-day the condition of the agricultural labourers in many parts—on the great Sicilian estates, in the fever-stricken Agro-Romano, in the rice-fields of Pavia—is one of such inhuman misery as largely to justify the gloomy, powerful pictures of Italian rustic life drawn by the lady using the pen-name of "Ouida," pictures which sin against truth only by their steady ignoring of the brighter side of things in the present, the brighter possibilities of the future.

And the troubles of the agriculturist are manifold: "physical difficulties in malaria and drought and hail; social difficulties in burdensome taxation, in a defective land system, in want of capital, above all, in bad traditions of cultivation." But none of these evils are remediless; some are being rapidly amended. Patient science has found their cause, and teaches how to cure them.

The droughts and the violent rainstorms which scourge the land, being a modern mischief due to the wanton destruction of the forests under French rule, can be dealt with by afforestation; and this is proceeding, though not yet vigorously enough. The night-flying malarial mosquito, bred in stagnant pools, disappears as drainage progresses; 1,700,000 acres have been reclaimed, though 1,000,000 more await reclamation; meanwhile men of science, notably Professor Grassi, a medallist of our Royal Society, have shown how human beings can be protected from the insect pest, where it is yet unextirpated, by thin wire gauze defending their homes in the night season. A law to make such defences compulsory where needed is to be asked for. Finally, even the dread destructive hailstorm can be and

has been averted ; the "cannoni grandinifughi" of Herr Stiger, which, discharged at an advancing hail-cloud, bring it down in fine snow, are already being used extensively in Northern Italy, and it has been proposed to compel their general use. So works the enfranchised intellect of Italy for Italy's good.

It has grappled also with the social difficulties, more formidable because largely due to human perversity. Recent years have seen such a development of co-operative activities as bids fair to redeem the Italian peasant from his indigence. He can now obtain capital on easy terms, through the humble village banks, which, founded in 1883, have spread amazingly since 1892, thanks to "Catholic socialists" who had the wit to seize on and develop this modest means of power ; the hundred and ninety-two existing *Consorzi Agrari*, private co-operative associations, supply to him seed and implements and manures nearly at cost price ; co-operative dairies, willingly aided by these same societies, have increased in the last thirty years to something like five hundred, produce excellent butter, and even export it largely in some cases ; while "Travelling Chairs" or schools, due to private energy very slightly State-aided, bring the best modern technical instruction as to every form of agriculture to the peasant's door. He is an apt and eager learner—none more apt or eager in the world.

People's banks, savings-banks, friendly societies, co-operative societies multiply and thrive together, with a remarkable "absence of jealousy and a strong common desire to assist one another, that make the co-operative and thrift movement a very powerful and united whole," and elastic and adaptable as powerful. For the intricate details of their beneficent work we must refer our readers to the pages of *Italy To-day*. So significant are these details as to compel assent to the words, "If United Italy had created nought but this mighty agency for good, it was worth the struggle to attain it."

It is praise justly due to Italian Socialism that, since it

shook off anarchist associations and consented to forget unworkable Marxite theories, the main stream of its influence has been turned into the health-giving channels we have indicated. Socialism, however, though strong in its protest against crying evils of every sort, has but a maimed gospel to offer, and is only one among many modes in which the resurgent life of the nation finds expression.

Rife with great possibilities is the steady outflow of Italian emigration pouring in ever vaster volume to the Western world. The vigorous Italian race, with its large surplus population, its sober thrift, its limitless working power, promises to equal the Anglo-Saxon in colonising capacity. The failure of the ill-planned effort to occupy African Erythræa as a colony only brings into higher relief the amazing success of the Italian colonist in Brazil and the Argentine. There a greater Italy is being swiftly and strongly built up by those who went out uneducated, impoverished peasants, unruly boys escaping from wretched homes, penniless adventurers driven over sea by the gadfly Want, and who now stand forth merchant princes, easily first in the industrial life of their adopted country, having won their way by sheer toil, shrewdness, and resolution. Italy, not content with exporting skilled and unskilled labour, now exports captains of industry. And these men, who know the worth of knowledge by the lack of it, secure it for their sons. The next generation will not be ignorant in any sense.

In North America the conditions are different. The ground is taken up by hostile Teutons and Celts, stronger than the native degenerates of the southern continent; these condemn the Italian immigrant as useless or dangerous, and make his life hard. Hence his aim is often only to gather such a modest hoard as may buy him some holding in his own land. But other gains come to him; the air of spiritual and intellectual freedom that he breathes transforms his ideas; and returning home he becomes very often a central power for good, as unnum-

bered instances go to prove. Nowhere does the New World act more mightily on the Old than in Italy.

We would fain linger a little on the remarkable chapter devoted in *Italy To-day* to modern Italian literature, but we can only now pay our tribute to its just and generous appreciation of the great advances made in that field also, amid extraordinary difficulties, and of the remarkable achievements of many nobly-gifted Italian men and women, doing their ill-rewarded best for Italy. Of these some at least can be classed, like Antonio Fogazzaro, with forces that "make for strength, sanity, and righteousness," if others are less happily inspired. This branch of our great subject alone might claim more space than we can now devote to it.

Under the mighty afflatus of the divine breath that roused her from her death-trance, Italy is working out her salvation in a thousand ways. God helping, she will yet be loosed from the grave-clothes that still cling about her; pagan superstitions, crippling criminal conspiracies, withholdings of justice and corruption in high places—these shall fall off from her at the bidding of the Son of God, when His divine teachings are fully accepted by her. Already she thrills to His voice, already she stretches out blind, beseeching hands, feeling after Him if haply she may find Him; surely He will not fail her; and blessed shall be all they who lend their feeblest honest aid to guide her to His feet.

ANNE E. KEELING.

THE COMING OF SIN.

1. *Serpent Worship, and Other Essays.* By C. STANILAND WAKE. (London : G. Redway. 1888.)
2. *The Early Narratives of Genesis.* By H. E. RYLE, B.D. (London : Macmillan & Co. 1892.)
3. *The Babylonian and the Hebrew Genesis.* By HEINRICH ZIMMERN, Ph.D. (London : David Nutt. 1901.)
4. *Genesis.* By A. H. SAYCE, D.D., LL.D. (London : J. M. Dent & Co. 1901.)
5. *Evolution and Religious Thought.* By JOSEPH LE CONTE. Second Edition. (London : Chapman & Hall. 1898.)

IT has long been the fashion to say that "the existence of moral evil is one of the darkest, deepest, most difficult problems that can occupy human thought." Most of us are tempted to acquiesce lazily in this finding and let the problem go without further consideration. And yet is it not remarkable that we should remain so ignorant with so much scriptural information in our hands? and especially since moral evil or sin has its origin afresh in every human life, and we have every day within our own experience all the conditions needful to unlock its history. Having each done his share in the production of sin, it looks as if every thoughtful man might easily master the psychological problem of the first man's sin. Such, we are assured, is not the case. Sin's coming is still treated as an insoluble enigma.

The cause of our perplexity seems to be mainly that we have been taught to regard the father of the race as created in an exalted state which made him practically inhuman, and thus prohibits us from finding any clue in our own

experience as to how evil may have become developed in his consciousness. Not only is Adam said to have been created with a bias to virtue, but in addition, that up to the period of his disobedient act, only the holiest of impulses rose up within his mind. All the motions of his sin came not from within, but from without. Adam and Eve were thus mere psychological or physiological machines upon which a strong *ab extra* force performed ; and it was only when, in their unconscious simplicity, an evil virus had been instilled into their minds by the Satanic tempter, that the fatal choice was made which precipitated them and all their sons into the gulf of sin and woe. We usually start on our quest for a solution with an immaculate Adam and a Miltonic Satan, and the result is mystery. May we venture to say that this is an altogether unphilosophical and indeed impossible genesis of sin ? Instead of explaining, it duplicates our perplexity. How could an evil spirit exercise such a powerfully deleterious influence upon a nature altogether pure and good ? Was there no effective good influence acting upon Adam's mind in correction of this evil power ? How did it come to pass that the human pair gave such decided preference to the evil when they were so much in love with the good ? Were the first impulses to sin stirred within Adam's soul entirely without his consent, and did he incur no responsibility until the moment when he chose to disobey ? If Adam's sin was simply a single, unpremeditated, almost impersonal choice, because made at the instigation of a superior intelligence, was not his punishment out of all relation to the nature and criminality of his sin ? And does it not appear as if all that was requisite to his future integrity was the banishment of this powerful tempter from the garden which he had polluted by his presence ? These are a few of the queries to which this view of the Fall gives rise ; but even with such grave perplexities our difficulties are not exhausted.

Is this theory at all in keeping with the well understood order in which sin comes to its conception and birth in the ordinary experience of man ? The Bible reveals with

explicitness the mysterious fact of Satanic influence, but still more plainly it insists upon each man's responsibility for the generation and development of the sin which he brings into the world. The sinner is described as a man of vain and foolish thoughts, of froward heart and perverse will—refusing to do the good he knows he ought to do. When he is tempted he is "drawn away of his own lust and enticed," and his lust ultimates itself in sin. The sin which a great Christian apostle laments, he confesses to be "in his members." Arising from the nature of his flesh, as supplying motives to his will, it is altogether from first to last his personal affair. All this teaching is set aside in the accepted theory of Adam's fall. In his case it is not what comes out of the man and belongs to him that defiles him, but what enters in. It is not out of the human heart that evil thoughts proceed—wickedness is here radically an external imposition, an injection of Satanic abomination which has unhappily found a conduit-pipe in the simple soul of man. If this be so, Adam ought really to be no more defiled by the Fall than a silver tube is changed into leaden metal by the passage of some unsavoury liquid. The theological Adam in paradise has, it would seem, no fitful imagination, no fallible reason, no flesh, no lust. He is not related to a visible world that stands in serious competition with the world of the unseen. His feet are not upon the solid ground at all—his blood is only water; in fact, he is only a Docetic Adam as we have had a Docetic Christ—only the phantasm of a man, void of all the flesh and blood proclivities of manhood as it is known by us. To seek to understand his sin by a comprehension of this imputed nature is only to discover that we are seeking the *ignotum per ignotius*—travelling deeper into a region that is unknown and unknowable by us.

Let us go back, if possible with open minds, to the original in Genesis. Whence has this story come to us? What is its age? How much does it owe to teaching that is to be found outside the Hebrew circle? We naturally look for traces of our biblical origin stories among the

Babylonish literary scraps that have come into the hands of archæologists, but in the present case we do not find anything that carries on its face more than a mere suspicion that it may have helped to shape our story of the Fall. There are ancient pictographs in which trees, fruit, serpents, and persons plainly figure, but the one selected by a few scholars as the most likely forerunner of Genesis iii. gives us no certainty as to the story which it tells. Our belief is that the writer of Genesis borrowed his symbols from ancient sacred literature, but did not plagiarise the story from either Chaldæan or Persian records. As an account of the coming of sin it is unique in its simplicity, and free from all the heathenish taints which disfigure other ancient handlings of the problem. It commends itself to us as a magnificent intuition of some masterly and heaven-instructed mind, and we accept it because it agrees with reason guided by the common experience of the race. Certain scientists who have interested themselves in the making of man have jeered at the narrative as "monstrously improbable" (Huxley), a remnant of "the times when tree and serpent worship prevailed" (Romanes), and have expressed their delight at its having been so "hard hit by the scientific proof of evolution." These judgments have no force except as against the superficial interpretations which have been in vogue. That there is a better interpretation it will not be difficult to show, one that will turn aside the edge of adverse criticism and lift the story out of the reach of the scientific theories by which it is said to have been hit so hard.

There are four recognised modes of interpreting the tale—the historical, the figurative, the allegorical, and the mythical. We take the narrative to embody an historical occurrence; and believe that what gives the appearance of myth or allegory is simply the original pictorial form in which alone primitive man could record his experiences. A narrative like this has its roots very far back in the history of the race. In its present verbal form it is the transcription of a picture into an alphabetic language. Had the original

been ideally translated into modern or even middle-age Hebrew thought the meaning would have caused no trouble ; but the narrative being merely the transformation of a picture into script, the old symbolic *form* has unintentionally become the *substance* of the meaning, and there has consequently been no end of blundering. We have gone astray in forgetfulness of the fact that the earliest ideas of the race were written in rude pictographs ; and because we have lost this key many of our anthropologists are yet in the dark, and are imputing to the men of the earlier civilisations a stupidity that is appalling. Quite seriously Mr. Clodd assures us that when "unreal and impossible things occur in tales the world over, we are sure that they embody what those who framed them verily believed"; which makes us imagine that some thousands of years hence we shall be supposed to have given a literal credence to *Alice in Wonderland*, and believed that Brere Rabbit talked.

Before looking at the symbolic ideographs in the story of the Fall we must deal with an objection often raised against its truthfulness. Wake remarks that "the very idea of God placing in the way of Eve a temptation which He knew she could not resist is sufficient to throw discredit on the ordinary reading of the narrative." The temptation is taken to be a purely gratuitous assault upon the virtue of the primal pair, and is often declared to be a discredit to the Deity. Byron's Cain raises the objection :

The tree was planted, and why not for him ?
If not, why place him near it where it grew,
The fairest in the centre ?

Arthur Symons, in a recent volume, puts it in a more offensive form :

This is the fruit that God in wrath
Planted upon a garden path
Where man and woman walked in peace.

Complaints like these are based on the idea that man may exist in some state or place where no temptation

can assail him. Such an immunity is altogether impossible. In every experience a man is on his trial. There is always a right and a wrong, a better and a worse, a present and a distant happiness, and therefore with his limited knowledge he is always liable to make an inferior choice. Two ways of life are an absolute necessity of his nature. If man is to reach the full growth of his nature, he must stand self-balanced between good and evil, and hear at the centre of his soul the two imperatives of the Edenic law, "Thou shalt" and "Thou shalt not." The very angels are not without temptation. Only the Infinite One is in that transcendent state which the breath of temptation cannot reach. He who knows all things knows no temptation; He who knows nothing sufficiently lives and moves in the struggle of light with darkness, and passion with higher principle. This Edenic temptation is no gratuitous attempt upon the probity of the human race. It represents the inevitable struggle that lies before every man born into the world; the price he has to pay for the boon of his existence.

This fact is very strongly emphasised by the special symbolisms under which the medium of temptation is presented. The tree of the knowledge of good and evil is no apple or vine, arbitrarily forbidden as a test of strict obedience. In all primitive systems of thought, whether Eastern or Northern, the tree is a frequent symbolism. It is an especially apt pictorial representation of knowledge in all its leading and derivative branches; and also of that ever-present mystery, "life," because it is the most visible, permanent, and fruitful of living things—a beauty and a joy to the primitive and savage man. The tree of knowledge is found in old Sumerian pictographs, and on it is sometimes written the name of Ea, the god of light and civilisation. The tree of life on the sculptures of Assyria usually represents the magical arts which were supposed to confer the gift of immortality. The two trees of paradise, therefore, hardly need interpretation—the one is the knowledge of good and evil, and the other is that transcendent life into

which men in every age have believed they might escape from the pains of death. These symbolical trees are planted in the very centre of man's life. He must come face to face with good and evil ; he must long for and believe in the possibility of " life for evermore."

Let it be carefully noted that it is not *the knowledge* of good and evil which is forbidden to man. That would be to prohibit man from being man. He must know them, and in their concrete forms. This is possible without the actual experience of sin, because the world around him is "an immense picture-book of every passage in human life" (Emerson), and the play of nature a reflection of every possible phasis of man's soul. But Adam is warned that he must limit himself to knowledge : must on no account *eat the fruit* of his acquired knowledge ; that is, think that he can live and prosper if his life is fed upon what he with his poor experience fancies to be good and evil. "Human consciousness is a dim candle over a deep pit," and the wisdom which is purchased by a bad experience is a poor staff on which to lean the weight of one's whole life.

Unless above himself he can
Erect himself, how poor a thing is man.

But somehow men are easily befooled into the belief that they must know everything for themselves. The young are slow to trust an older and more matured judgment ; and all men are too slow to trust their heaven-born intuitions towards abiding in tender innocence. Bid the inexperienced back from tasting what the experienced know as evils, and most of them will only be the more eager to taste for themselves. Man leans to his own judgment, and is slow to trust in God. To walk by sight, to know the world, to find out good and evil by our own experience of them, seems far wiser than to walk by faith and keep the simplicity of innocence. This was Adam's sin, as it has been the sin of all his sons. The Edenic transgression was not the simple act of eating an apple that was hanging temptingly ripe and luscious upon a material tree ; it was the choice of a mental

habit, the vacation of a life upon the mountain-top of faith to settle down upon a low and dreary plain, the rejection of a spiritual career for a psychical experience that must always have a fatal termination. Human wisdom dreams that to taste all the dishes on life's table is the same thing as to eat of the tree of life. In one respect it is to be "like the gods"—above all law; but soon those who strike out for freedom to do what seemeth good in their own eyes discover "the shame of their nakedness," and find that they have walked in the shadow of death. Whether we will have it so or not, our life is hid in God. Our safety lies in the continual recognition of our dependence on His guidance and love. Whenever we become self-poised and self-satisfied, we have cut ourselves off from the upper springs whence our true life comes. Then we have the sentence of death within us, that we may not trust in ourselves.

The greatest difficulty in the biblical narrative is the presence of a tempting serpent. In rationalistic quarters there has been many a sneer over the coming of sin by "a speaking snake." In the Church there is a prevalent notion that we find a ready explanation by saying that the serpent is Satan. But when we enter on a minute examination of the language of the story, and throw upon it the light of ancient symbolism in Babylonia and Egypt, suggestions spring up which make the reference to Satan more than dubious. The serpent, it is to be noted, addresses only Eve; and curiously enough her name in the Chaldæan languages is a term for a female serpent, as it stands also for life, which two words are identical also in Arabic—a suggestion that the serpent is a kind of life which has its analogue in Eve herself. Then the fact that the author of Genesis intimates that the serpent appears in the story because it is the embodiment of the highest animal wisdom should make us chary of going beyond his own suggestion. If one imagines that in Satan he finds an easy solution, let him try if he can work out this theory without falling into evident inconsistencies. He will not unlikely tell us at one time

that Satan prowls amid the shrubberies of Eden, and a little later that he lies reserved in chains of darkness unto the Judgment day. At one time the serpent is Satan, at another it is the symbol of an evil power, and again it is only an instrument taken possession of by the devil. Possibly the latter is the preponderating view ; but this involves one in the crude opinion that the evil spirit entered into a literal serpent which had wings or walked uprightly, and lost its means of locomotion immediately upon the Fall. Because Satan is called "that old serpent" in the Book of Revelation we ought not to conclude that the writer of Genesis meant to introduce a supernatural tempter in any form. We should not lose the standpoint of the first Old Testament book in the standpoint of the last New Testament one. We are dealing with an historical revelation ; and since the divine method of instruction has been to give us line upon line, the same literal terms when used two thousand years apart may have only a limited correspondence and not an absolute identity of meaning. That Moses did not symbolise Satan by the serpent is now the opinion of theological scholars like Martensen, Oehler, and Schultz. Indeed, it is now commonly agreed that until long after the days of Moses there is no trace of Satan in Hebrew literature, and that when he appears he is altogether another character. The serpent, with its facility of suggestion, is a power to which Eve's mind is much more sympathetic and accessible than we can well conceive it to have been to the miracle of a speaking brute instigated by a fallen spirit. At all events, the Satan and the serpent of the Old Testament are alike in simply being tempters ; in other respects they widely differ. The one is an angel in the highest heaven, while the other is a crawling brute. That is enough to forbid the banns of actual identification.

What, then, did the pictograph of the serpent represent in the earliest literature of the Eastern races ? It was the written symbol for cleverness, subtlety, or wisdom, and carried the secondary references of life and healing power, as wisdom is conducive to both. On the whole, the earlier

moral associations are good rather than evil. It were easy to produce evidence of this from the writings of Budge, Bunsen, Lenormant, Matter, and Sayce. Ferguson says: "When we first meet serpent worship . . . the serpent is always the agathodæmon, the bringer of health and good fortune. He is the teacher of wisdom, the oracle of future events."¹ The Greek word for serpent, *ophis*, is said to be the root of *opes*, power, dominion; *opulens*, wealthy; *opus*, work; and is itself derived from *optomai*, I see, from which we have the word optics and its derivatives. We are especially interested in discovering what the serpent may have been to Moses. The god Set was in the ascendant in Egypt in his day, and his leading symbol was a serpent. Indeed, a common figure on ancient Egyptian sculptures is a serpent entwined round the brow of a king, to signify his endowment with the attributes of wisdom and power. There need, however, be no hesitation in saying that the symbol would almost certainly be used at times to represent a wisdom that was sinister and treacherous. Kalisch says that "in the Egyptian symbolical alphabet the serpent represents subtlety and cunning, lust, and sensual pleasure." As time proceeds, and men attain to higher conceptions of goodness and become less dependent on symbolic terms, the serpent comes to be prevaillingly the type of evil, although we have that curious illustration of human perversity, the Christian Ophite sects, some of whom made the serpent a type of Christ himself.

We arrive at the same results from a study of the Hebrew books. Nowhere in the Old Testament is the serpent symbolical of moral evil, or worse than a significant designation for some powerful political foe of Israel. The dragon is introduced, but only as a symbol of material chaos. The Hebrew word for serpent is *Nachash*. It is the derivative of a verb whose first occurrence (Gen. xxx. 27) is translated "I have learned by experience," and is otherwheres translated *to observe, to divine*. The late Professor

¹ *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 3. By J. Ferguson. Second edition.

Robertson Smith shows that David belonged to a family whose stock-name was the serpent, or who called themselves the children of the serpent. Among his kindred are Nahshon and Nahash, and amongst his outside friends was Nahash, king of the Ammonites.¹ These facts indicate that the serpent was not identified with Satan in Hebrew thought when the Book of Genesis took shape.

How, then, are we to apply the symbol in the story of the Fall? Some anthropologists, raking in the slums of heathen dissoluteness, find that the serpent from its secondary significance of life or power was used as a symbol of the Phallic principle, and labour hard to foist the sexual reference into our narrative; but the attempt grotesquely fails. Others fancy from the use of the serpent symbol in the Bacchic orgies that the tree whose fruit was eaten was the vine, and Eve's sin drunkenness. We are on broader and surer grounds if we keep to the simple conception that the serpent is symbolical of man's animal wisdom or instinctive prudence divorced from the inner voice of God. The serpent must represent a power which can make its voice heard in Eve's soul. Behind this carnal wisdom there may have been an evil supernatural impulse by which it was stirred, such as many both good and bad men have been strongly conscious of; but the groundwork of temptation must be found within. Satan will not prevail unless he finds a voice in us that seconds his attempt. This is what all great souls searching into the depths of our double life have found. Pascal reminds us that "Saint Augustin nous apprend qu'il y a dans chaque homme un serpent. . . . Le serpent sont les sens et notre nature. La nature nous tente continuellement."²

Professor Zimmern calls attention to a Babylonish myth that was in circulation fifteen centuries before Christ, or about the time of Moses. The man Adapa was warned by Ea, the god of earthly wisdom, whose symbol was a fish or

¹ *Journal of Philology*, Vol. IX., p. 99.

² Edition *Faugère*, Vol. I., p. 34.

a serpent, that he would be asked to eat and drink by one of the gods of heaven, but that what would be offered him would be the bread and wine of death. This food was really the bread and wine of immortality. Thus Adapa was deceived by earthly wisdom, and lost his heavenly inheritance. This myth is not the origin of the biblical conception, but it goes so far on similar lines that we are left without doubt that the Fall might readily be pictured as the serpent or *anima mundi*, "the wisdom of this world," deceiving man by a lie and robbing him of his heavenly birthright. The first pair heard a double voice, as all their children do—one from the better nature, another from below. They listened to the lower voice in careless and sinful disregard of Him that speaks from heaven; they followed its dictation, and they fell.

There is quite a stroke of genius in making this temptation first spring up in the woman's heart. Philo says that woman here represents the sensuous side of man's nature. Apparently it was early discovered that woman has more susceptibility for being led astray by the glitter and glamour of her surroundings, and has an opener ear for "The Promise of Life." What primitive woman was she seems to have remained. Romanes thus describes the woman of to-day :

Undue influence is more frequently exercised from the side of the emotions ; and in general all the elements which go to constitute what is understood by a characteristically judicial mind are of comparatively feeble development in woman. . . . Women are almost always less under the control of the will, more apt to break away as it were from the restraint of reason, and to overwhelm the mental chariot in disaster.¹

But if woman is more open to suggestions on the psychical side, and prone to sin in haste, she is also more open to divine correction and ready to repent at leisure. There is no room for masculine reproach. Hers is the

¹ *Essays*, pp. 117-119.

richer nature, in both the elements of earth and heaven. She sinned first ; we believe she felt the more ashamed and took the first step towards restoration. She is just, in fact, the more spontaneous and impulsive man, the quicker ripening of what man comes to in the end. The story of Genesis puts into objective form and rapid action what would be in reality a slow and imperceptible decline in character. Before the climax of the sin their minds had been waning, hers the more, in reverence for the divine ; their intercourse with nature had possibly weakened their feeling of dependence ; their consciousness of ignorance and of difficulty in the attainment of knowledge, their necessity for daily toil, their perception of higher and more glorious states of being than their own, may have begot some measure of disaffection, some want of faith in the goodness of the Supreme ; and certainly they must have come to doubt that man was made in the image of God, therefore already destined to the highest good, when they could entertain the thought that they might become like gods by a process of self-elevation which was not only forbidden but declared to be the path of death. Most wisely this impulse to trust in merely human wisdom and to find their happiness in their own endowments is represented as coming from beneath. As the flattery of their own self-sufficiency, it proves most acceptable. Delusion is the irony of fate for the soul that has ceased to link its life with God's and to find its destiny in eternal union with His Spirit. Such always and everywhere is the sin which brings forth death.

If we have at all truly described the advent of sin from the standpoint of the biblical author we reap this decided advantage—that the Scripture's teaching as to sin is consistent from end to end, and all sin is essentially one in character. Sin in the Old Testament is man wilfully turning to his inferior nature in face of the appeals of God. In the New Testament man still gives way to the reasonings of the flesh ; he sinks himself into an absorbing consciousness of this present life, and God vanishes from his thoughts. He still believes in a wisdom which is earthly and psychical

(Jas. iii. 15), and Adamic (1 Cor. xv. 45). There are stirrings up of earthly passion by a power which ever remains unseen, but the immediate tempter is a voice within man's heart. The statement of St. James is substantially the actual experience of sin in Adam as in all his sons: "Every man is tempted when he is drawn away of his own lust and enticed."

Consideration of the penalties attached to the first sin suggests that the motive of this story is to explain the suffering and death of the human race rather than to create a theological interest in the coming of sin. It must have been one of the earliest problems—why men made in the image of God, or the sons of the gods as they delighted to conceive themselves, should be involved in a fate more humiliating and painful than that of the beasts. The only sufficient explanation was to be found in sin that had ruptured man's primitive relationship to God. The image of God ought fittingly to have escaped death, and attained by some process of bodily sublimation to a state of glorification and admission into a higher sphere. Some such conception seems to be indicated by the early tradition concerning Enoch. Even to ourselves it may rank among the inconceivables. But a deathless life has been a dream of all generations, and the tree of life has commonly been magical wisdom of some sort. That it is an altogether unattainable destiny we dare not say, seeing it is at certain points in startling harmony with New Testament teaching. If in the person of the second and sinless Adam this transformation actually took place, and His flesh saw no corruption because He was "the Holy One," then what took place in the ideal Son of man ought to have taken place in the race, provided that no rupture of the intimate relations of Creator and creature occurred. Man out of his environment, however, is out of the play of the spiritual forces that make for incorruptibility. Having committed himself to a life separate from God, the way to immortality is barred by the presence of the Cherubim—the emblems of occult divine forces which no creature can defy.

The woman's specialised penalty appears to be based on the idea that the life of innocence and heavenly love would have given an ease and elasticity to the bodily form, the loss of which, along with the toilsome activities of the fallen life, has added unnecessary burdens to the natural functions of her sexhood. The nakedness which supervenes upon the state of sin has no causal relation to the eating of a forbidden vegetable product, if it be understood in a purely bodily sense. A deep philosophy could be elaborated out of clothes. Nature clothes the animal; but man's clothes spring from his reason and imagination. Unless we are prepared to say that "Satan invented modesty," we must take this nakedness as the symbol of a mental experience. It postulates the sense of helplessness, the guilty consciousness, the ashamed exposure of the sinners. This figurative destitution is the most expressive symbolism in the whole range of penitential speech. Even we who have put on Christ often have our consciousness of goodness so rent and torn that in our own base feeling

We are as mendicants who wait along the roadside in the sun;

Tatters of yesterday and shreds of to-morrow clothe us everyone.

The Lord "walking in the garden in the cool of the day" must not be taken as indicative of gross anthropological conceptions of the Deity. It is the common form under which man's communion with God was expressed in ancient times. Enoch "walked" with God. Even as late as the times of Assurbanipal, the inscriptions tell us that the king walked and talked with God when he happened to be visited by any happy inspiration. It is part of the concrete and realistic form which all religious conceptions assumed in ancient thought; but the men who wrote it down were quite aware that they were translating a purely subjective experience into a pictorial form.

The penalty passed upon the serpent can neither be understood to teach a physical change upon the serpent

tribe, nor any punishment imposed upon the personal Satan. How was Satan humbled by the fall of man? Did he not rather rise to eminence as the god of this world by man's apostasy? The seed of the serpent and the seed of the woman at war points to the well known Scripture dichotomy of flesh and spirit, the carnal mind and the spiritual, and the fated struggle of these two for supremacy all through the history of the human race. Originally man's sensuous nature, so long as it was confined to its proper sphere of action, was "very good," and was meant to be exalted by a life of faith into a more refined if not into an immortal state; but by its unlawful usurpation of dominion in man's life, it was doomed to pain, and the degradation of returning to its kindred dust. How many of us, bearing in our natures the marks of this primeval sentence, have been forced to cry, "My soul cleaveth to the dust; quicken Thou me according to Thy word." Only when time has fully unfolded the whole contents of the prophetic word has man been able to exclaim, "Thanks be to God who giveth us the victory."

In conclusion, we must as briefly as possible inquire how this interpretation of the Fall stands related to the scientific doctrine of evolution. The two appear to quarrel at the very outset. Evolution carries us back to an ever deeper degradation of the human race; but Genesis, with all the oldest traditions of the race, whether Pàrsi, Buddhist, Mongolian, or Greek, gives us a happy, sinless, and immortal state as the primitive condition of men. If man is only the natural result of long ages of low and sweltering ape life, the coming of sin can be interpreted only as a failure to realise in conduct at some point the next almost imperceptible advance in moral knowledge—a fall that could have no immediate serious consequences, or indeed be other than the inevitable result of man's deep besetment with animal conditions. It must also have been the moral arrestment of a widely spread race, and not simply the fall of the first individual pair. Bodily death could not in that case be traced to sin, as it must have already reigned for

ages ; and we cannot conceive of any evolutionist holding the view that natural evolution, if it had not been arrested, would have carried the race forward into a deathless state. Some real approach to the Genesiac fall is made by the more theistic theory of evolution, that by a sudden increment of human faculty a really noble pair emerged out of man-apehood, and that these two shortly lapsed into sin ; but we are then seriously handicapped with the existence of two widely different races—one that fell and one that was never high enough to fall. Such a theory offers certain great advantages, and is quietly adopted in Professor Sayce's *Genesis*. It appears to correspond with the present divided condition of the race, and it offers an explanation of Cain's apparent absorption in some low-set tribe ; but it comes seriously into conflict with the New Testament ideas of Adam's headship, the solidarity of humanity, and the second headship of Christ. A Christian evolutionist might plausibly take the ground that Adam and Eve are personifications of primitive humanity, and Cain and Abel representatives of a tribal religious war of extermination, and thus patch up a surface and unstable peace. On any theory of evolution, however, it must be conceded that the coming of sin was inevitable, and was in fact no real lapse, but "a fall upward." Evolutionists seldom shrink from this conclusion. They are much of the mind of the early heretical sect who worshipped the serpent as an actual redeemer of humanity. The experience of evil becomes a necessary preface to a life of goodness. Professor Le Conte has said that "evil is not evil unless men remain in it." Emerson puts it more laconically and with less scruple : "The discovery that we exist is called the Fall." To such conclusions are we driven unless there was an Adam who had a clean world in which to start his life, and such an innocence of character and liberation of spiritual faculty that he was able to live in the holy breath of the Spirit of God.

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MODERN CRITICISM AND THE GOSPELS.

1. *Encyclopædia Biblica*. Vol. II., Article "Gospels."
(London : A. & C. Black. 1901.)
2. *The Historical New Testament*. By JAMES MOFFATT,
B.D. (Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 1901.)
3. *What is Christianity?* By ADOLF HARNACK. Translated
into English by THOMAS BAILEY SAUNDERS. (London :
Williams & Norgate. 1901.)

GOETHE is reported to have said somewhere that it is like trying to drink out a sea to enter into an historical and critical examination of the Gospels. And notwithstanding the immense labour that has been bestowed upon them in recent years, it must be admitted that there are still grave difficulties surrounding such questions as the origin, the authorship, and the date of our evangelic records. At the same time it is impossible not to feel that these difficulties have sometimes been pushed to unfair conclusions, and made the basis of such vague and general charges against the historic credibility of the tradition, that even those who recognise freely the legitimate place of criticism in connexion with the Holy Scriptures are beginning anxiously to ask, To what will all this lead ? It is with the humble endeavour of meeting these fears, and of trying to show that, so far from being alarmed, we have rather good cause for welcoming the best-attested results of modern criticism with regard to our Gospels, that this article has been written.

Before, however, indicating what these results are, it may be well to recall one or two examples of that more negative criticism to which reference has just been made. It will

define the situation more clearly, and help us to see what are the points of attack that require to be met.

The most notorious instance, which has recently come under the notice of English readers, is probably contained in Professor Schmiedel's article on the "Gospels" in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, in which after a long and elaborate survey of the origin and mutual relationship of the Synoptic Gospels, the learned writer comes to the startling conclusion that they contain only five "absolutely credible" passages about Jesus in general, and four on His miracles, the nine forming "the foundation-pillars for a truly scientific life of Jesus."¹ It is not necessary for our present purpose to detail at length the steps by which this result is reached, or to show how utterly inadequate the passages adduced are for explaining the continued and beneficent action of Jesus in the world. In the meantime we are concerned only with the result at which Schmiedel arrives, and the effect it is likely to produce.

Dr. Moffatt's position in *The Historical New Testament* is different, and he has done admirable service in drawing attention to the general historical conditions under which our present gospel narratives were composed. Thus, when he speaks of the Synoptic Gospels as "not relentless automatic photographs," but "pictures, or rather portraits,"² the

¹ *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. II., p. 1881. The nine passages are (1) Christ's refusal to be called "good" (Mark x. 17, 18); (2) the blasphemy against the Son of man that can be forgiven (Matt. xii. 31, 32); (3) His attitude to His kinsfolk (Mark iii. 21); (4) His ignorance of the day and hour known only to His Father (Mark xiii. 32); (5) the cry of desertion on the cross (Mark xv. 34, Matt. xxvii. 46); (6) His refusal to work a sign (Mark viii. 12, Matt. xii. 39, cf. xvi. 4, Luke xi. 29); (7) His inability to do any mighty work at Nazareth (Mark vi. 5, cf. Matt. xiii. 58); (8) His exhortation to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of Herod (Mark viii. 14-21, cf. Matt. xvi. 6), which is interpreted on the assumption that "the feeding of the 5,000 and the 4,000 was not an historical occurrence, but a parable"; and (9) the answer to the Baptist regarding His miracles (Matt. xi. 5, Luke vii. 22), where Jesus is made to speak "not of the physically but of the spiritually blind, lame, leprous, deaf, dead."

² Page 21.

description is both fair and good ; while it is satisfactory to find him frankly regarding them "as objective records which represent with substantial accuracy the life and teaching of Jesus. They are that, first and especially. But," he adds, "they are something more."¹ And it is not in this fact in itself, but in the undue stress that is laid upon it, that the danger of the writer's position seems to us to lie. For the inevitable "interval" separating the records from the events, the "atmosphere" in which they were written, and "the unconscious affinities and conscious prejudices" of the narrators are all emphasised in such a way as to leave us in great doubt as to how far we may regard the Jesus even of the Synoptics as in reality the Jesus of history.

If this uncertainty prevails with regard to the Synoptic presentation, we cannot be surprised to find that it is greatly intensified by much that is being written on the Fourth Gospel, and that many even of those critics who concede that the Synoptic writers on the whole faithfully reproduce the Person and teaching of Jesus reject almost entirely the Johannine portraiture. An interesting example of this is to be found in Harnack's widely read *Das Wesen des Christenthums*, known to English readers as *What is Christianity?* in which so many tendencies of the age find eloquent expression. In it the authorities for the message which Christ delivered are, apart from certain important statements made by Paul, stated to be simply the first three Gospels. With the Fourth Gospel as an historical authority in the ordinary sense of the word the writer will have nothing to do.

"The author of it," he says, "acted with sovereign freedom, transposed events and put them in a strange light, drew up the discourses himself, and illustrated great thoughts by imaginary situations. Although, therefore, his work is not altogether devoid of a real, if scarcely recognisable, traditional element, it can hardly make any claim to be considered an authority for Jesus' history ; only little of what he says can be accepted, and that little with caution."²

¹ Page 21.² Pages 19-20.

With any criticism of this position we have again meanwhile nothing to do. We simply reproduce it as an example of the kind of statement one is continually meeting with, and which, coming as it does from a man of Harnack's position and authority, is not a little disquieting.

It is time, however, that we were passing from the causes of this disquiet to the question, How far it is really justified, or whether enough may not be found in the more positive results of modern criticism to justify our continued acceptance of the evangelic tradition as a true historic record in all its essential and main outlines. To answer this question it will be necessary to go over certain somewhat familiar ground with reference to the origin and date of the four Gospels; but the inquiry is essential to our subject, and we will endeavour as far as possible to avoid the multiplication of undue details.

I.

We begin, then, with the origin of the Gospels, in so far as that bears upon their historical credibility. And here it will be necessary to distinguish between the Synoptic Gospels and the Gospel of St. John. It is unfortunate that it should be so, as it may seem to lend a certain amount of countenance to a separation which in other respects has been fraught with much loss; but the problem of their several origins is too distinct to make any other course possible.

Turning, then, to the Synoptic Gospels, we find ourselves at once face to face with three accounts, or to adopt Justin's term, three "Memoirs" of the life and the teaching of Jesus, which are related, on the one hand, by the most marked resemblances in subject-matter, order, and language, and on the other are distinguished by no less striking differences. Had we found either the resemblances alone or the differences alone, their explanation would have been comparatively easy. It is the combination of so much resemblance with so much difference that constitutes the problem; a problem which, so far as we know, has no precise parallel in litera-

ture, and which from the earliest times has occupied the attention of the Church. It is only, however, during the past hundred, or hundred and fifty, years that its discussion can be said to have taken its present scientific form, and one has only to consult any volume on New Testament Introduction to be amazed and bewildered at the number and variety of the solutions proposed. To mention even the principal of these would carry us far beyond our present limits ; and it is the less necessary because there appears to be a steadily growing consensus of opinion among critics in favour of what is generally known as the Two-document Theory, or the belief that at the basis of our present Gospels there lie two primitive documents, one of which was either identical with, or very closely related to, our present Gospel of St. Mark, while the other consisted at least for the most part of a collection of our Lord's discourses, or *Logia*, originally edited in Aramaic by St. Matthew, and which in the form of a Greek translation (or translations) was known to the writers of the First and Third Gospels. Out of these two documents, it is thought, with the assistance of certain other more special sources of information which were accessible to their writers, the Gospels as we know them now were constructed.

The theory, it will be freely conceded, is at least an adequate one ; for, while room is left for the idiosyncrasies of the individual writers and the differences of their aims in writing as explaining the differences of the narratives, the existence of these common underlying documents enables us to understand the still more striking resemblances which, it will be remembered, extend not merely to the incidents selected for narration, but to the order in which they are narrated.

It is, indeed, perhaps just in this latter particular, as affording an adequate explanation of the extraordinary similarity in the order of narration, that the superiority of the documentary over the older oral hypothesis is seen. At the same time, in reckoning the influences that lie behind our Gospels, we must be careful not to exclude the thought

of oral tradition altogether. For not only did it precede all our Gospels in the sense that the story was told before it was written,¹ but it is probable that many special incidents in the gospel narrative were derived from it immediately as well as mediately; and further, that its influence may also be traced in the modifications which in the hands of copyists the original documents gradually underwent, and which led to the form in which we have them now. The main point, however, to be kept in view is that oral tradition by itself is insufficient to explain the varied phenomena of the Gospels; and that the principal factor, determining the nature of their composition, is to be sought in previously written documents.

Nor are we wanting in direct evidence to the same effect at the hands of one of the evangelists themselves. No mention has as yet been made of the preface of St. Luke's Gospel; but in it the only professed historian among the Synoptic writers refers in the clearest manner to certain "*narratives*" which were already in existence when he began to write, the work of those "*which from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word,*" and which may well have included the documents of which we are in search. And much to the same effect are the often quoted statements of Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, who, writing about the year 125 A.D., tells us, on the authority of a certain presbyter, that St. Mark "having become interpreter of St. Peter, wrote down, as far as he remembered accurately, though not in order, the things said or done by Christ"; and again, apparently on the same authority, that St. Matthew "composed the oracles of the Lord in Hebrew (*or* Aramaic), and that everyone interpreted them as he was able."² The full significance of these statements we shall see directly; but, however they are interpreted, they at least confirm the existence of such documents as St.

¹ "*La tradition vivante était le grand réservoir où tous puisaient*" (Renan, *Les Evangiles*, p. 96). Cf. Holtzmann, *Die Synopt. Evangelien*, p. 52.

² Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, iii. 39.

Luke in his preface points to, and further describe the kind of documents which an internal analysis of the Gospels themselves would naturally lead us to look for as their underlying factors. Internal and external evidence are thus at one ; and in spite of the many questions surrounding the problem which still await solution, the Two-document Theory is generally regarded as at least indicating the general lines on which a solution is to be found.

In admitting this, however, it may well seem as if we had seriously weakened, if not given away, our whole case. For if the account which we have sketched of the origin of the Gospels is correct, then there is no escape from the conclusion that, instead of being the independent works of the writers whose names they bear, as tradition has been in the habit of maintaining, they are rather the result of a somewhat involved combining, sifting process ; and further, that to no one of them in its present form can immediate apostolic authority be ascribed.

But the loss in external prestige which the Synoptics thus suffer is not so great as at first sight might appear. For the very fact that we can trace the method of the evangelists' working is in itself a proof that they did not invent their material, but arranged what they found ; while their distance, a relatively short distance as will be shown directly, from the events they describe, may well have secured for them a truer historical perspective than would have been possible in the case of more immediately contemporary records.¹

Nor must we lose sight of the fact that even if, according to the foregoing theory, no one of the Synoptic Gospels is directly apostolic, two of them at least, if the identification

¹ "History does not lose but gain in accuracy and truth by being mediate rather than immediately written. The last and most trustworthy historian is not the eyewitness, but the man who can question him, and who can through the issue read character, action, and event with greater intelligence than he" (Fairbairn, *Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, p. 299). Cf. also some good remarks by Moffatt, *Hist. New Testament*, p. 14.

of their sources with the Papias fragments is admitted, are indirectly so, and that in a very striking manner. For who better qualified than the apostle Peter to furnish the rough notes out of which St. Mark constructed the earliest authoritative account of his Master's life on earth? Or, turning to the First Gospel, whose traditional title rightly preserves its close connexion with St. Matthew, who more likely to have kept an impartial record of Christ's discourses than the publican apostle, who cannot be suspected any more than St. Peter of theological bias, and who, by the requirements of his occupation, had already been trained to the use of the pen and the need of accurate chronicling? While, as regards St. Luke, his preface is in itself sufficient proof of his keen sense of the duties of an accurate historian, duties which in his own person he faithfully fulfilled, as has been proved to demonstration by the rigorous tests to which both his Gospel and his later Book of the Acts of the Apostles have recently been subjected at the hands of Professor Ramsay and other scholars.

But the question still remains, How does it stand with the Fourth Gospel? To leave it out of sight altogether, if it frees us from certain difficulties, is, as is being increasingly felt, not only to lose what is perhaps the most valuable testimony we possess to the true significance of Jesus' life, but also the one without which the Synoptic record itself is in many respects unintelligible. Whereas, on the other hand, to use it freely in its present form as an historical document is to be confronted with a problem which a well known American critic has recently described as "still the most unsettled, the most living, the most sensitive in all the field of Introduction."¹ At the same time, as he rightly adds, not all the controversy has been in vain. And one of the most significant facts in modern New Testament criticism has been the gradual *rapprochement* of the leaders of the opposing forces in the Johannine field. That result has been in the main arrived at by a series of concessions which

¹ Bacon, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 252.

Dr. Sanday, following Schürer, has tabulated substantially as follows.¹

On the side of the more advanced critics, who deny the Johannine authorship altogether, it is admitted that the external evidence carries back the composition of the Gospel to a date not later than 130 A.D. ; that the Gospel is not in any case a purely ideal composition, but embodies a greater or less amount of genuine authentic tradition ; and, finally, that the divergence between the Synoptic Gospels and St. John is not so wide as had been often supposed.

On the other side, those who cling to the traditional view that the Gospel is really the work of the apostle John are yet prepared to allow that even on this showing there is still in the Gospel a certain subjective element ; that in particular the discourses of Jesus are not reproduced exactly as they were spoken, but with such unconscious moulding in form, if not in substance, as they would obtain after lying for about fifty or sixty years in a mind so richly stored and developed as the apostle's ; and, along with this, that the date must be pushed as far forward as possible within the apostle's lifetime.

These are substantial concessions ; concessions, it is to be remarked, not made merely for the sake of compromise, but arrived at in the light of fuller and more extended study of the whole conditions of the problem. And though the agreement between the opposing schools is by no means yet complete, when members on both sides have come so near, we may well hope that they will yet come nearer. Nor, if this is to be brought about by still further surrender on the traditional side, need this cause us any serious alarm. For even the more advanced critical position, as at present occupied, has, as has just been indicated, many reassuring features. The Fourth Evangelist, if not St. John, is still so closely associated with him as to be possessed of an almost equal authority ; while the existence of a genuine Johannine

¹ In a valuable series of papers on "The Present Position of the Johannean Question," in the *Expositor* for 1891-1892.

Gospel enclosed, so to speak, in the present Gospel, after being maintained by various scholars in the first half of the last century,¹ has more recently gained the strong advocacy of Dr. H. H. Wendt, the well known author of *The Teaching of Jesus*.²

It seems to us impossible, however, that criticism can rest here, for not only is there an extraordinary difference of opinion among scholars as to the particular sections and verses of the Gospel which ought to be referred to this original document, as distinguished from the work of the later redactor, but the "solid and compact unity" of the final work, regarding which critics of almost all schools are agreed, is itself fatal to any theory of partition.³ And the more carefully the varied phenomena which the Gospel displays are studied, the more confirmation do we seem to find for the traditional view (handed down by Clement of Alexandria from the elders of former times) "that John last of all, perceiving that the outward facts had been set forth in the Gospels, being urged on by his friends and inspired by the Spirit, composed a spiritual Gospel."⁴

II.

No special reference has as yet been made to the precise dates ascribed by modern criticism to our Gospels; but here

¹ Weisse in 1838; Schenkel in 1840; Schweizer in 1841.

² See more particularly his *Das Johannesevangelium. Eine Untersuchung seiner Entstehung und seines geschichtlichen Wertes*. Göttingen. 1900.

³ Holtzmann, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 3^{te} Aufl., p. 432. Cf. Strauss's words, "The Gospel is itself the seamless coat of which it tells; and though men may cast lots for it, they cannot rend it."

⁴ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, vi. 14. Mr. Allen in his essay on "Modern Criticism and the New Testament," in *Contentio Veritatis* (London, 1902), is content to say, "The authorship will perhaps always remain an open question determined in different directions by different scholars on subjective grounds. Conservatives will always argue that they find it difficult to believe that in the main the sayings of the Fourth Gospel do not represent the teaching of the Christ of the Synoptic Gospels, and that if this is so the Johannine authorship accounts for their preservation in the Church as no rival theory can do" (p. 225).

again we find ourselves face to face with a conservative reaction of a very remarkable kind, even amongst those writers who are most closely identified with the more advanced school of critics. Thus, while fifty years ago the Gospel of St. Matthew was ascribed by Baur to a date between 130 and 134, Harnack ascribes it, with the exception of some late additions, to 70-75.¹ St. Mark, which Baur believed to have been later than St. Matthew, Harnack, in keeping with the general trend of modern opinion, places considerably earlier, probably between 65 and 70. St. Luke, which Baur interposed between St. Matthew and St. Mark, is by Harnack assigned to 78-93. And the Fourth Gospel, which Baur carried far down into the second century, somewhere about 170, is dated by Harnack between 80 and 110. The whole of our Gospels are thus brought practically within the limits of the first Christian century. And as the main body of material out of which, as we have seen, our Synoptic Gospels were composed must have been in existence for some time previously, Dr. Sanday has ample warrant for the statement "that the great mass of the narrative in the First Three Gospels took its shape before the Destruction of Jerusalem, *i.e.* within less than forty years of the events."²

But if this be so, it is obvious that little time is left for anything like serious corruption of the tradition, and certainly no sufficient time for the once so highly lauded, but now generally discredited, mythical and legendary and tendency theories of the Gospels' origin.³

If, too, we cannot go the length of some recent writers in finding in this return to the early dates practical proof of the traditional authorship of our Gospels,⁴ we can at least see how it helps us in understanding the authoritative

¹ *Die Chronologie der Altchristlichen Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1897, pp. 717 ff.

² Bampton Lectures on *Inspiration*, London, 1896, p. 283.

³ "Tendency-criticism has become a detected idol. It stands exposed as a fanciful and arbitrary method of research" (Moffatt, *Hist. New Testament*, p. 10).

⁴ Cf. for example, Drummond, *The Relation of the Apostolic Teaching to the Teaching of Christ*, Edinburgh, 1900, p. 6.

position which our Gospels so early gained in the Church. For here again there is a steadily accumulating body of evidence in support of the position that "our present collection of four Gospels, singled out from amongst the rest, goes back not, as had been very commonly maintained, to the year \pm 170, but a full generation earlier."¹

III.

So far, then, as we have come, there appears to be nothing in the results of modern criticism, as applied to the origin and dates of our Gospels, to prevent our ascribing to them full historical credibility. But we possess in addition much positive evidence pointing in the same direction, and it may be well to indicate some of the leading lines on which this runs.

(1) We begin, then, with the general impression which the gospel narratives produce upon all unprejudiced minds. They carry on their face the stamp of truth, and in so far afford their own best evidence to the justice of their claims.

This is, of course, an argument which can only be used with great caution, and which to some may seem to be too much of the nature of a subjective test. But the survival of our Four Gospels amidst the disappearance of so many other similar documents, and that too from no authoritative pronouncement of the Church on the subject, but from the general recognition of their intrinsic merit, and the frank manner in which that merit is still admitted by critics of all schools, are facts too significant to be wholly lost sight of.

Weizsäcker, for example, the learned and candid historian of the Apostolic Age, speaks of the evangelic tradition as "the finest memorial erected by the primitive Church in its own honour." And in words that have been rightly claimed as going to the roots of the whole question under discussion, he supplies the reason—"The merit of the Church first

¹ Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 14.

becomes conspicuous when we realise the fidelity and tenacity with which it clung, situated as it was, to its Master and His teaching."¹ Nor is Harnack's admission (he is speaking of the Synoptic Gospels) much less striking. "Criticism to-day," he says, "universally recognises the unique character of the Gospels. . . . That the tradition here presented to us is, in the main, at first hand is obvious."²

(2) This impression is confirmed by the character of the gospel vocabulary.

The Gospels, it is hardly necessary to recall, are not the earliest of the New Testament documents in point of date. At the time of their appearance in their present completed form, the Pauline Epistles, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and in all probability the First Epistle of Peter and the Epistle of James, were already in existence, and on every page bear witness to the fact that a distinct religious terminology due to the "enlarged and enriched thought" of their writers was already in existence. But with this terminology the Gospels have few, if any, affinities. Rather do they preserve a distinct and characteristic vocabulary of their own. And the only adequate explanation seems to be that their writers were determined to reproduce as faithfully as possible not merely the substance but the exact words of their Master's teaching.

One illustration out of many that might be adduced must suffice. The title "Son of man," as applied by Christ to Himself, is found in the Gospels about eighty times; in the rest of the New Testament writings it hardly occurs at all; and that apparently for the simple reason that their writers had come to think so entirely of Jesus in His risen and glorified state as the heavenly and divine Lord, that they did not feel the description "Son of man" to be any longer altogether adequate. But though the same influence must have been working on the minds of our evangelists, they, in their character of faithful chroniclers, did not yield to it, but

¹ *Apostolic Age*, English Translation, ii. 34.

² *What is Christianity?* p. 21.

reproduced the title as they found it in tradition, or in the early documents on which their writings were based.¹

(3) It is only another side of this same trait when we speak of the aloofness of the evangelical writers from the events they record.

The evangelists maintain, that is, a strangely detached and impassionate attitude, making little or no attempt at comment on what must have been of such overwhelming interest to themselves, and never indulging in those ejaculatory expressions of love or esteem into which their regard for Jesus and His memory might so easily have led them. And if this was mainly due to the fact that the Gospels in their final form were compiled from practical motives, and to meet certain pressing needs that had arisen in the first Christian communities, it also shows that their writers had a clear sense of the duties of accurate historians, and were throughout careful to let no thoughts or feelings of their own obtrude on the simple and direct course of their narrative.

(4) Hence, too, the entire absence from the Gospels of anything in the nature of harmonizing details.

Thus, writing as he did after St. Matthew and St. Mark, St. Luke might easily have set himself to reconcile any apparent discrepancies that had appeared in their accounts, or to correct what seemed to him errors into which they had fallen. But he makes no such attempt, and is content, while freely using the earlier Gospels, as well as all other sources of information within his reach, to tell his story in his own way, as his brother evangelists had told theirs.

An interesting example of this is afforded by St. Luke's narrative of the Nativity. His genealogy of Christ, as is at once apparent, is quite different from that given by St. Matthew, and the efforts often made to harmonize the two

¹ See Stanton, *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah*, Edinburgh, 1886, p. 243 f.; and for similar evidence derived from the term "kingdom of God," *ibid.*, p. 226 f. Other examples will be found in Sanday, *Inspiration*, pp. 287 ff.

accounts are, it must be admitted, more ingenious than convincing. The one adequate solution is that we have here two independent narratives, derived from two independent sources, the one of which was known to the one evangelist and the other to the other.

"Historicity," it has been well pointed out, "is not to be confounded with absolute accuracy, or perfect agreement between parallel accounts. Harmonistic is a thing of the past. It was a well meant discipline, but it took in hand an insoluble problem, and it unduly magnified the importance of a solution, even if it had been possible. . . . It is greatly to be desired that devout readers of the Gospels should be emancipated from legal bondage to the theological figment of inerrancy. Till this is done, it is impossible to enjoy in full the gospel story, or feel its essential truth and reality."¹

(5) It is, however, in the completed portrait of Christ that may be derived from the several records, that the supreme test of the evangelists' historicity is to be found.

Notwithstanding the admittedly fragmentary character of the four narratives, and the many and striking differences which underlie them, they yet together succeed in presenting us with a central Figure so real, so harmonious, so far removed from all the limitations of His race and time, that the only legitimate inference from the histories themselves is that the portrait is drawn from life. And we have only to compare the unvarnished account in our canonical records with the absurd and fantastic additions of the apocryphal gospels, or the character of Jesus as our evangelists describe it with the character of the rivals which the scepticism of the second century set up in His place, to be convinced that our Gospels occupy an unapproached and unapproachable position.

Renan cannot be regarded as a prejudiced witness, and he speaks of "the naturalness, the ineffable truth, the matchless charm of the discourses contained in the Synoptic

¹ Dr. A. B. Bruce in *The Expositor's Greek Testament*, Vol. I., pp. 25, 26.

Gospels";¹ while elsewhere he adds, with special reference to the discourses of the First Gospel :

The true words of Jesus, so to say, reveal themselves. When they are touched in this chaos of traditions of unequal authenticity we feel them vibrate. They come, we may say, spontaneously to take their places in our story, where they stand out in striking relief.²

And what Renan admits regarding Christ's words, another critic, the clearness of whose literary insight will not be questioned, the late Mr. Matthew Arnold, says regarding the Person of Jesus as a whole :

Jesus himself, as he appears in the gospels, and for the very reason that he is so manifestly above the heads of his reporters there, is, in the jargon of modern philosophy, an *absolute*; we cannot explain him, cannot get behind him and above him, cannot command him.³

To those who accept the traditional account of the origin of Jesus the reason of this impossibility is obvious; and that the gospel delineation of His character should be so frankly admitted to be inexplicable on merely natural grounds may well be accepted as independent and convincing proof of the divine claims, to which all the evangelists, and not merely the fourth, bear such clear witness. It is surely, to say the least, a more intelligible and reasonable attitude than that of the modern critic who in one breath tells us that "it is what Jesus was, not what He taught, that has been the salvation of the world"; and then in the next goes on to maintain "that it is not possible to derive, at least from the Synoptic Writers, any clear or final views as to the personal claims which the Master set forth."⁴

But this is leading us beyond the limits of the inquiry to which we have set ourselves. And we must conclude by

¹ *Vie de Jésus*, 13^{me} Edit., p. lxi.

² *Ibid.*, p. lxxvi. f.

³ *Literature and Dogma*, Popular Edition, p. x.

⁴ Gardner, *A Historic View of the New Testament*, London, 1901, pp. 99, 100.

simply reaffirming our belief that there is nothing in the results of a broad and sane criticism applied to our gospel narratives to cause any undue alarm. It may be that we shall still have to modify very considerably our opinions as to the nature of their origin and growth, and to give up their strict verbal accuracy and harmony of detail to an even greater extent than we have been in the habit of doing. But not thereby will their general historical credibility be destroyed. And the Gospels will still remain in their sum and substance "serious documents," as Renan called them, from which we can continue to learn, as their first readers learned, "*the certainty*" regarding those things in which we have been taught.¹

Or to sum up our whole discussion in the weighty words of Wendt, whose own critical investigation of the sources of the gospel narratives is certainly not wanting in thoroughness :

The idea that the severely critical consideration of the Gospels, which examines these writings according to the same principles as other written historical sources, would render problematical the historical figure of Jesus, or at all events would derogate from the ideal loftiness and purity of His life and teaching, we must at this day pronounce as simply obsolete. Critical inquiry has led, though not immediately in its first attempts, yet gradually and in course of time, to results whereby the historical picture of Jesus has lost nothing, but only gained.²

G. MILLIGAN.

¹ Upon the whole relation of the Person of Christ, as set forth in the Gospels and Epistles, to the making of the Christian Religion, reference may be permitted to the brilliant discussions in Dr. Fairbairn's last work, *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, Book II.

² *The Teaching of Jesus*, English Translation, Vol. II., p. 400.

THE POETRY OF THE GREAT DOMINION.

1. *A Treasury of Canadian Verse.* Selected and edited by THEODORE H. RAND, D.C.L., author of "At Mines Basin," and Other Poems. (New York : E. P. Dutton & Co. 1900.)
2. *Jephthah's Daughter.* By CHARLES HEAVYSEGE. (1865.)
3. *In Divers Tones.* By CHARLES G. D. ROBERTS. (1887.)
4. *The Poems of Archibald Lampman.* Edited, with a Memoir, by DUNCAN C. SCOTT. (1900.)
5. *Low Tide on Grand Pré.* A Book of Lyrics. By BLISS CARMAN. (1893.)
6. *Canadian Poems and Lays.* Selected and edited by WILLIAM D. LIGHTHALL. (London : Walter Scott. 1891.)

THE poetry of Canada affords an interesting illustration of the development of literature in a country comparatively young. Though the imperial liberalism of letters enters upon its reign in the life of a people later than any of the useful arts, its ascendancy is rapid and complete beyond compare. Upon a day new needs are felt, new hopes seethe in the heart. The hour strikes, and with it comes the man. One who escapes the average stands forth and sings, careless of the hurrying crowds that throng the market-place ; and before his tones have ceased to vibrate on the air the multitude stands thoughtful for a space, and then resumes its work, but not as formerly. Wide, unimagined vistas have opened to its view ; an element of other-worldliness has entered into its life ; its hopes un-

spoken and its haunting fears, the majesty and pathos of the common day, have found interpretation and a voice. Thus it is at the birth of a nation's poetry and at each renaissance in its history. The master-singer, moreover, founds a school; the priest establishes a cult. Spirits less strong than he, waked to expression by his words, follow in his train as the years go by; variations on the primal harmonies are heard, and, however the theme may alter or methods of treatment change, the music, once begun, shall never cease. Each advance makes farther progress possible; each period adds its proportion of power to appreciate and to perform. A decade makes all the difference; a generation marks the steady growth. The era before presents an amazing contrast to the era following the beginnings of a nation's literature.

In some such manner the genesis and growth of Canadian poetry appears to the reviewer of to-day. It falls into two distinct periods, the dividing line between which is the year 1880. Dr. Rand's anthology affords an accurate and sufficient survey of them both. Himself a poet of no mean performance, he had long been associated with what is best in this branch of Canadian literature. The leisure of his last years was devoted to the compilation of the *Treasury of Canadian Verse*, which he barely lived to see issued to the public. In addition to this volume—the latest of its kind—there have appeared no less than four collections of Canadian poems embracing portions of the same field—an indication at once of abundant material and of a loyal regard for the work of local writers. The first of them appeared in 1864, and was edited by the venerable Dr. Dewar, who for twenty-five years was editor of the *Toronto Christian Guardian*.

Of the host of writers mentioned in the *Treasury* only three-and-twenty published their first volumes during the half-century previous to 1880, while quite four score have issued their earliest books of verse since that date. It is evident that the periods present a great contrast in the matter of output; and in point of quality, also, the present

generation bears the palm. Hardly any verse written during the earlier years strikes a note of originality in either thought or style, though it is by no means unworthy of attention. It is quite equal to the average of American verse produced under similar conditions.

One name at least rescues this early period from obscurity. It is that of Charles Heavysege, a Huddersfield cabinet-maker, who emigrated to Canada and became a journalist. He was a powerful dramatic writer, and is best known by his tragedy *Saul*, published in 1857, which the *North British Review* characterised as "one of the most remarkable poems ever written out of Great Britain." The following poem indicates the qualities more fully displayed in his dramas :

Open, my heart, thy ruddy valves ;
It is thy master calls ;
Let me go down, and curious trace
Thy labyrinthine halls.

Open, O heart, and let me view
The secrets of thy den ;
Myself unto myself now show
With introspective ken.

Expose thyself, thou covered nest
Of passions, and be seen ;
Stir up thy brood, that in unrest
Are ever piping keen.
Ah ! what a motley multitude—
Magnanimous and mean.

In his most considerable volume, *Jephthah's Daughter*, there are several remarkable poems, fourteen lines in length, which, by courtesy, might be called sonnets ; but most of them consist merely of seven rhymed couplets. Heavysege evidently had it in his power to become a sonneteer of the first rank had it not been for his flagrant disregard of form. One wonders why he should have limited these poems even to the prescribed length when he so persistently ignored the other rules of true sonnet-writing. To a lover of this species of verse it is distinctly disappointing when the ear is

cheated of pleurably-anticipated harmonies which a glance at the poem leads one to expect. Formless and inartistic though they be, the following lines on "Annihilation" have the makings of a majestic sonnet in them :

Up from the deep Annihilation came
 And shook the shore of nature with his frame :
 Vulcan, not Polyphemus of one eye,
 For size or strength could with the monster vie ;
 Who, landed, round his sullen eyeballs rolled,
 While dripped the ooze from limbs of mighty mould.
 But who the bard that shall in song express
 (For he was clad) the more than Anarch's dress ?
 All round about him hanging were decays
 And ever dropping remnants of the past ;
 But how shall I recite my great amaze
 As down the abyss I saw him coolly cast
 Slowly, but constantly, some lofty name
 Men thought secure in bright, eternal fame ?

Again, his noble lines to "The Dead" are neither one thing nor the other as a sonnet, but sufficiently illustrate the poet's strong touch and grim imagination :

How great unto the living seem the dead !
 How sacred, solemn ; how heroic grown ;
 How vast and vague, as they obscurely tread
 The shadowy confines of the dim unknown !
 For they have met the monster that we dread,
 Have learned the secret not to mortal shown.
 E'en as gigantic shadows on the wall
 The spirit of the daunted child amaze,
 So on us thoughts of the departed fall,
 And with phantasma fill our gloomy gaze,
 Awe and deep wonder lend the living lines,
 And hope and ecstasy the borrowed beams,
 While fitful fancy the full form divines,
 And all is what imagination dreams.

In his later work Heavysege arrived at the true Shakesperian form, and some fine sonnets are the result, notably

that on "Night," which contains the following beautiful quatrain :

Oh, Night, art thou so grim, when, black and bare
Of moonbeams, and no cloudlets to adorn,
Like a nude Ethiop 'twixt two houris fair
Thou stand'st between the Evening and the Morn ?

A sombre fancy, great dramatic power, thought, and insight mark this poet's work. For strength and originality he stands alone among his comrades of the earlier period ; and that able critic, Mr. William Sharp, considers that "this unequal but truly noteworthy poet was distinctly the most original writer in verse whom the Dominion has produced." He died at Montreal in 1879.

It was the publication in 1880 of Mr. Charles G. D. Roberts's *Orion* that marked the dawning of the new day in Canadian poetry. It struck the note of individual insight that—except in Heavysege—had been lacking in the previous years ; it made a bid for wider recognition ; and, in some sort, linked the poetry of Canada to the excellent traditions of English verse. Shortly after the publication of *Orion* its author became editor of the *Toronto Week*, and, later, occupied for about ten years the chair of English Literature at King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia. He is the leading spirit of a literary family which has contributed largely to the enrichment of Canadian poetry. His brothers, Mr. Theodore Roberts and Mr. Carman Roberts, are journalists, and in conjunction with their sister, Mrs. Macdonald, published a few years ago a noteworthy book of verse entitled *Northland Lyrics*. Mr. Bliss Carman and Mr. Barry Straton, both poets—the former of whom receives fuller mention later,—are cousins of the above. They form quite a coterie of literary people at Fredericton, N.B., where they reside.

Not only was Mr. Charles Roberts the pioneer of the new period of Canadian poetry, but for sustained power, for genuine inspiration, no less than for finish and variety of workmanship, he must still be adjudged foremost of the

Great Dominion's singers. He has written largely, and is known as the author of several novels as well as half a dozen volumes of poems, and, since he has given himself entirely to literary work, may be expected to add to his achievements. Though probably but little known in England, he occupies an assured position in the United States, and was one of the literary arbiters at the Chicago World's Fair. The following selections from "A Nocturne of Consecration" are full of distinction and grace, somewhat reminiscent of Keats, though lacking his music and wealth of imagery :

I talked about you, Dear, the other night,
 Having myself alone with my delight.
 Alone with dreams and memories of you,
 All the divine-houred summer stillness through
 I talked of life, of love the always new,
 Of tears, and joy,—yet only talked of you.
 To the sweet air
 That breathed upon my face
 The spirit of lilies in a leafy place,
 Your breath's caress, the lingering of your hair,
 I said—"In all your wandering through the dusk,
 Your waitings on the marriages of flowers
 Through the long, intimate hours
 When soul and sense, desire and love confer,
 You must have known the best that God has made.
 What do you know of her?"
 Said the sweet air—
 "Since I have touched her lips,
 Bringing the consecration of her kiss,
 Half passion and half prayer,
 And all for you,
 My various lore has suffered an eclipse.
 I have forgot all else of sweet I knew."

Then the wise earth, "kind and companionable and dewy cool," is questioned and replies ; afterward

To the white stars,
 Eternal and all-seeing,
 In their wide home beyond the wells of being,

I said—"There is a little cloud that mars
The mystical perfection of her kiss.
Mine, mine, she is,
As far as lip to lip, and heart to heart,
And spirit to spirit when lips and hands must part,
Can make her mine. But there is more than this,—
More, more of her to know.
For still her soul escapes me unaware,
To dwell in secret where I may not go.
Take, and uplift me. Make me wholly hers !"

And the stars sang of love's timelessness, life's prelude to
the joys of paradise :

So, Dear, I talked the long, divine night through,
And felt you in the chrismal balms of dew.
The thing then learned
Has ever since within my bosom burned—
One life is not enough for love of you.

The following poem stands as an utter contrast. Whatever poetry can be found in the drudgery of Canadian farm life appears in this sonnet, called "The Potato Harvest" :

A high bare field, brown from the plough, and borne
Aslant from sunset ; amber wastes of sky
Washing the ridge ; a clamour of crows that fly
In from the wide flats where the spent tides mourn
To yon their rocking roosts in pines wind-torn ;
A line of grey snake-fence, that zigzags by
A pond, and cattle ; from the homestead nigh
The long deep summonings of the supper horn.
Black on the ridge, against the lonely flash,
A cart, and stoop-necked oxen ; ranged beside,
Some barrels ; and the day-worn harvest folk,
Here emptying their baskets, jar the hush
With hollow thunders ; down the dusk hillside
Lumbers the wain ; and day fades out like smoke.

Many such might be quoted from the series devoted to various aspects of outdoor life in the volume entitled *Songs of the Common Day*.

Mr. Roberts's lyrical quality is well displayed in poems such as the "Recessional," in which the following verses occur :

Now along the solemn heights
 Fade the Autumn's altar-lights ;
 Down the great earth's glimmering chancel
 Glide the days and nights.

Little kindred of the grass,
 Like a shadow in a glass
 Falls the dark and falls the stillness ;
 We must rise and pass.

Little brothers of the clod,
 Soul of fire and seed of sod,
 We must fare into the silence
 At the knees of God.

Hark the moving shapes confer,
 Globe of dew and gossamer,
 Fading and ephemeral spirits
 In the dusk astir.

Moth and blossom, blade and bee,
 Worlds must go as well as me,
 In the long procession joining
 Mount, and star, and sea.

Of Mr. Roberts's more recent publications *The Book of the Native* is most distinctly Canadian. The national idea in his poetry is distinguished by wide knowledge, sure insight, and a lofty outlook, which appear in such poems as "An Ode for the Canadian Confederacy" and "Canadian Streams." His latest volume is, in subject at least, in striking contrast to its predecessor, and appeals to a larger public. It is called *New York Nocturnes*, and is a collection of effective *genre* poems, which find their motives mainly in the life of the great metropolis. But here he is not distinctly the laureate of Canada. Let us leave him, rather, in the

"forest primeval," hard by his Acadian home, singing—as he well knows how—of the leaves, and life.

Lightly He blows, and at His breath they fall,
The perishing kindred of the leaves ; they drift,
Spent flames of scarlet, gold aerial,
Across the hollow year, noiseless and swift.
Lightly He blows, and countless as the falling
Of snow by night upon a solemn sea,
The ages circle down beyond recalling,
To strew the hollows of Eternity.
He sees them drifting through the spaces dim,
And leaves and ages are as one to Him.

The truism that it is easier to adjudge the completed work of the departed than the unfinished efforts of the living comes at once to mind in considering Archibald Lampman's poetry. There is the satisfaction of knowing that all data for a just criticism lie before one ; nothing can detract from what has been done, while nothing can be added to uplift the commonplace. In Lampman's case "finis" meant much. Tuneful and inspired from the first, his development was so steady, his growth so full of prophecy, one cannot but view his collected poems with regret. *Among the Millet* was his first volume, full of a delicate feeling for nature, as seen in the exquisite title poem :

The dew is gleaming in the grass,
The morning hours are seven ;
And I am fain to watch you pass,
Ye soft white clouds of heaven.
Ye stray and gather, part and fold ;
The wind alone can tame you ;
I think of what in time of old
The poets loved to name you.
They called you sheep, the sky your sward,
A field without a reaper ;
They called the shining sun your lord,
The shepherd wind your keeper.

Your sweetest poets I will deem
 The men of old for moulding,
 In simple beauty, such a dream,—
 And I could lie beholding,
 Where daisies in the meadow toss,
 The wind from morn till even
 For ever shepherd you across
 The shining field of heaven.

In his poem on "September" each verse is a picture of delicate finish ; the autumn mist, cool and shadowy, enfolding in its impalpable haze the lumbermen going northward to the pine-woods, the busy threshers round the granary, the bare fields, the placid stream—one feels, one sees them all. The pathos of the summer's passing, the brief, rude glory of the autumn's reign—sure prelude to the ice-bound months of winter—engage the poet's insight, awake the artist's touch, and the result is a poem of great peace and quiet beauty.

The kingbird and the pensive thrush are fled,
 Children of light, too fearful of the gloom ;
 The sun falls low, the secret word is said,
 The mouldering woods grow silent as the tomb ;
 Even the fields have lost their sovereign grace,
 The cornflower and the marguerite ; and no more
 Across the river's shadow-haunted floor
 The paths of skimming swallows interlace.

Under cool elm-trees floats the distant stream,
 Moveless as air ; and o'er the vast warm earth
 The fathomless daylight seems to stand and dream,
 A liquid cool elixir—all its girth
 Bound with faint haze, a frail transparency,
 Whose lucid purple barely veils and fills
 The utmost valleys and the thin last hills,
 Nor mars one whit their perfect clarity.

Thus without grief the golden days go by,
 So soft we scarcely notice how they wend,
 And like a smile half happy, or a sigh,
 The summer passes to her quiet end ;

And soon, too soon, around the cumbered eaves
Shy frosts shall take the creepers by surprise,
And through the wind-touched reddening woods shall rise
October with the rain of ruined leaves.

Lampman's complete poems, edited, with a Memoir, by Mr. Duncan Scott, were published two years ago. Mr. Scott rightly calls attention to the fact that his friend was not merely a tuneful singer of Nature's beauties. He points out his dramatic and psychologic power, as clearly shown in such short poems as "The Railway Station," and in the more ambitious efforts entitled "The City of the End of Things" and "The Largest Life," where Lampman as the poet of human life appears, singing of its complex interests and unuttered agonies.

Lampman's sonnets are very fine—dignified, true to form, and with that quality of inevitableness which is both the sonnet's *raison d'être* and its chief glory, many of them might be ranked in the highest class with the best work of Wordsworth or Rossetti ; in witness whereof follows "The Outlook" :

Not to be conquered by these headlong days
But to stand free : to keep the mind at brood
On life's deep meaning, nature's altitude
Of loveliness, and time's mysterious ways ;
At every thought and deed to clear the haze
Out of our eyes, considering only this,
What man, what life, what love, what beauty is,
This is to live, and win the final praise.
Though strife, ill-fortune, and harsh human need
Beat down the soul, at moments blind and dumb
With agony ; yet, patience—there shall come
Many great voices from life's outer sea,
Hours of strange triumph, and, when few men heed,
Murmurs and glimpses of eternity.

The last decade has seen the issue of all Mr. Bliss Carman's volumes, and a goodly array they make, containing much artistic work, not a few poems of true inspiration,

and abundantly displaying that charm of manner which is this poet's most prominent characteristic. The following verses are from "Low Tide on Grand-Pré," the title poem of his first book of lyrics, published in 1893 :

The sun goes down, and over all
 These barren reaches by the tide
 Such unelusive glories fall,
 I almost dream they yet will bide
 Until the coming of the tide.

Was it a year, or lives ago,
 We took the grasses in our hands,
 And caught the summer flying low
 Over the waving meadow lands,
 And held it there between our hands?

Then all your face grew light, and seemed
 To hold the shadow of the sun ;
 The evening faltered, and I deemed
 That time was ripe, and years had done
 Their whirling underneath the sun.

So all desire and all regret,
 And fear and memory were naught ;
 One to remember or forget
 The keen delight our hands had caught ;
 Morrow and yesterday were naught.

Not only as the singer of quiet streams and fragrant pine woods, but in more vigorous mood, as a poet of sea-mystery Mr. Carman appears to advantage. The grim, rollicking ballad of "The Gravedigger" evinces the quality of the verse which appeared in his *Ballads of Lost Haven* in 1898.

Oh, the shambling sea is a sexton old,
 And well his work is done ;
 With an equal grave for lord and knave,
 He buries them everyone.

Then hoy and rip, with a rolling hip,
He makes for the nearest shore ;
And God, who sent him a thousand ship,
Will send him a thousand more ;
But some he'll save for a bleaching grave,
And shoulder them in to shore,—
Shoulder them in, shoulder them in,
Shoulder them in to shore.

Oh, the ships of Greece and the ships of Tyre
Went out, and where are they ?
In the port they made, they are delayed
With the ships of yesterday.

He followed the ships of England far,
As the ships of long ago ;
And the ships of France they led him a dance,
But he laid them all arow.

Oh, he works with a rollicking stave at lip,
And loud is the chorus skirled ;
With the burly note of his rumbling throat
He batters it down the world.

Like other prominent Canadian men of letters, Mr. Carman has found a sphere of work in literary New York. An ex-Harvard man, he has been connected with *The Atlantic Monthly*, and is literary editor of the *New York Independent*. In collaboration with the late genial-spirited Richard Hovey, of Boston, he has sent forth three volumes of *Songs from Vagabondia*—productions unique in their way, which have won considerable attention from a public that cares for a definite attitude. It is an indication of the alertness of literary Canada that the centenary of Shelley's birth should have inspired odes by two of her prominent poets—Mr. Roberts's "Ave," and Mr. Carman's "White Gull"; it suggests also a predilection one is prepared to find in each of these singers. Mr. Carman's ode is finely conceived ; mystical, tender, musical, it is a work of art, a living poem, one of his best. We take a few verses from it, with many regrets that more may not be quoted :

L.Q.R., OCT., 1902.

Thou heart of all the hearts of men,
Tameless and free,
And vague as that marsh-wandering fire,
Leading the world's outworn desire
A night march down this ghostly fen
From sea to sea.

Through this divided camp of dream
Thy feet have passed,
As one who should set hand to rouse
His comrades from their heavy drowse ;
For only their own deeds redeem
God's sons at last.

O captain of the rebel host,
Lead forth and far !
Thy toiling troopers of the night
Press on the unavailing fight ;
The sombre field is not yet lost,
With thee for star.

Behind the principals, who stand forth from the increasing chorus of Canadian singers, is a goodly company of what may be called accomplished understudies. Men and women of talent find a place there ; tuneful poets, patient artists, whose heart is in their work, which includes not a little of beauty and distinction. In the field of historical and patriotic verse a large number of Canadian versifiers have laboured, with varied ability and success. A couple of verses from the Rev. Duncan Anderson's ballad on "The Death of Wolfe" must be taken to represent this class :

Far rolls the battle's din, and leaves its dead,
As when a cyclone through the forest cleaves ;
And the dread claymore heaps the path with slain,
As strews the piercing cold the earth with autumn leaves.

Slowly the mighty war ships sail away,
To tell their country of an empire won ;
But ah ! they bear the death roll of the slain,
And all that mortal is of Britain's noblest son.

The poem is dignified and swift in movement—a fit memorial of a great event. Verses such as those on the stand of Wilson's Scouts "In Matabeleland" and the "Death of Burnaby" display the imperialism of the Great Dominion; while the Riel Rebellion inspired poems of lofty emotion like Mrs. Christie's "After the Battle" and "The Woman's Part." Not only deeds of the present, but the glamour of the fierce historic past is reproduced in the poems of several Canadian writers. Louisberg, "the Dunkirk of this land," is the appropriate theme of a fine poem by Richard Huntington; and a quaint figure of the *ancien régime*, the Coureur-de-Bois, is drawn in a few bold, rhythmic lines by Mr. Samuel Baylis. Mrs. Harrison, a well known musical critic, whose charming volume of old-world forms, breathing a French-Canadian atmosphere bears the appropriate title *Pine, Rose, and Fleur-de-Lys*, is the poetess who has compressed into a tuneful *vilanelle* the romance of the Château Papineau:

The red-tiled towers of the old Château,
Perched on the cliff above our bark,
Burn in the western evening glow.

The fiery spirit of Papineau
Consumes them still with its fever spark,
The red-tiled towers of the old Château!

Drift by and mark how bright they show,
And how the mullioned windows—mark!
Burn in the western evening glow!

Reference to another Canadian poetess must be made in order to introduce a sample from the exquisite poem entitled "Content." It is by Mrs. Almon-Hensley, a Nova Scotian, a direct descendant of Cotton Mather:

I have been wandering where the daisies grow,
Great fields of tall, white daisies, and I saw
Them bend reluctantly, and seem to draw
Away in pride, when the fresh breeze would blow,
From timothy and yellow buttercup,
So by their fearless beauty lifted up.

.

Almost with old-time eagerness I try
 My fate, and say : "*un peu*," a soft "*beaucoup*,"
 Then, lower, "*passionément, pas du tout*";
 Quick the white petals fall, and lovingly
 I pluck the last, and drop with tender touch
 The knowing daisy, for he loves me "much."

Charming pictures of scenery, and poems full of nature-love and love of the forest and stream, abound in Canadian poetry. It is remarkable—and a wholesome sign withal—how many singers of the Great Dominion are distinctly "open air" men. The smell of the "midnight oil" and the morbid introspection of the pessimist-poet is refreshingly inconspicuous. Two charming lyrics by Canadians appear in the annual sheaf of "Outdoor Poems" to be found in the excellent *Atlantic Monthly*. One, "Wind," is by Mr. Wilfred Campbell, whose volume *Beyond the Hills of Dream* contains a selection of his poems, many of which are of rare beauty and power. The other, "Twin Flowers on the Portage," is by Mr. Duncan Scott, a graceful singer and accomplished critic, already referred to as the editor of Lampman's poems.

This fact illustrates the welcome accorded to Canadian poetry in America. In England it is but little known; but it is to the United States—with which they have mental affinities—that Canadians turn for that critical judgment which helps to form public opinion as to the merit of their own writers. Mr. Howells is responsible for the success of Lampman's first book; and Mr. Steadman's inclusion in his *Victorian Poets* of a large selection of Canadian verse did much to establish the reputation of many writers. Mr. Scott remarks, "When helped by foreign opinions our people have been quick in their interest and support." And he goes on to make this notable statement, "We must confess that there is no Canadian poetry that is popular with the Canadian people. So far as I am aware, amid all this multitude of poems there has not been one that has entered deeply into very many hearts, and become an epitome of individual longing or national hope." And he

says that poetry which stirs the multitude and lives in people's hearts is not written under such conditions as obtain to-day in Canada. But the power to write such verse is probably there, though unawakened. The future, we may hope, will call it forth.

In concluding this review, and referring once more to the question of "popular" verse, it should be said that the writer of the most widely-purchased volume of poetry in Canada is Dr. W. H. Drummond, who sings with insight and with great success the life of the French-Canadian—"The Habitant" of Mr. Gilbert Parker's "Pontiac." The figure rises into view at once as depicted in the frontispiece to that author's *Lane that had no Turning*—clean-shaven face, shrewd yet refined; quaint costume; pipe in mouth (bowl downwards); and thin, white curls straggling out beneath the pointed cap. With a charming naïveté and much good sense the hero utters his sentiments as a British colonist of other blood, loyal but reminiscent. The verses following are from "The Habitant's Jubilee Ode":

If de moder come dead w'en you're small garçon, leavin' you
dere alone,
Wit' nobody watchin' for fear you fall, and hurt youse'f on
de stone,
An' 'noder good woman she tak' your han' de sam' your own
moder do,
Is it right you don't call her moder, is it right you don't love
her too?
Bâ non, an' dat was der way we feel, w'en de old Regime's
no more,
An' de new wan come, but don't change moche, w'y it's jus'
lak' it be before,
Spikin' Français lak' we alway do, an' de English dey mak
no fuss,
An' our law de sam', wall, I don't know me, 'twas better
mebbe for us,
Yaas, dat is de way Victoria fin' us dis Jubilee;
Sometam' we mak' fuss about not'ing, but it's all on de
familee,

An' w'enever dere's danger roun' Her, no matter on sea or lan',
 She'll fin' that les Canayens can fight de same as lees'
 Englishman.

An' onder de flag of Angleterre, so long as dat flag was fly,
 Wit' deir English broder, les Canayens is satisfy leev an' die.
 Dat's de message our fader geev us w'en dey're fallin' on
 Chateaugay,

An' de flag was kipin dem safe den, dat's de wan we will kip
 alway!

GEORGE J. H. NORTHCROFT.

"THE SEAT OF AUTHORITY IN RELIGION."

1. *The Seat of Authority in Religion.* By JAMES MARTINEAU, D.D., LL.D. (London : Longmans, Green, & Co.)
2. *The Foundations of Belief.* By ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR. (London : Longmans, Green, & Co.)
3. *Places of Authority in Matters of Religious Belief.* By V. H. STANTON. (London : Longmans, Green, & Co.)
4. *Communion of the Christian with God.* By W. HERRMANN. (London : Williams & Norgate.)

THE question which was discussed by the late Dr. Martineau under this title may fairly be described as one of the master problems in theology. The neglect of it has rendered profitless many a long discussion. The failure to offer a clear solution of it is the element of weakness in much strenuous reasoning, and supplies the ambiguous term in many imposing propositions. This problem is involved in all the great historic controversies ; it is at the heart of the battle between Protestant and Catholic, Rationalist and Evangelical ; it is to the theologian what the question of the sanction of moral law is to the philosopher ; and it touches to a vague unrest many thoughtful people who dwell beyond the region of professional discussion and the battles of the schools.

The question is not, What is the ultimate *source* of authority in itself ? but, What is the *organ* of it, the "seat" of it, in history and life ? As to the source of religious

authority in itself there can be, for the theist, no uncertainty at all. Whenever we affirm the existence of God we affirm also that His voice is the only infallible witness. If there be an infinite Spirit immanent in the universe and the soul of man, then every process of knowing is only a discovering of His thought. Whatever commends itself to all intelligences as true does so for the reason that it is a transcript of the perfect Intelligence ; and, in like manner, everything that speaks with true authority in the religious sphere must owe its power to the indwelling divine Spirit. Up to this point there is no difficulty. We all confidently assert that the only ultimate religious authority is the voice of God. It is when we go on to ask how this ideal authority is mediated in history and life that we find differences of opinion asserting themselves. The problem arises whenever we face the question, Where is this voice to be heard ? Where is the place of the oracle ? What is the organ of religious authority in the actual experience of men ?

Now, it is evident that we do not reach any answer to this question by simply asserting the supremacy of one or other among the historical embodiments of religious authority, as the Church, or the Bible, or the Christ. If we affirm the divine right of any of these *exclusively* we find ourselves at war with the established facts of experience, and compelled to vindicate the solitary inspiration of one witness by arguments which tend to prove all inspiration impossible ; above all, we fail to reach any theory as to that which really constitutes authority in religion. Nor are we in any better case if we accept the claims of all the different authorities which have been recognised in the course of Christian history, and affirm that in the consensus of all these is certainty found. It is a simple matter to say that the voice of God speaks through the prophets, the Christ, the Church, the conscience ; but in saying this we make no contribution towards a theory of the matter, and have advanced no step nearer to a unity of thought. For attainment of any theoretic security it is necessary that we reach below the

many to the one, and discover what is the common element in the different forms of religious authority. The seat of authority must be one, no matter how many the channels through which it delivers its judgments. This must be. Since the soul is one, and God is one, one also must be the witness of God.

There are, then, two conditions which any satisfactory theory must fulfil. In the first place, it is required to cover all the facts, not excluding any authentic form of religious life, finding room for all the phenomena of Christian experience, taking account of the different types of faith in which the soul has found the bread of life. It cannot refuse to consider the witness of Mohammedan, of Buddhist; nor consign to outer darkness those in our midst to whom the Catholic tradition has not commended itself, but who have plainly shown that they have meat to eat that the world knows not of. It must also, in the second place, reach some unity of thought, get beneath every manifestation of religious authority and find the hidden power which, through all the forms of revelation, so variously appears.

But the only theory which seems to offer any hope of fulfilling these conditions is that which declares the seat of ultimate religious authority to be the soul in communion with God. This theory has been held by thinkers of many different schools, and in many varying forms. It has been associated with phrases like "the inner light," the "inner witness," the "religious consciousness," the "testimony of the Holy Spirit," and the like. It is taught in very different fashion by rationalist and mystic, is the creed of Molinos as of Martineau. Sometimes it has seemed to involve the rejection of all authority without the individual soul; sometimes it has lent itself to a mere pietism; sometimes it has been made the excuse for the wildest vagaries of religious eccentricity. And yet we feel that it contains the essential truth, and alone has any promise of reconciliation. If in some form of this theory a solution of the problem before us is not to be found, then we must surrender hope

of reaching any unity of thought regarding the seat of authority in religion.

The difficulty about this theory is not its abstract reasonableness, but doubt as to whether it is able to cover all the facts involved and to meet the claims of historical religion. It is not denied by any great religious teacher that God is in direct relation with the soul of man. Herrmann¹ finds the common element in all religions in "a sense of being possessed, so strong that a man must say, 'this is God.'" Without this "experience of God all else is so empty that it does not deserve to be called religion." Pfeiderer² teaches that the communion of God with the soul differs from that of man with man only in this that it is perfect, inasmuch as God is not shut out from us, as we are from each other, by "the limits of individuality." To the same effect is the testimony of Martineau throughout his writings. Calvin, as is well known, taught the doctrine of "the inner light" in a form singularly full and clear. Every student of the Puritan divines will feel that one of his chief debts to them is the conviction they impart of the communion of God with the individual soul. Newman also, in his *Grammar of Assent*, finds in the phenomena of conscience "the creative principle of religion, even as the moral sense is the principle of ethics."³ In short, the communion of God with the soul is the common assertion of religious minds. This being so, it seems to follow that the seat of authority in religion must be found in the soul, in that secret place of its life where the voice of God is heard.⁴ If the Most High speaks to men at all, then that which He says must be true, and the interpretation of His message which the conscience makes for itself, however confused and broken it may be, must become for the soul in the fullest sense authoritative. Nay, it must be the ultimate authority to which all others

¹ *Communion with God*, pp. 17, 18.

² *Philosophy of Religion*, Vol. III., p. 303.

³ *Grammar of Assent*, p. 110.

⁴ See Frank's *System of Christian Certainty*, pp. 6-12.

need conform themselves. No man can deny the voice in his own conscience, or get beyond the assurance that

Was die innere Stimme spricht
Das täuscht die hoffende Seele nicht.

Every form of historical and objective revelation would thus seem to be only a more or less perfectly developed expression of this one universal authority, which is the voice of God in the spirit of man.

God's voice is of the heart. I do not say
All voices of the heart are therefore God's.
And to discern the Voice amid the voices
Is that hard task that we were born to.

Up to this point the matter seems clear. The argument in favour of this theory is irresistible, so long as we confine ourselves to the region of pure speculation. Whenever we admit that the divine voice speaks to the spirit of man we are logically compelled to affirm that the seat of ultimate religious authority is in the soul in communion with God. But difficulty immediately arises when we go on to apply this theory to the actual facts of religious life and the accepted articles of the Christian faith. It seems then to give a value to the individual conscience as a medium of revelation which is not warranted by experience. It seems unable to explain the practical dependence of ordinary men on external influences, and the power which is wielded by the authority of Church, Scripture, Christ. We see that the knowledge of spiritual things which comes directly to any soul is but a small part of that soul's treasure ; we see that every religious experience is largely the creature of environment ; we see how impossible it is to separate any individual spirit from the great current of religious tradition which flows about its life. We study the Old Testament, and feel how little has been learned of the secrets of devotion since the Hebrew psalmists spoke to God ; we read the Gospels, and are convinced that nothing new has been revealed about the Father since Jesus preached in Galilee. And, seeing all these things, we are disposed at first to say that the theory

which finds the seat of authority in the soul, however tempting as a speculation, yet fails to meet the facts of religious life and history.

We find ourselves, then, in this position, that a theory which seems entirely sound as a speculation appears to fail in face of certain facts of authentic religious experience. On the one hand, we are compelled to admit that the seat of authority in religion can only be the soul in communion with God ; on the other hand, we have to recognise the dependence of the individual spirit on sources of authority which are, in appearance at least, external to itself. The question before us is, Can this seeming conflict be reconciled ? Can the theory of religious authority under consideration be so stated as to cover the attested facts of experience, while conserving its speculative unity of thought ? The object of this article is to suggest that such a reconciliation may be possible ; that the theory stated by Martineau may be so formulated as to carry with it none of his negations, and to lay itself fairly open to none of the charges commonly made against it. To this end it may be well to consider somewhat closely the objections taken to the position that the seat of ultimate religious authority is the soul in communion with God.

It is often asserted that this position *denies the supernatural*. But this is a criticism exceedingly difficult to understand. Martineau distinctly teaches that the relation of God with the soul is altogether supernatural. The spirit of man is itself above nature, and above nature also must the region be in which it meets with God. This is the teaching also of Pfleiderer, and all other teachers of a spiritual theism. What meaning, then, attaches to the charge of anti-supernaturalism as laid against their theory of religious authority ? It is not without reason that Martineau complains, in the preface to his third edition, "the whole purpose of the first book in my volume is to show that religious authority is necessarily objective and supernatural ; and my critics charge me with contending that it is purely subjective and natural." One is, indeed, at a loss to see what can be

meant by the terms "natural" and "supernatural" in this connexion. What does "supernatural" mean? Does it mean "miraculous"? If so, how can it apply to spiritual relations? "Miracle" is a term that belongs to the realm of physical things. It means an apparent break in the action of the laws which govern the material universe. It has no appositeness at all as applied to the things of the soul. What is miraculous in the lower sphere, is natural in the higher. *e.g.* Personal immortality is from the physical point of view, a miracle; but from the spiritual standpoint, the marvel would be if the soul were to die. When we are dealing with spiritual facts we are in a region where *all is supernatural, but nothing is miraculous*. Bacon, indeed, says, "For martyrdoms, I reckon them amongst miracles, because they seem to exceed the strength of human nature, and I may do the like of superlative and admirable holiness of life." But if we use the term "miraculous" in this sense, if we mean by it, as applied to spiritual things, simply that we feel certain phenomena of the religious and moral life to "exceed the strength of human nature" and to be above the level of common experience—then there is no one that does not believe in the "miraculous" element in revelation. There is, then, no discoverable meaning in the charge of naturalism as directed against men who teach that all religion is the fruit of divine revelation. There would have been great force in such an accusation if made against the old Deists, but there is no point in it at all as used in the controversy with a spiritual theism.

Another point in the indictment made against the position now being considered is that it is a purely *subjective* one, and denies all validity to any authority outside the individual conscience. But, even if no authority were admitted beyond that of a man's own conscience, still the theory would not be purely subjective. For the conscience presents always an *objective* character, and speaks from a position above that of the individual life. Dr. Wace,¹ in

¹ *Boyle Lectures*, pp. 197, 198.

his Boyle Lecture, gives us a singularly subtle and true analysis of conscience, showing that it not only bears witness to the general supremacy of a righteous law, but also searches and tries the heart, deals in mysterious justice with the personal character—making allowance for individual difficulties and weaknesses, meeting a man at every turn and every instant of life with the particular warning and guidance he needs. In short, the result of Wace's analysis is that conscience presents the character, not of a general law, acting without regard to the individual, but of a personal influence, intelligent and adaptive—not a "power" but a "person," "making for righteousness." To the same effect is the striking saying of Martineau: "The consciousness of authority is doubtless human, but conditional on the source being divine." If this be true, then the experience which we call conscience is not subjective merely; it is the experience of a personal relation to a personal authority.

In like manner, it is plain that no religious experience whatever can be a merely subjective one, even although it be out of relation to an historical authority. Prayer is always a conscious communion with One not ourselves; and no fresh conviction of sin or new understanding of duty or access of devotion ever seems to us wholly a discovery of our own, or a thing which has its origin in our own lives, or but a communing with our own souls. There is ever the sense of receiving, of light shining in from beyond; there is always the "I" and the "Thou." No religious writer professing Theism denies this. Even Emerson, who came so near to pure Pantheism, distinctly admits the objective element in religion. His essay on the "Over-Soul" clearly shows this; and even the poem which contains the saying,—

Out of the heart of Nature rolled
The burden of the Bibles old,—

even this contains the correcting thought :

One accent of the Holy Ghost
The heedless world has never lost.

It seems, then, that even if the teachers of the doctrine of "the inner light" sometimes deny or underestimate the value of historical revelation, they still cannot be fairly accused of pure subjectivism. It is never asserted that man discovers truth for himself, but, on the contrary, earnestly affirmed that God reveals Himself to the soul, and that apart from this action of God there could be no religious life or knowledge of Him at all.

It may still seem, however, as if the further charge of *individualism* may lie against the theory that the seat of authority is in the religious consciousness. It may appear that it involves an under-estimating of our dependence on the witness of the prophets and of the Church. It may look like a setting of the individual conscience above, and in opposition to, all external influences. But this is not a necessity of the position. The witness of God in every heart does not exclude the authority of that same witness speaking through specially endowed natures. We have all some capacity for poetic feeling, but that does not affect the truth that to the writings of the poets we owe the melodies of thought. There is no doubt that we are of the same nature as Shakespeare, and possess the same faculties; but this does not annul the authority of Shakespeare within his own domain. Nor does it follow that because we are of the same stock as Milton, therefore we can all by development become Miltons. Dante could not appeal to us if we were not akin to Dante, nevertheless it remains true that we cannot evolve from our own consciousness critical canons by which to judge Dante. Such great spirits lay their authority on us. They judge us; them we do not judge. In like manner, the possession of a spiritual nature of the same kind as that of the prophets, and the actual enjoyment of communion with God, and the presence of the ultimate authority in our hearts,—all this is not able to change the truth, nor is it hostile to the admission, that we are dependent on the prophets, that without them we should be living in a chill twilight of the soul, and in sad starvation of the spiritual

man. It is the way of God to centre the universal light in select natures. While He reveals Himself to all, as they are able, yet the glory of His power He shows in one or two.

But if we thus admit the authority of the prophets, we may also accept that of the *Church*, the community of religious men. If I may be relatively dependent on the light given to my conscience by the revelation granted to more gifted souls, I may also be indebted to the voice of the Church in so far as it expresses the result of universal Christian experience. In point of fact, we owe more of the content of our religious life to the mediation of the Church than we can ever know. Its tradition spoke with authority to us while as yet our souls had not learned to pray. Its worship was a fact to us before we had any worship of our own. Our knowledge of Christ is mediated to us by Church testimony in the New Testament and in the present life of the fellowship of believers. But this is by no means destructive of the position that the seat of authority remains in the soul at the point where it meets with God. The impression made on the disciples by Christ was an impression made on their religious consciousness. The witness which they have transmitted to us as to the nature of that impression is still the witness of their own hearts, and whenever we come to share in their vivid sense of Christ, it is that their testimony has appealed to our own consciousness in such wise that we stand in the relation to Christ that was theirs. The religious environment in which we find ourselves is the product of consciousness; it is the common element in the experience of believers; it is, in the truth of it, Christ speaking to us through the conscience of the Christian ages.

This theory seems, then, able to admit in full degree the authority of the prophets and of the Church. Every word spoken by the prophets was first of all a voice in their own hearts. The testimony of the Church, in so far as it is true and of universal authority, is but the voice of a choir innumerable singing a melody that was first heard and learned in the secret places of lonely souls, but a melody

also which every age has rediscovered for itself. The authority of prophets and Church alike is but a form of the same power that speaks, in accents dim or clear, in every heart.

There remains to be noticed the question whether this theory is able to make full acknowledgment of the Lordship of Christ. It is to be admitted that many of its advocates do fail to satisfy the consciousness of the Christian Church in this matter. When we turn from Martineau's book on the subject under discussion to Herrmann's *Communion with God*, we feel that the Ritschlian has grasp of a truth that has escaped the theist. We do not say that Herrmann's analysis of the consciousness of Jesus is more beautiful than that of Martineau or reveals more of a personal devotion to our Lord. But we find in the one what we miss in the other, a full assertion of the personal authority of Jesus. Martineau shrinks, with all his school, from admitting the claim of Jesus on the allegiance and trust of men. In his view, it is the religion of Jesus, not Jesus Himself, which is to be regarded as having authority. He will not believe that our Lord uttered the great appeal, "Come unto Me all ye that labour," on the ground that it strikes a note of undue self-assertion. And this failure to admit that element of personal authority in the attitude of Jesus, which Herrmann so justly emphasises, being characteristic of Martineau's school, seems to suggest that the theory which finds the seat of authority in the soul logically involves a denial of the personal Masterhood of Christ. We may, however, take leave to doubt whether this timidity in asserting the authority of Jesus, which admittedly characterises this school, is a necessary part of their position. Dr. Rainy says, most suggestively,¹ "It might be a question whether Dr. Martineau's theory of authority in itself absolutely excludes all the elements in Christianity which he rejects." Following Dr. Rainy's hint, we may ask whether

¹ *Critical Review*, Vol. I., No. 1, p. 10. See also Stanton's *Places of Authority in Matters of Religious Belief*, p. 33.

Martineau's theory does not logically *imply* a higher view of the authority of Christ than he asserts or than his theological position as a whole will allow him to admit. If it be granted that the testimony of consciousness is authoritative, and if it be further allowed (as it is)¹ that we are dependent relatively on those to whom God has specially revealed Himself, then on what ground is the witness of the Christian consciousness to the Lordship of Christ denied? And why should it be counted incredible that the universal authority may have taken a perfect historical form? If there be one thing to which the religious consciousness of Christendom has continued throughout the ages to bear unswerving witness, it is the sense of dependence on Christ. What good reasons can be advanced for rejecting this testimony? Since the prophetic function is admitted to be indispensable, why should there be any desire to deny the claim of Jesus to possess an authority of which the prophetic power is the imperfect type? If the revealing activity of God concentrates itself in select souls, why should there not be One in whom it dwells completely? If, again, it is true that the conscience is the witness of God; and if it is also true that every conscience is an imperfect revealer, a glass that, in reflecting, distorts—a medium that renders indistinctly the voice of God,—then, are we not led to expect the appearing of this witness in a perfect form? Do not all the broken revelations point to one that is complete? Do not all the shadowed lights imply one in which is no darkness at all? It may be replied that the perfect thing to which conscience points is the absolute truth hidden in God, but the answer is that conscience involves a perfect form of *itself*, that itself is personal, human and divine, and that personal, human and divine, must its type and ideal be. The perfect conscience, and therefore the perfect organ of revelation, can only be a spotless soul entirely possessed of God. But if this be so, why should we refuse the testimony of the Christian Church that Jesus

¹ *Seat of Authority in Religion*, p. 308.

is this complete revelation, that He is this typical Conscience of the race? And if He is these things, then what shall be the measure of His authority? Shall we not expect to find in Him that accent of command that is in every voice of conscience everywhere?

It does not, then, appear that the theory under discussion necessarily involves Martineau's hesitation regarding the personal Lordship of Christ. Rather does it seem that the theory finds in that Lordship its justification and completeness. It does not seem logical to set so great stress on the testimony of conscience, and yet refuse respect to that testimony as the voice of Christian experience bearing witness to the supremacy of Jesus. Nor does it seem reasonable to hear in every heart the broken word of God, and yet to deny that this word may have been spoken perfectly in one spotless soul. But if these things be admitted, the recognition of the personal supremacy of Christ cannot long be truthfully withheld.

It thus appears, from the point of view of this article, that the doctrine of religious authority which alone seems to have speculative validity and to reach any unity of thought, may also be so stated as to escape the charges commonly laid against it, and to cover all the facts of experience and satisfy the demands of historic Christianity.

Perhaps the position might be tentatively put in some such way as this—Religious authority is found wherever conviction arises in the soul such as to carry with it the assurance that it is of God. This conviction may be created in three ways: (1) by direct revelation to the individual conscience in which it is found; (2) or by a message conveyed to that conscience through a specially endowed soul, and recognised by it as true; (3) or by a deliverance of the common religious consciousness verified in the individual experience. Some such statement as this might be possibly found to cover all the phenomena of genuine religious authority, and to exhibit these as being all of one kind. It would admit the authority of the individual conscience, the prophet, the Church, and the Christ, while finding the common element

in all these to be the voice heard in the soul in communion with God.

It may, indeed, be objected that such a statement *supplies no standard by which to distinguish the true from the false in religious belief*. Things have often been earnestly accepted as revelations of God which yet have not been true. How are we to discriminate, then, between genuine and false forms of religious authority? To what standard can we appeal in the conflict of opposing faiths? But the answer to this must surely be that there is no real test of truth except experience. The soul may sometimes suppose that it has received a word of God when it has not been so favoured, and it must often, through its weakness, render a real message in poor and erroneous forms; and the only appeal is to life, to the testimony of the common consciousness. If any professed deliverance of religious authority is ever wholly false its true nature is soon revealed; it fails to find any lasting response in the hearts of men, and dies. If any religious message, seeming to us to be false, yet survives and holds the loyalty of many generations, then it must be *relatively true*; the idea which it contains, when *separated from its dogmatic or material form*, must surely be of God. That idea must, at least, have been the best interpretation which the consciousness of him who heard it was able to make of the voice of the Most High. It must have proved itself in experience to be capable of "comfort, counsel, and the words that make a man feel strong." Whenever a higher message is given, more suited to the wants of men, the lower gospel will lose its power and pass away. The voice of God will be interpreted more clearly at a higher stage of consciousness, and will prove itself in a richer life. "When that which is perfect is come that which is in part shall be done away"; but the test of perfectness is experience.

It may be further objected that the above statement really makes the individual conscience the only authority; that it denies any objective standard of religious truth to which a man ought to bow, *whether he sees it to be true or no*; that it

makes even the Lordship of Jesus to depend on its being accepted by the individual heart, implying that no word of His is to be held as authoritative by a man until he has himself tested and proved it. This objection undoubtedly raises one of the most difficult of the many problems which surround this whole subject. Any full discussion of it is clearly impossible in an article which has for its object speculative suggestion rather than dogmatic statement. There are, however, one or two considerations which may be simply indicated here.

It is to be remembered, in the first place, that this difficulty in adjusting the relation of "inward" to "outward" authority in religion is not peculiar to any particular theory. No Protestant theology teaches that a man is bound to accept anything that is laid down by Church or prophet, just as he may accept police regulations, without reference to his own conscience or heart at all. It is everywhere admitted that the tribunal of the soul has inalienable rights, and that mere formal assent without inner conviction is wanting in all religious value. This being so, it follows that the difficulty of stating clearly how far the individual ought to defer to authority which he has not himself tested is a burden which rests on no one school alone. If you admit the authority of conscience, and also of Christ, or of Church, you must have trouble in adjusting the relations of these powers, the one to the other.

Waiving, however, this merely negative point, we may proceed to suggest that the position stated above does not require us to reject or ignore such authorities as we have not in our own experience proved, it rather requires us to hold them in high respect ; but it does lead us to recognise that these are *not yet of full religious power for us*. We are required, in short, to keep in mind that the influence of these historic witnesses over the individual is of two very different degrees. In the lesser degree this influence is merely intellectual, regulative, outward ; in the greater, it is spiritual, inspiring, inward. The lesser degree of influence is wielded by all such utterances of prophet, Church, or

Christ as our own hearts have not yet felt as true. We do not deny the authority of these, we recognise it as a fact in the lives of other men. We are bound to regard these utterances with reverence since we know that they have received the "amen" of the Christian community whose consciousness is larger and deeper than ours. The same reasons which lead us to respect the convictions of our own souls lead us to hold in reverence those of the Church. Believing that the prophets are specially endowed souls, we reasonably distrust such voices of our own hearts as seem to contradict them. Holding that Jesus is the perfect revelation, we rightly conclude that in matters of moral and spiritual truth there is little chance that we are right and He is wrong. Receiving the testimony of the Christian conscience to the Lordship of Christ, we affirm in theory that all His thoughts are true.

To this extent, then, we are logically bound by our position to hold in deference all attested deliverances of the religious consciousness. To this degree all utterances of historic authority have power over us, even if our own hearts have not approved them. But this is not, in the strict sense, for us, a *religious* authority. It is intellectual, regulative, secondary, a matter of mental deduction rather than of immediate conviction. It cannot reveal to us spiritual reality, or inspire to worship, or direct on the way of the will of the Most High ; it has no charm to cool the fever of our souls, nor sovereign touch to quiet our unrest. We receive from its hand nothing of the bread and the water of life. This full religious authority belongs to such things only as have received the sanction of a man's own heart, and have come to speak no longer from without but from within. The spirit knows no master who dwells outside itself. The utterances of revelation lose their character of outwardness as they increase in power, and, in their fulness of religious authority, are indistinguishable from the voices of the soul. When St. Paul uttered his hymn of divine love he spoke as out of the deep places of his own spirit ; the outer and the inner light for him were one. In

his best hours, also, it seemed to him that his mind and the mind of Christ were wholly reconciled. "I live, yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me." It is ever so. The greater the degree of religious authority the more completely are the voices of the soul and of its Master made one in the unity of faith.

A little while there was of Thee-and-me,
And then no more there was of me-and-Thee.

There seems, then, reason to hope that the theory which finds the seat of authority in the soul in communion with God may yet be stated in such a way as to escape the charges commonly laid against it from the standpoint of historical experience, and be no longer subject to the grave difficulties which in this article have been but lightly touched. If this hope be realised, then much will have been gained. There will have been reached that unity of thought in which alone the mind can rest. We shall have attained a position of independence in relation to many dangers which, from different quarters, seem to be threatening faith. Space and room will have been found for all the varying forms of authority, for every authentic element in the spiritual life, for the testimony of religious men everywhere, for the influence of psalmist and prophet and the Lordship of Christ, for all voices of articulate devotion, and for

the still communion that transcends
The imperfect offices of prayer and praise.

J. H. LECKIE.

The World of Books.

I. THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS.

Human Nature a Revelation of the Divine. A Sequel to "Studies in the Character of Christ." By Charles Henry Robinson, M.A., Canon Missioner of Ripon. (London : Longmans, Green, & Co. 6s. net.)

CANON ROBINSON'S work consists of three parts, entitled respectively, "Studies in the Character of Christ," "The Unique Character of the Revelation of God and of Man in the Old Testament regarded as a Proof of its Divine Origin," and "Studies in Worship." In the first two sections the author's object is to show that human nature is a revelation of the divine; in the last he dwells upon "the natural outcome of this revelation." The link between the three sets of studies is not very close, but each part has a unity of its own.

Part I. is the sequel to a volume which bears the same title; it contains a further development of the same argument: the character of Christ is a revelation to a man of his own true nature, and the postulate of the Incarnation is necessary to explain the new force which appeared in human history at the time when Christ was born. One of the most suggestive studies is a comparison between the unselfishness of Christ and that of other men. The least helpful chapter treats the death of Christ as "inseparable from His life." Canon Robinson desires his readers not to interpret his references to this great theme as "part of a complete theory of the Atonement"; but his explanations of some well known texts go far towards explaining away such words as "substitution," "reconciliation," and "propitiation." Dr. Dale's language on this subject is described as "dangerous and misleading."

Part II. discusses Old Testament criticism from a point of view exactly opposite to that of Dr. John Smith (see notice on p. 373). Canon Robinson contends that if the results of Higher Criticism were ever to be completely established, "the divine origin of the Old Testament would be rendered more certain and more obvious than is even now the case." For example, the critical

rearrangement of the documents brings to light a gradually rising conception of the dignity of human nature. In Exodus xxi. 20—"part of the oldest section of the Pentateuch"—a slave is regarded as currency: "he is his money." If, as modern criticism asserts, the declaration in Genesis, "in the image of God made He man," were written much later than the law of Exodus xxi., the two passages "set side by side illustrate the advance in the knowledge of man which the Hebrews, by the help of divine inspiration, had achieved." In this section Canon Robinson sets forth lucidly and calmly many important considerations which well deserve the attention of all whose minds have been disturbed by alarmist statements of the effects of modern criticism of the Old Testament.

Part III. treats of "worship" in an earnest and reverent spirit. The various reasons why "we assemble and meet together," as given in the Book of Common Prayer, are expounded in order. The chapter on "His most worthy praise" is especially noteworthy; it emphasises and illustrates a truth too often forgotten, that an essential part of divine worship consists in praising God for what He is as well as in thanking Him for what He has done.

J. G. T.

The Varieties of Religious Experience. A Study in Human Nature. By William James, LL.D. (London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 12s. net.)

Professor James has chosen a subject of unusual interest for his Gifford Lectures. As Professor of Philosophy at Harvard University he is a trained student of mind, and his investigation of man's religious constitution is carried on by a set of concrete examples drawn from autobiographies and biographies of every class. The convulsions of piety here brought under review can scarcely fail to make an unfavourable impression on a reader's mind, but Professor James thinks that this will soon disappear, for in the end he combines "the religious impulses with other principles of common-sense which serve as correctives of exaggeration, and allows the individual reader to draw as moderate conclusions as he will." He has no patience with the medical materialism which "finishes up Saint Paul by calling his vision on the road to Damascus a discharging lesion of the occipital cortex, he being an epileptic. It snuffs out Saint Teresa as an hysteric, Saint Francis of Assisi as an hereditary degenerate. . . . The medical materialists are therefore only so many belated

dogmatists, neatly turning the tables on their predecessors by using the criterion of origin in a destructive instead of in an accreditive way." Professor James confines himself to personal religion, pure and simple. His illustrations are drawn from a wide range, and are set out with considerable detail; but though there is much to be learnt from the discussion, it makes one shudder to find Luther and Bunyan in such strange company as they are forced to keep in these lectures. But as Professor James says: "Nothing can be more stupid than to bar out phenomena from our notice, merely because we are incapable of taking part in anything like them ourselves. . . . The extremer examples yield the profounder information." All religions appear to meet in the acknowledgment of "an uneasiness and its solution." So far as the individual suffers from his wrongness and criticises it he is "in at least possible touch with something higher, if anything higher exist. Along with the wrong part there is thus a better part of him, even though it may be but a most helpless germ." When the second stage of solution or salvation is reached, "the man identifies his real being with the germinal higher part of himself; and does so in the following way: he becomes conscious that this higher part is conterminous and continuous with a MORE of the same quality, which is operative in the universe outside of him, and which he can keep in working touch with, and in a fashion get on board of and save himself when all his lower being has gone to pieces in the wreck." This is our doctrine of sin and of grace, and religious teachers will be strengthened by such an analysis of the spiritual cravings of the world. Professor James's book is far from complete or satisfactory to a Christian student, but he has given us much food for thought, and he is always temperate in his statements as befits a thinker and philosopher.

The God of the Frail. By Thomas G. Selby. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1902. 6s.)

A fourth volume of sermons in the course of a few years is, in the present condition of literary taste, a sufficient indication of the preacher's quality. This volume will rank fairly with any of its predecessors. The sermons are not knit together by any very distinct unity of subject, though in several cases the theme of one sermon is continued in the next, and illustrate some phase of the pitying or pardoning grace of God. Mr. Selby, as a writer of sermons, has several well

marked characteristics. He is not given to laxity of doctrine or to weakness of sentiment. The widely read and reflective man of the world is conspicuous behind his pages. Difficult subjects are unflinchingly faced, and neither ignored nor glozed over. Almost every paragraph is lighted up or made to bite by some apt and telling illustration, and by a style which, if not exactly crisp, is masculine and effective. Of such a kind are all the twenty sermons in this volume, which is a valuable addition to the homiletical literature of the day.

Christ the Indweller. By John Thomas Jacob, Vicar of Tor. (London : Macmillan & Co. 5s.)

There is much to praise in this "attempt to trace the practical bearing of the doctrine of the inward Christ on common life." The idea itself is inspiring, and there are some passages of real beauty in the book. The illustrations, like that of the violets in the Devonshire lane which could never be found though their perfume floated on the air, are very good, and some little incidents of pastoral work woven into the studies have greatly interested us. But Mr. Jacob spoils his work by borrowing from M. Naudin, the French botanist, a theory that man was created bisexual, and that the differentiation of the sexes was accomplished by God taking a rib of Adam during his deep sleep, and making Eve. He actually says that our Lord's description of the future state, where they "neither marry nor are given in marriage," "seems to imply that in the resurrection life there is a union of sex characteristics." The passage about two lovers whose "first kiss was a sacrament" is too sentimental, though the chapter on "Consecration of Home Life," in which it occurs, is suggestive and helpful. So is the book ; but we wish Mr. Jacob had pruned it.

The Bane and the Antidote, and other Sermons. By W. L. Watkinson. (London : Charles H. Kelly. 3s. 6d.)

Mr. Watkinson is a preacher who gets hold of us by his first sentence, and never lets us go till the sermon is done. He sees what other preachers may not see, and almost startles ordinary folk by the new light which he pours on old truths. "The Bane and the Antidote" are sin and grace, and the first illustration, of the "diabolical fad" by which a portion of one insect is grafted on another, exerts a kind of fascination over us. Science is never far from the preacher's mind, and he makes notable use

of it. The evolutionist seeks to animate us to toil and sacrifice by reminding us that through the course of ages we have succeeded in converting the wild wolf into the faithful dog. "A true Christian won at a stroke out of a rotten paganism is infinitely more marvellous and inspiring than any civilised wolf ; and we trust the grace that worked these moral miracles to redeem and transfigure the race." The closing sermon, "The Common Coronation," is based on the text "Honour all men," and is a noble tribute to the unique and transcendent eminence of man. Wherever we open this volume we find the old wealth of illustration joined to searching moral insight. What suggestions are here ! "'Learn of Me,' says the Master as He passes through manifold and contrasted situations, and a loving, thoughtful glance into the New Testament every day is a life-long vision of perfection. 'Learn of Me.' Yes, let us learn of Him in joy and sorrow, in work and leisure, in strength and weariness, in popularity and neglect, in success and failure, in life and death. He is the One great Teacher of the art of life." This is a volume of sermons that preachers will prize not less than people, and which will grow upon its readers as they study it.

A Method of Prayer. By Madame Guyon. A Revised Translation, with Notes. Edited by Dugald Macfayden. (London : J. Clarke & Co. 3s.)

Madame Guyon won a great reputation in her own day as a guide to the spiritual life. When she visited Grenoble, in 1684, she tells us : "People flocked from all parts, far and near ; friars, priests, men of the world, maids, wives, widows, all came one after another ; and God supplied me with what was pertinent and satisfying to them all, after a wonderful manner, without any share of study or meditation thereon on my part." Her *Method of Prayer* reveals the secret of her power. She lived in God's presence ; she saw that religion is a thing not of ceremonies, but of the heart. We do not wonder at the influence she has had on such thinkers as Mr. Rendel Harris, who describes her "as the teacher from whom I have received more help and guidance in the things of God than from any other person." Madame Guyon made mistakes for which she paid dearly, and her teaching was pushed to lengths which help us to understand Wesley's dread of the Mystics. But this little book will fan holy desire to a flame in many hearts. It has been admirably edited. The translation was made by a member of

the Society of Friends, in Bristol, in 1772, but has been amended and revised with the utmost care. The notes are a real help to the study of the work.

Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. "The Song of Solomon." With Introduction and Notes. By Andrew Harper, D.D. (Cambridge : University Press. 1s. 6d.)

Dr. Harper thinks that the Song of Solomon is "a series of thirteen dramatic lyrics, each of which represents a scene in the story of a Shulamite maiden who has been carried off to one of Solomon's palaces. There, persecuted by the attentions of the king, and urged to love him by the women of his harem, she remains constant to her humble country lover, and is at length set free to return to him. The story is told in these lyrics as by a series of pictures." The Appendix in which Dr. Harper sets out the "Song" on this theory gives it new force and meaning, and his critique of Budde's hypothesis, that the book is a collection of independent wedding songs, is scarcely less instructive. The history of the allegorical interpretation of the "Song" and all the tangled questions connected with it are handled as only an accomplished Hebrew scholar could handle them, and the notes never shirk or slur over difficulties. The commentary is certainly a little masterpiece.

Dr. Gott's *Parish Priest of the Town* (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 3s.) has just reached its eleventh thousand. Its attitude towards Nonconformity is notorious. "Don't join Dissenters on religious platforms" is its counsel. There is nothing to be done save to win these erring children back to the fold. Nonconformists can, however, learn a great deal from this manual. They may see how to concentrate their strength on pastoral work ; how to care for the young ; how to preach, and how to pray. They will learn what books a young clergyman is advised to read, and how he is to live and labour. The man who walks by Dr. Gott's rules may become a bigot, but he will be turned into a powerful instrument for the building up of the Church of England.

Nineteenth Century Preachers and their Methods. By John Edwards. (London : Charles H. Kelly. 2s. 6d.)

Mr. Edwards' fourteen sketches of great preachers and their methods of preparation are just the style of papers to stimulate

and encourage "the ordinary man" to put his best strength into his work. The sketches are brief, but they each have their individuality, and they are followed by quotations and illustrations which add to the value and interest of the studies. The good sense and good taste of the book have impressed us. Every young preacher will love his Bible and his work better after reading it. Dr. Arthur Gregory contributes an inspiring little Introduction. We wish it had been longer.

The Addresses given in St. Paul's Cathedral during Holy Week, 1902, by the Bishop of London (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1s. 6d.), are very homely, but they are both tender and searching. Dr. Ingram knows the life of our great city as few know it, and he seizes on the opportunity given him to press home the central truths of sin and grace. His quotation from Wesley about Good Friday is very impressive. Dr. Ingram says he has "known more souls converted, more lives changed by the Three Hours on Good Friday than by any other three hours in the year." There is much to think about in this simple but suggestive little volume.

Hebrew Ideals from the Story of the Patriarchs. By James Strachan, M.A. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 2s.)

This is a volume in the "Handbooks for Bible-classes," and is a study of Old Testament faith and life based on Genesis xii.-xxv. It takes twenty-seven subjects, such as Ideals, Separation, Worship, Grace, Love, and opens them up in a bright and stimulating fashion which will especially appeal to young minds. The book is arranged in an attractive style, and Mr. Strachan has a wide choice of illustration. Those who read these pages will find their love of Genesis deepen, and will understand its meaning better.

The Master's Guide for His Disciples (Elliot Stock, 6d. net) is a cheap edition of a manual that has established its claim to rank as a devotional classic. The sayings of our Lord are arranged under various headings, such as "The Devout Life," "The Practical Life," "The Intellectual Life." The grouping is very helpful.

The Century Bible. "Revelation." Edited by C. Anderson Scott, M.A. (Edinburgh: Jack. 3s.)

This is the best small Commentary on "Revelation" that we

know. Seventy-six pages are given to the Introduction, and nothing could be more judicious. The whole subject bristles with difficulties, but Mr. Scott handles them with rare discretion, and proves himself a really safe guide. His notes are full, and are brightened by some fine quotations. We regard the volume as a real treasure for every student of the Apocalypse.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge sends us four twopenny pamphlets on *Betting and Gambling*, *The Sabbath a Delight*, and other subjects. They are just what busy people will read; and though a Nonconformist cannot be expected to endorse some of the statements and opinions, the pamphlets will be very useful for Christian workers, and ought to bear good fruit. The *Service of Intercession and Thanksgiving on behalf of Foreign Missions* will be of great service; and the set of *Bible Readings for Young People* has been drawn up with great skill and care.

The Critical Review for July (Williams & Norgate), in noticing the last volume of *The Bible Dictionary*, says, "It would be difficult to point to any treatise on 'The Psalms' that will match the article by Professor Davison, of Handsworth, for concise, comprehensive statement and judicious use of the critical faculty." Professor Banks's *Development of Doctrine*, Part II., is described as "a good handbook, fitted to be of much use to students, scholarly, appreciative, carefully arranged, and presenting the main points at each stage of the doctrinal process."

The Kingdom of Heaven, by Robert Waters (London: R. Banks & Son, 1s. 6d.), attempts to bring out our Lord's teaching as to the kingdom of heaven. The writer is a clergyman of eighty years old, and his account of his conversion and call to the ministry is frank and unconventional. He believes in apostolic succession, and speaks of "every Denominational Founder being coupled with Jesus Christ." "Every Denominational Founder his own Pope!" is another significant sentence.

Professor Banks has just issued an eighth edition of his *Manual of Christian Doctrine* (Kelly, 3s. 6d.). It has been revised and partly rewritten, so as to take account of recent lines of theological thought. Anyone who looks at pages 142-151 will see how much the work has gained by the discussion of the teaching of the Ritschlian school. The whole work has been

enriched by the author's revision, and it is now without question the best handbook that can be put into the hands of a thoughtful student. It will teach him to use his own judgment, whilst keeping close to the word of God, and will go far to make anyone who studies it with care a sound theologian.

Two of the latest volumes of *The Temple Bible* (Dent & Co., 1s. each net) are "The Chronicles" and "The Psalms." The frontispiece of the first is a reproduction of Burne-Jones's "Building of the Temple," and a more dainty and suggestive piece of work it would not be easy to find. For "The Psalms" Rossetti's picture of David playing his harp has been chosen. The Introduction and notes to each volume pack a great deal of information into little space. The "Synchronism of Ancient History" is very useful, and the "References in English Literature" will attract and help many students. The Introduction to the Book of Psalms is excellent, and the section on "Hebrew Music and Musical Instruments" will appeal to many readers. We value the *Temple Bible* more and more highly as we study successive volumes, and we hope it will have growing favour with the English people. Dr. Robertson is the editor of the volume which contains "The First and Second Books of Kings," and his name is a guarantee for thorough and judicious work. We have not seen a better Introduction to the two books. Their framework is clearly brought out, and Dr. Robertson says "the suggestion is worth considering whether a good many of the variations and presumed interpolations found in many of the Old Testament books, which critics are disposed to regard as later additions, are not as old as the time of the first writing down of the documents, coming from the time of transition from oral recital to written form." Dr. B. B. Warfield had edited "The Acts, Pastoral Epistles, and Philemon." There is a great deal to be learnt from his Introduction and notes as to St. Paul's care of the Churches and St. Luke's authorship. The volume is one of the most valuable and most suggestive in the series. The frontispieces to these volumes are very fine.

Christian Heresies, by S. C. Tickell (Elliot Stock, 1s. 6d. net), is a guide to the heresies of the early centuries. They are arranged on a novel plan, which makes it easy for a student to remember them, and the comments are pertinent and illuminating. We think very highly of the little book, and can heartily commend it to young theologians.

II. FOR BIBLE STUDENTS.

The Words of Jesus, considered in the Light of Post-biblical Jewish Writings and the Aramaic Language. By Gustaf Dalman, Professor of Theology in the University of Leipzig. Authorised English Version by D. M. Kay, B.D., B.Sc., Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages in the University of St. Andrews. I. Introduction and "Fundamental Ideas." (Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 1902. 7s. 6d. net.)

STUDENTS of the New Testament will be grateful for this scholarly and useful book, and find it worthy a place on the reference shelves of their libraries, in the company of Deissmann, Cremer, Hatch, and other illuminators of the sacred text. From every quarter light is gradually being brought to bear upon the words that Jesus spoke. The first search was naturally made amongst the writers of Greek, and authors of every quality were ransacked for parallelism or suggestion. As soon as the papyri became accessible, they too passed under trained eyes by which no smallest particular was overlooked. That Aramaic would prove a fertile field has for some time been suspected, but the few incursions into it hitherto made have been either misguided or unsystematic, and not even the syntax and phraseology of the dialects are yet perfectly known. For Professor Dalman may be claimed the credit of the first deliberate and sustained attempt to illustrate the language of the New Testament from that spoken by our Lord's contemporaries, and the result is the contribution of elements of great value in the minute exegesis of the gospels.

Professor Dalman's method is first of all to examine the relations in Palestine at the beginning of the era between the various languages current there, with a view to determine the linguistic form in which the gospel message was delivered. Then he proceeds to investigate some of the words and phrases most frequently used by the Saviour. A complete apparatus in the shape of indexes of Greek terms, of citations from the L.Q.R., OCT., 1902.

Synoptics, of passages discussed in detail, is appended ; and the book is marked by the accuracy and fulness, the courtesy in controversy and the loyalty to truth, now common in the higher ranks of scholarship.

Fundamental to Professor Dalman's argument is the view that the ordinary language of Jesus and of His Jewish disciples was Aramaic, and for that conclusion the evidence is almost irresistible. There were several dialects of that language spoken in Palestine in the time of Christ ; but there was a common literary Aramaic, that varied but slightly in the different parts of the country, and of which sections of Daniel and Ezra, the Targum of Onkelos, the Palmyrene and Nabataean inscriptions, and several other documents survive. It does not follow, however, that the original written gospel was Aramaic, for at a very early time the Church included amongst its members numerous Hellenists, whose acquaintance with Aramaic or Hebrew would be small. To be understood by the community the words and deeds of Jesus would need to be recounted almost from the first in both Greek and Aramaic, and possibly originals in both languages existed side by side. That the Synoptists used documentary sources in Greek may be inferred from their occasional agreements ; but if Christ spoke in Aramaic, it is in that language that will be found the words for which interpreters afterwards sought equivalents in Greek, and the Aramaic original and not its alien equivalent is the exact key to the thoughts of the Saviour. Professor Dalman does not attempt at present to restore the Aramaic original, but he examines a considerable number of the Semitisms of the gospel, and occasionally classes under that term expressions of which the Greek is good and sufficiently supported by classical usage. His readers will condone so slight a fault, natural to an advocate, in their admiration for the sound and self-restrained work their author generally supplies.

The sections in which Professor Dalman traces the "fundamental ideas," which are but imperfectly assimilated in the Greek text, are full of suggestiveness, and really form the groundwork for a new and synthetic treatment of the theology of the gospels. In the present volume room is found for the discussion of only fourteen terms and phrases, of which some are divine or Messianic titles, and the rest expressions of the highest significance, such as the kingdom of heaven, the world, eternal life, and the various combinations of *æon*. "Son of

man" is said not to be Messianic, and on the other hand, not an empty formula, but as used by Jesus a testimony to the reality of His human nature. "The Power" is a good Aramaic equivalent for God, and St. Luke (xxii. 69) added "of God" for the benefit of his Gentile readers, though the addition was both tautological and confusing. "Eternal life" denotes a status, of which eternal perdition is the correlative, whilst the presupposition is a judgment, never to be repeated, where the issues are not the ending or the continuation of existence, but permanent exclusion from or admission into the theocracy. The kingdom of heaven is a purely religious conception, involving the establishment of divine sovereignty over the whole inner life of men, who are thereby brought into the closest and happiest relations with God; and some popular sermons on Matthew xi. 12 must be laid aside or attached to another text, if the Aramaic original of that verse is borne in mind. In discussions such as these, involving innumerable details of text and linguistic usage, differences on small points are to be expected. But more careful work than Dalman's no scholar need hope to attain; and the principle of seeking the meaning of Jesus in the words He actually used is obviously correct and irreproachable.

R. W. M.

Apocrypha Syriaca, being the Protevangelium Jacobi and Transitus Mariæ from a Palimpsest of the fifth or sixth century. Edited by Agnes Smith Lewis. (Cambridge University Press. 15s. net.)

Dr. Agnes Smith Lewis bought the manuscript from which the contents of this volume are taken at Suez, on her homeward journey from Sinai in 1895. It is a palimpsest; a ninth or tenth century Arabic translator of selections from the Christian Fathers has written across the Syriac text "as our grandmothers used to cross their letters." To the decipherment, transcription, and translation of the underscript Mrs. Lewis has devoted much time and labour, and the Cambridge University Press has published the results of her work as No. XI. of the *Studia Sinaitica*.

The apocryphal *Protevangelium Jacobi* has been edited by Dr. William Wright, but for the most part he used MSS. half a century at least later than the text translated by Mrs. Lewis. The most interesting passage in this work is that which refers to Joseph. Many critics quote the Syriac gospels of Mount Sinai as evidence against the trustworthiness of the narrative of the

virgin birth of our Lord. Here, in a context which emphasises the virginity of Mary, the angel of the Lord is represented as saying to Joseph : "Fear not for the girl ; . . . she shall bear to thee a son." Mrs. Lewis rightly argues that the latter phrase, as it occurs in the old Syriac version of the canonical gospels, cannot possess the importance which some have attached to it. Her own note is : "This must surely be a loose mode of expression, or more probably it may be explained by the ancient Semitic custom of reckoning the children of a woman by her first husband to her second one."

The *Transitus Mariae* is a narrative which may fairly be described as a "pious romance." Mrs. Lewis has little difficulty in showing that it cannot claim to be historic, and yet, as Dr. Ewald says, "the whole cultus of Mary in the Papal Church rests upon this book."

This interesting volume also contains texts from the Septuagint, the Corân, the Peshitto, a Syriac hymn almost wholly composed of biblical phraseology, and an Appendix of the Palestinian Syriac Fragments in the Taylor-Schechter collection. It is illustrated with beautifully printed facsimiles of MS. leaves.

J. G. T.

The Pentateuch in the Light of To-day. Being a simple Introduction to the Pentateuch on the Lines of the Higher Criticism. By Alfred Holborn, M.A. (Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 1902. 2s. net.)

Mr. Holborn's little book contains the substance of a course of lectures to Sunday-school teachers, and is designed for their benefit and that of the general public, and not for scholars and experts. It consists of an introduction to the Pentateuch according to the views of the moderate section of the modern critical school, with an adequate index, and an appendix showing the probable source of each chapter and verse. The work is very well done ; and the book may be recommended with confidence to any who have not the technical knowledge to follow the critics themselves, and yet wish to gain an intelligent idea of the results concerning which there is practical unanimity, and of their bearing upon the inspiration and authority of Scripture. Mr. Holborn is generally an admirable guide. Occasionally the reader, who is wisely advised to exercise his right of private judgment, may think the evidence insufficient or the argument unconvincing. Now and again, as on the

substitutionary character of the Jewish sacrifices, either too much is said or too little. But on the whole the book will tend to intellectual settlement and to edification in the faith. Inspiration is definitely claimed for the Pentateuch, on the triple ground of its lofty conception of God, its high ethical standard, and the unity of its contents. The book meets a want that has for some time been felt in the Churches, and is well fitted to be placed in the hands of those who are unskilled in Hebrew.

R. W. M.

The Integrity of Scripture. Plain Reasons for Rejecting the Critical Hypothesis. By John Smith, M.A., D.D., Broughton Place Church, Edinburgh. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 3s. 6d.)

Dr. John Smith writes always with vigour, and at times with rigour. He delivers many well directed blows against those higher critics who assume that the supernatural must be eliminated from the history of Israel. "We have that within ourselves," he pertinently says, "witnessed to by our inmost spirit, which argument or speculation cannot touch, as to the character of this book, and the undeniable verity of that self-witness written broad on every page." Against the naturalistic assumptions of many modern critics this appeal to experience has great force, for it is an appeal to facts, and a spiritual revelation may be authenticated by well established spiritual results.

But can it be maintained that the self-witness of revelation enables us to distinguish between two critical theories of the authorship of the Pentateuch? If a traditionalist of the school to which the author belongs is compelled to allow the use by Moses of "old and to some extent varying traditions, whose joinings are still apparent," is it quite certain that the recognition of three documents in the Pentateuch involves the surrender of the Bible's claim to be an authoritative revelation? Dr. Driver and Dr. G. A. Smith believe as ardently as any traditionalist in the "inner unity and coherence of revelation as containing the evolution of the divine purpose," nor do these higher critics require us to "tone down our spiritual consciousness." Dr. John Smith, however, persists in counting amongst his foes many who would welcome him as an ally. The value of this powerful attack on the "school of thorough-paced material evolution" is discounted by the author's habit of turning his

guns upon the left wing of his own army, and by his unwillingness to grant that any higher critic can be fighting on his side.

A well merited rebuke is administered to the higher critics who "lecture" us and treat those who differ from them with contempt, but the force of this rebuke is lessened by expressions which the author permits himself to use. "Machine-made" is not a fair, much less a happy description of the critical theory; nor does it tend to the hallowing of criticism to say that "for a hundred years we have had acute experts moving heaven and earth to establish their hypothesis." That criticism has too often been ruthlessly destructive is beyond all reasonable doubt, but Dr. John Smith does scant justice to the attempts at reconstruction which have begun, although they are far from complete. Moreover, there are sentences in his book which betray a lack of sympathy with the difficulties encountered by many honest searchers of the Scriptures: by those, for example, to whom the critical theory of a progressive revelation brings welcome relief as they read the Old Testament narratives of terrible deeds; of some of these deeds it is scarcely sufficient to say, "for those whom He called to service Jehovah had often terrible work."

J. G. TASKER.

The Study of the Gospels. By J. Armitage Robinson.
(London: Longmans. 2s. 6d. net.)

Canon Robinson regards St. Mark's Gospel as the first of the Synoptists, which was freely used by St. Matthew and St. Luke. He works out his theory in the most instructive and suggestive way, and throws much light on that gospel workshop into which all students are so eager to look. The chapters on St. John's Gospel are very frank and helpful. The contrast between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptists is brought out, and due weight given to objections; but the conclusion is that John the Apostle "wrote as in his Master's very presence his testimony to what his Master had been and for ever should be—the Light and the Life of men." Canon Robinson's little book will strengthen faith, and send many readers back to their New Testament with fresh interest and pleasure.

The Sermon on the Mount: its Literary Structure and Didactic Purpose. By Benjamin W. Bacon, D.D.
(London: Macmillan & Co. 4s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Bacon is Professor of New Testament Criticism and

Exegesis in Yale University. This lecture attempts to restore the Sermon on the Mount to the form in which it was originally delivered by our Lord. Professor Bacon thinks that "however incorrect" Matthew may have been "in the admission of many large masses of discourse uttered on other occasions, he is in his general representation correct. There was a real sermon, a Sermon on the Mount, a discourse of Jesus to His disciples, worthy to be called the New Torah of the kingdom of God." We have a rooted distrust of theories of exegesis which accuse the evangelists of "misunderstanding" and "failures to observe" what modern critics see so clearly, and Professor Bacon does not increase our confidence when he calls St. James's word that a man is not "justified by faith apart from works" a flat contradiction of Romans iii. 28; but this does not blind us to the merits of his study of the Sermon on the Mount. The way in which it is mapped out is distinctly suggestive and instructive, and the little volume deserves a careful reading. Those who cannot accept all its positions will learn a great deal from it.

The Credibility of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles.
Being the Hulsean Lectures for 1900-1901. By
F. H. Chase, D.D. (London : Macmillan. 1902. 6s.)

The Book of the Acts is the latest object of critical attack. Dr. Ramsay's defence of the book on the historical side is of the greatest value; Dr. Chase's defence on the literary side is an excellent supplement. The four lectures deal with the story of Pentecost, the growth of the Church, St. Peter's testimony, and St. Paul's, the last occupying about half the work. Comparison with passages treating of the same topics in other New Testament books brings out marks of verisimilitude which carry conviction with them. The comparisons are worked out with ample knowledge and remarkable minuteness. The tone, too, of the writer is eminently fair and candid, too candid in some instances. Thus the treatment of the Tongues at Pentecost is far from satisfactory, and other references to the apostolic miracles are in the same strain; but these are exceptional. The great bulk of the work is constructive and edifying in the truest sense. The work is a fine specimen of learned apologetics, and will repay careful and repeated study.

B.

Vision and Authority ; or, the Throne of St. Peter. By John Oman, M.A., B.D. (London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1902. 7s. 6d.)

The writer is known as an able translator of Schleiermacher's memorable work on Religion. Here he practically solves the same problem in the same way. The problem is the ground of Christian certitude ; the solution is found in Christian experience and consciousness. The spirit of the great German breathes in the pages ; the thoughtfulness, the introspection, the eloquence, the play and glow of feeling are all here. Yet, with all this dependence, the author is always himself. We need not agree with everything in order to agree with much. The external and the historical scarcely get justice. Still there are many works which present the other side of the shield. Here we see the side visible only to reason and feeling. In short, vision, not authority, is the evidence of spiritual truth.

Life and Letters of St. Paul, by Dr. Stokoe (Clarendon Press, 3s. 6d.), is just the manual which a young student needs. It is admirably lucid, and is arranged in a way that greatly assists in mastering the argument of St. Paul's letters. The work is a model of scholarly clearness and simplicity.

Messrs. Clarke & Co. have published in a fourpenny pamphlet the sermon which Principal Forsyth preached last May before the Wesleyan Missionary Society. It is based on Ezekiel's vision of the Valley of Dry Bones, and is entitled *Holy Christian Empire*. " Empire follows the Cross. . . . The final dominion on earth can only be on the principle of the missionary gospel. The world is to be ruled in the end only by those men and by that society that knows the laws and powers of the new soul." We have read this great sermon with profound pleasure. It is rich in noble thought, in high purpose, in faith, and in courage. Every sentence tells, and the whole argument moves onward to its great conclusion : " It is the missionary idea, the missionary faith, and the missionary policy that has the key of empire and the long, last reversion of the wide world's future." Dr. Forsyth has put the argument for missions in a way that will nerve and inspire the Church's workers at home and abroad for fresh sacrifice. We know no interpretation of Ezekiel's great vision so penetrating or so suggestive as this.

III. HISTORY.

The Growth and Decline of the French Monarchy. By James Mackinnon, Ph.D. (London: Longmans. 21s)

AMONG the many attractive historical works which have recently issued from the press this volume, dealing with the growth and decline of the French monarchy, will, we believe, take an assured position. The subject is one of great intrinsic interest, and of this interest nothing is lost in the author's method of treatment, which is vivid and full of life and colour. Dr. Mackinnon's book is a monument of industry; it contains a great mass of valuable information, and has as nearly attained completeness as a general work dealing with so large a subject can. By way of preface the author gives some interesting information as to the genesis of his work, which, he tells us, "has grown out of a desire to investigate the origins of the French Revolution." This, then, is the task to which he has set himself, and which he has accomplished with thoroughness and historical insight. Dr. Mackinnon has spared no pains in research, and the fruit of wide reading and thoughtful study is presented by him in a very readable form. Beginning with Hugh Capet, he traces the gradual growth in splendour and power of the French monarchy, until in the person of Louis XIV. it attains its zenith, only almost immediately, under his successor, to plunge headlong down the way to ruin. This process of development was one of ever increasing centralisation and absolutism, the whole power of the State passing little by little into the hands of the king, or some strong minister, who was assumed to represent him. This might not have been an unmitigated evil had it not been for the fact that, generally speaking, though exceptions might be found, the aims of the rulers were entirely selfish, and the interests which they served merely personal—those of the king or the minister, as the case might be. The real interests of the nation suffered a continuous neglect, and the profusion and splendour of the palace had its dark counterfoil in the abject wretchedness which generally prevailed. More than once, under the pressure of misgovernment and

misery, popular discontent seemed to threaten revolution, and was an unmistakable indication that a great reaction must inevitably take place at last. Here is to be found the explanation of the terrible explosion of a nation's wrath, and the tragic *débâcle* of the French monarchy in the closing years of the eighteenth century. Sudden and catastrophic in form as the revolution of 1789 appeared at the moment to be, it was really the natural *dénouement* of a long-continued process, and might have been foreseen by one who could read the facts aright. To those who can look beneath the surface and read into the heart of things the perusal of Dr. Mackinnon's volume will make it clear that the French Revolution was no isolated event, no sudden breaking in upon the continuity of history, but was really continuous with the past, and serves as an impressive reminder that that continuity is ever present, though at times the fact may be disguised, and hidden from the sight of the casual observer.

Into discussion of detailed points it is impossible here to enter; it may, however, be said in passing, that the chapter which deals with Law's financial schemes is perhaps the most fascinating in the book, and is an interesting and thoughtful economic study. Separate chapters devoted to Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and the encyclopædists are also worthy of special mention. To the large class of busy men and women who have but little time for reading, yet like to have some good book on hand which is at once informing and easy to read, Dr. Mackinnon's volume may be warmly commended as being both interesting and instructive.

While frankly expressing our appreciation of the work as a whole, we feel that in some respects it is open to criticism, though this applies rather to the manner than the matter of it. It gives the impression of having been written in a hurry, and, full of life and colour as the narrative is, cannot claim any high literary merit; in places it reminds one more of a hastily written newspaper report than anything else. The author's style is colloquial, sometimes even to the point of vulgarity; we read, for instance, of "Laverdi sweating at his finance." Again, when we meet with a sentence such as the following, "Man in general, it is to be hoped, was not descended from the ape, but courtiers of the stamp of the latter days of the reign of Louis XV. evidently were," we feel that, smart as such sayings may be, they are somewhat out of place in a serious historical work, and

we regret that the author did not express himself in different terms. Another defect, from a literary point of view, which might easily have been avoided, is his want of consistency in the use of tenses ; one sentence, for instance, being written in the historic present, the next drifting back to the more usual preterite. One sentence we have noted which lacks a verb altogether. A little more attention to matters of diction and style would have greatly enhanced the literary value of Dr. Mackinnon's work. In spite of these shortcomings, however, we cannot but regard the book as a very successful piece of historical work. The story is a long one, it is told with considerable detail, and yet the reader's attention is firmly gripped from first to last. It would be a matter for congratulation if some of the time given to works of fiction were devoted to such a book as this, which is as interesting as a novel, and at the same time profoundly instructive. For its size and price the "get-up" of the volume leaves something to be desired, and one could wish that a book so bulky had been issued in two-volume form, as the comfort of the reader would have been greatly served thereby.

W. ERNEST BEET.

The English Church in the Sixteenth Century, from the Accession of Henry VIII. to the Death of Mary. By James Gairdner, C.B. (London : Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d.)

Mr. Gairdner has an unrivalled knowledge of the period covered by this volume, and gives the results of his research in the clearest style. He has strong opinions on many points of the great controversy between England and Rome, but that does not rob him of his impartiality or colour his review of the history of a great transition period. He says : "The copious stores of documents now available have rendered many long-cherished views untenable ; but the results of investigation are as yet imperfectly known, and it is to be feared that the truth on very important subjects will have much prejudice to encounter before it can win general acceptance." Mr. Gairdner admits that Sir Thomas More was a great enemy to heretics, whom he considered dangerous to society. "But More gave effect to his enmity in methods strictly legitimate, and nothing that he ever did was tainted with inhumanity. The charges, indeed, have been repeated again and again, though they rest on no better

authority, after all, than the malice of some contemporaries, and the credulity of a very one-sided historian. But if they be accepted they destroy More's character, not for humanity alone, but for honesty and truthfulness as well." The story of a letter written by Katharine of Arragon on her deathbed to Henry VIII. is dismissed as unworthy of credit. "She had long been obliged to yield to the painful conviction that her husband had become utterly hardened and unscrupulous. And the news of her death gave him a satisfaction which he was at no pains to conceal. 'God be praised,' he said, 'we are now free from all fear of war!' Next day he clothed himself in yellow, and danced with the ladies of his court, like one mad with delight." The history brings out the unpopularity of Anne Boleyn. The world was "heartily glad to get rid of her on any terms." The revolution wrought by Henry VIII. was without parallel in history. "Professing to the last a zeal for religion, which in early days was not altogether insincere, he had destroyed the old autonomy of the Church, suppressed the monasteries, confiscated an enormous mass of property, and hanged, beheaded, or intimidated all who looked for the restoration of the system he had broken down." As to his eldest daughter, Mr. Gairdner says "History has been cruel to her memory. The horrid epithet 'bloody' bestowed so unscrupulously alike on her and on Bonner and Gardiner and the bishops generally, had, at least, a plausible justification in her case from the severities to which she gave her sanction; though it was really not just, even to her." As queen she endeavoured to suppress those whom she regarded as enemies of the whole system of Church government "by means which, if severe, were strictly legal." The final results of the English Reformation were embodied, so far as doctrine and devotion were concerned, in the Prayer-Book and the Thirty-nine Articles. "No formularies were ever drawn that give so much liberty to the human mind. Truth had been well tested by martyrdoms on either side before they were finally adopted; and while they repudiated the exclusiveness of Rome, they raised no barrier to the freest thinking consistent with belief in revelation. They constitute a more real catholicism than that of the Council of Trent."

A Supplement to Burnet's History of My Own Time.

Derived from his Original Memoirs, his Autobiography, his Letters to Admiral Herbert, and his Private Medita-

tions. All hitherto unpublished. Edited by H. C. Foxcroft. (Oxford : Clarendon Press. 16s. net.)

The existence of the MSS. on which this volume is based has long been known to students of seventeenth-century history, but though some use has been made of them it has been very partial. Mr. Foxcroft gives a full account of the Harleian MS. in the British Museum and the Bodleian papers, which contain a long autograph fragment of Burnet's History and the original draft of his Autobiography. The alterations which Burnet gradually made in some of his judgments as to the Revolution impair the historical value and self-consistency of his narrative, and weaken our faith in his political insight. His account of Marlborough's disgrace is gradually toned down until the Churchill version of that affair is accepted without demur. The explanation is that he had become intimate with Churchill, and thus had come more and more under the fascination of the most seductive intellect in Europe. The additions to the History are here given in order of date, and variations from the printed History are recorded in small type, so that a student may revise his Burnet from these notes. The labour bestowed on this part of the work must have been immense. The additional pieces are of great interest. Burnet is so frank and so fearless that he always fixes our attention. He knew intimately the chief actors in the Revolution of 1688, and his outspoken opinions bring us closer to these events than we can get almost anywhere else. We can understand the charm of Burnet's company better from this volume. "I had a facetiousness and easiness in conversation that was entertaining. I had read a variety of things, and could dress them in easy words, so that many liked my company." Nothing in his whole life reflects more honour upon him than his friendship with Archbishop Leighton. "I can truly say it, I never was with him but I felt a commentary within me on these words, 'Did not our hearts burn within us, while he talked with us.'" Burnet knew the religious life of Scotland intimately, and tells us how wonderful he found it to overhear the people in the west at their religious exercises. "The generality of the commons" were able to pray extempore for a whole hour together. Among his characters of the men and women of his time, one of the finest is that of Lady Russell, whom he accounted "among the perfectest pieces of her sex." "She has naturally a great edge upon her temper, but better

principles have softened that much ; yet though the fire of her passions is much extinguished, the heat and tenderness of them is still such that, as it has made her one of the best wives I ever knew, so it has sunk her into an extreme sorrow upon her lord's death ; which yet she governs so, that though it must appear much to her friends, she sets it off with no affectation to others, and indeed I have scarce seen one freer of all the exterior parts of pride than she is." The way in which Charles II.'s remains were insulted and slighted makes a pitiful story. "His funeral, it was believed, did not cost £100. Those that were sharp upon his memory, said it was much as he deserved ; others reflected on his brother's ingratitude for doing so little honour to his dead body." It is interesting in this Coronation year to read how the court of James II. "was so possessed with this matter, that it lessened the king in many people's thoughts, who saw him more intent upon the ceremony of the splendour of that day than became a man of his age." The character of William III. is finely drawn. "He is the closest man in the world, so that it is not possible so much as to guess at his intentions till he declares them ; he is extreme calm both in council and actions, and hears very gently things that are said to him, even when he is not pleased with them ; but he has the haughtiness of a great mind not to forget too soon injuries done him, but he has never been observed to affect revenges, only he does not easily return to confidences with those that have offended him." Burnet's Autobiography lends its chief charm to this volume. His account of his father is a beautiful tribute to a noble life and character, and the description of the pains which Burnet took to fit himself for the pulpit and to administer his diocese faithfully, shows the noblest side of his character. He saw what a labour preaching was to many who "wrote their sermons and then got them by heart, for none do read in Scotland, so I resolved to follow a freer and easier way." He studied the Bible with unceasing care, and "got a great deal of it by heart, and accustomed myself as I was riding or walking to repeat parcells of it." Then he considered texts, which he learned to divide, to expound, and apply. He studied divinity closely, and meditated and prayed about his work till he "arrived at a great readiness in preaching that has continued with me ever from that time." Burnet's tributes to his three wives will be eagerly read. Of his Dutch wife he says, "I found in her a religious, discrete, and good-tempered friend,

who was a prudent manager of my affairs and a very good mistress of a family, and she had a very particular art of making herself acceptable to all people." Mr. Foxcroft has done his work with great care and skill, and this volume is not merely indispensable for a student of Burnet and his times, but is profoundly interesting in itself.

The Roll-Call of Westminster Abbey. By Mrs. A. Murray Smith. With Illustrations and Maps. (London : Smith, Elder, & Co. 6s.)

No one is more at home among the silent company of the Abbey than Dean Bradley's daughter. For twenty years her "diversion" has been found among the ancient monuments, and her *Annals of Westminster Abbey* and *Deanery Guide*, which has passed through twelve editions, have been a source of delight to a host of visitors and tourists. In this book she does not deal with the architecture, but with the dead "small and great." She regards them "one all, whether names famous in history, or unknown except to the student of the abbey registers, as dear and familiar friends." She has lived their lives with them, and tells their story with sufficient detail to make them alive for her readers. Royalty and nobility have their full share in these chapters : but the account of "Naval and Military Heroes" ; the tender and touching record, "The Children of the Abbey" ; and the story of the poets, actors, musicians, and philanthropists are specially delightful. We are glad to see the warm tribute paid to the Wesleys. The plans of the chapels and monuments will be very helpful to a visitor, and the full-page illustrations of tombs and effigies have unusual interest, and are splendidly reproduced. There is no introduction to the silent citizens of the Abbey so complete and so interesting as this answer to the roll-call.

The Story of Westminster Abbey. By Violet Brooke-Hunt. (London : Nisbet & Co. 6s.)

This book gives an account of Westminster Abbey, "its builders, and those who sleep therein," which will teach young people more about our princes, soldiers, statesmen, poets, and great men than they could learn in a long course of lessons. The story is told with so much vivid detail that boys and girls will be absorbed in its pages, and the pictures are so clear and

so well chosen that we almost have the Abbey itself before our eyes. Henry III. determined to make the Confessor's shrine "the most lovable thing in Christendom," and we all know how he succeeded. The second half of the book, entitled "Among the Monuments," introduces us to Puritans and cavaliers, musicians and philanthropists, and all the dead who live in England's heart. We grow prouder than ever of our country and of the men who have made it famous. Methodists will appreciate the reference to the Wesley monument. "Very appropriate is the Wesley inscription, 'The whole world is my parish,' breathing as it does the great-hearted spirit of the Abbey." The book will be a mine of instruction and delight for all who buy it.

Historical Essays by Members of the Owens College, Manchester. Edited by Professors Tout and Tait. (London: Longmans. 12s. 6d. net.)

This large and valuable volume is published in commemoration of the Jubilee of the great college of the north of England. Very fitting is it that it should have taken the form of historical essays. For the Owens College is rapidly becoming one of the great history schools of Europe, as it has long been one of the chief schools of chemistry and engineering. Since the volume was published the enterprise of Manchester has endowed a chair of Mediæval History for Professor Tait, in addition to existing chairs of Ancient History, etc., and this at a time when universities like Aberdeen do not possess a Professor of History of any sort, Mediæval, Ancient, or even Scots. That Manchester, the second city in the empire, should thus encourage studies which a utilitarian age is inclined to throw on one side as dusty and useless is a fact of no small comfort to some of us who are old-fashioned enough to believe that the true function of a University does not lie in the founding of chairs of brewing!

But to return to the volume before us. The contents are very varied; in fact, the only unity in the volume is the patient research characteristic of all. For the man in the street the major part will be caviare. Mrs. Tout's investigation of the "Legend of St. Ursula" may perhaps, however, detain him for a moment. We observe that Mrs. Tout decides against the familiar explanations (xi. M. V., *i.e.* undecim martyres virgines, misread as xi. millia virgines, etc.) on the ground that the

"evidence for 'eleven thousand' is much older than the evidence for 'Ursula.'" She inclines herself to a massacre by Huns in A.D. 451 as a possible explanation. Mr. Jones's "Italian Bankers in England" will amaze many by the vast sums that the merchant princes of Florence and Genoa loaned to our Edwards. We carried on the Hundred Years' War by means of Italian money. The "Siege of Manchester in 1642," by Mr. Broxap—a Methodist name if we mistake not—will interest local readers, while Mr. Hutton's "Moravian Contribution to the Evangelical Revival" will appeal to a larger circle.

But the whole of the twenty papers are full of interest in themselves, and ripe promise of good work for the future. Manchester, indeed, is rich in her splendid libraries, her thriving University, and her young and vigorous School of History.

H. B. WORKMAN.

The Story of Prague. By Count Lützow. (London: J. M. Dent. 3s. 6d. net.)

This volume is the latest addition to Messrs. Dent's "Mediæval Town Series," and is in every respect worthy of that excellent series. Count Lützow's *Bohemia*, 1896, and his *Bohemian Literature*, 1899, have established his claim to speak as an authority on all things Bohemian. He is also at the present time, we believe, engaged on a work on Hus. The Count, we need not say, knows therefore his Prague thoroughly, and loves her history with the true enthusiasm of a patriot. Prague, in fact, is in every way one of the most beautiful and interesting cities of Europe, and the volume before us, with its delightful sketches, will make all the readers of the LONDON QUARTERLY desire to visit it. We wish, all the same, that the Count's patriotism had allowed him to give us the old familiar German names along with the Czech. These, we believe, have recently been swept away. In place of Kleinseite the stranger must ask for Malá Strana; the River Moldau now rejoices in the name of Ultava, and the Hradschin has become Hradcany. A small thing in itself, but one sign among many of that revived Czech consciousness of nationalism of which in his day Hus was one of the leaders. We have only noticed one mistake in this delightful volume. On page 35 Count Lützow still repeats the old story that in 1409 five thousand German masters and students left Prague for Leipzig. But, as I point out in my forthcoming *Age of Hus*, the question of the number who seceded seems settled by the

recent publication of G. Erler, *Die Matrikel der Universität Leipzig*, two vols. [In the *Codex Diplomaticus Saxonie Regie*, Zweiter Haupttheil xvi. Band.] From these lists we see that the total number of registrations at Leipzig in 1409 was three hundred and sixty-nine; in 1410 was two hundred and forty-eight. The 1409 list includes forty-five graduates of other universities—presumably, therefore, all the seceding Prague magisters. Of the rest, forty-seven were “Pragenses,” fifty-one “pauperes.” Putting the winter and the summer sessions together, the entrances were but five hundred and seven. One more mediæval fiction is thus destroyed.

H. B. WORKMAN.

The Story of Cairo. By Stanley Lane-Poole, Litt.D., M.A.
The Story of Chartres. By Cecil Headlam. Illustrated by Herbert Railton.

(London: J. M. Dent & Co. 4s. 6d. each net.)

The Jewish hakim said long ago, “He who hath not seen Cairo hath not seen the world. Her soil is gold; her Nile is a marvel; her women are the bright-eyed houris of paradise; her houses are palaces, and her air is soft with an odour above aloes, refreshing to the heart; and how should Cairo be otherwise when she is the mother of the world?” Cairo had no existence before the Middle Ages, and, thanks to the “blessed conservatism of the East,” it still retains much of “its beautiful, ruinous, unprogressive disorder.” New buildings have risen, but the general aspect of the city has not seriously altered in recent years, and the people are unchanged. Omnibuses and tramcars rush through the streets, but the passengers bear the unmistakable stamp of the East. On the footpaths, which are kept clean by circular brushes and little girl scavengers, you meet “Sudány women, closely veiled with the white *burko*, which sets off their swarthy brows and black eyes to advantage; Egyptian girls in blue gowns and black veils hanging loose and allowing the well formed neck and line of cheek and chin to be seen, whilst concealing the only part a woman scrupulously hides in the East, her mouth; horrible blear-eyed old harridans, veiled with immaculate precision, squatting in rows against the house-fronts; Bedawis striding along in the roadway with the striped kufiya wound round their heads; strings of camels tied together, laden with *bersim*, the rich fodder of Egypt, and driven by the smallest of urchins; all classes and ages and sexes mingled

together in a jostling, perspiring, but good-tempered crowd; and everywhere the pungent, pervasive odour of the East." Those who can never hope to see Cairo with their own eyes have reason to be thankful for the use of Mr. Lane-Poole's. No one knows the city better than he, and the sketch of its history, its buildings, its people, its present life, fascinates a Western reader. The pictures are very effective.

Chartres is also fortunate in its historian and in the artist who accompanied him in his wanderings. Mr. Railton is our favourite illustrator, and he has never done more delicate or more dainty work than for this volume. Chartres stands in the plain of La Beauce, in a district that has no natural beauty, save that it is an immense field of corn. Everywhere across the level country one sees the great cathedral towering above the city. Its glories unfold before us as we read this book. It is "a Bible in stone, and the porches a gospel in relief, a sculptured catechism, a preface and a résumé of the book. Each stone, thus understood, is seen to be a page of a great drama. This drama is the history of humanity from the creation of the world to the day of the last judgment." Mr. Headlam tells the story of the city and its great church in a charming style. The men of the city, he says, have "the regularity, the monotony, and the hardness of their native land. They are without passion or imagination, cold and avaricious, and their women are like them. Their wit, when they have any, is of the kind that delights in carping, ironical raillery." This is not a pleasant picture, but the city and the cathedral make up for the defects of the people.

With the Guards' Brigade from Bloemfontein to Koomati Poort and Back. By E. P. Lowry. (London: Horace Marshall & Son. 5s.)

Methodism was never so proud of the work it is doing among soldiers and sailors as it is to-day, and Mr. Lowry's unaffected record will increase the pride and the confidence of his own Church in its military chaplains, and will show to all the world what unselfish devotion has been lavished on our brave men in South Africa, and what noble fruit it has borne. The sketches are "intended to set forth the many-sided life of our soldiers on active service, their privations and perils, their failings and their heroisms, their rare endurance, and in some cases their unfeigned piety." Mr. Lowry tells his story with true skill. He has passed

unscathed through a terrible time of testing, and his stories of the hardships of the campaign and of the pluck and good temper of our men will be read with the keenest interest. Many a sidelight is thrown on the character of the Boer and as to our mistakes in dealing with him. We did not even attempt to take possession of a burgher's horse when he surrendered. "We found him a soldier, and when he surrendered we left him a soldier, well horsed, well armed, and often deadlier as a pretended friend than as a professed foe. Because of that exquisite folly, which we misnamed 'clemency,' we have had to traverse the whole country twice over, and found a guerilla war treading close on the heels of the great war." The illustrations are of great interest, and the book seems alive.

The Tale of a Field Hospital. By Sir Frederick Treves, Bart. With Fourteen Illustrations from Original Photographs. (London : Cassell & Co. 3s. 6d.)

Sir Frederick Treves proved himself a true patriot by his work in the Ladysmith Relief Column, and his record brings home to us certain aspects of the Boer War as perhaps no other book attempts to do. Sir Frederick admits that his story is a little sombre, and possibly on occasions gruesome; but he spares his reader's feelings as much as is consistent with fidelity to fact, and we would not willingly lose the glimpses which he gives of our brave soldiers in hours when their pluck and endurance were most severely tested. It is a comfort to us at home to find that the highest skill was at the service of our men, and the most tender nursing. It is simply astonishing to find how the wounded managed to live and make a good recovery when there seemed every reason why they should succumb to their injuries. The good temper, the unselfishness, the care for their more severely wounded comrades really warms one's heart. The pride which the men in a tent felt in a "bad case" furnishes a good story. Sir Frederick heard a man on the ground, whose head was nearly in the open, call out to another head just in view on the floor of the next tent: "We've a real hot 'un in along with us; he's got 'it through the lungs and the liver both, and the doctor has been in to him three times." To which the other replied: "That's nothing to a bloke in here. He's been off his chump all night; his language has been a fair treat, and he's had four fits. We've had a night I don't think." The pictures add much to the interest of the story.

The Venetian Republic, by Horatio Brown, and *Northern Hero Legends*, by Dr. Otto L. Jiriczek, translated by M. Bentinck Smith (Dent & Co., 1s. each net), are the latest volumes in "The Temple Cyclopædic Primers," which "provide, in a convenient and accessible form, the information which the usual bulky and high-priced encyclopædias place beyond the easy reach of the average reader." Mr. Brown has given a history of the Venetian Republic in five chapters, which deal with the rise, expansion, splendour, decline, and end of the republic in a way that will both attract and instruct. The primer is full of matter, and it is arranged in a very happy style by an acknowledged master of the subject. Miss Smith's book appeals to lovers of the sagas that underlie our older literature, and is intended to serve as a handbook for students of Old English, Old Norse, Old and Middle High German. The Saga of the Niblungs holds the first place in the volume, and the notes and explanations are very helpful. No small book could be found which gives such an insight into this old poetry. Miss Smith has done her work with great judgment and literary skill.

We have received five parts of the *Coronation Book of Edward VII.* (Cassell & Co., 1s. per part). Mr. Loftie's account of the Regalia is full of historical detail of the greatest interest, and he shows that the procession from the Tower was not a mere pageant, but an opportunity to test the state of public feeling, especially among the citizens of London. The pictures of the orb and sceptres and of the crowns are almost as gorgeous as the regalia itself. The account of "Coronation Processions" and of "Queens' Coronations" are excellently done, and the illustrated pages showing the costumes worn by great officers and dignitaries at the Coronation of George IV. deserve a special word of praise. The great calamity which postponed the Coronation of Edward VII. supplies the most striking and dramatic incident in our Coronation history to Messrs. Cassell's superb history. The preparations for the expected ceremony, the scenes attending the announcement of the Sovereign's illness, will all live in these pages. The illustrations of the fourth part are very fine.

The fifth part contains an account of the preparations for the Coronation, and the tragic way in which all collapsed at the news of the King's illness. "The momentary hush was succeeded by an almost angry note of interrogation, and that by a groan of despair. To those who saw it this description will

appear too tame. London was stunned." The story of the sick chamber is briefly told ; then the King's dinners and hospitalities, the decorations and celebrations are described with pictures which will help those who did not see them to form a good idea of the splendid sights. Ludgate Hill is shown in all its glories, and the Canadian Arch. The frontispiece shows the Queen in her Coronation robes.

The address by the Bishop of Bristol (S.P.C.K., 3d.) on the *Anglo-Saxon Coronation Forms and the word Protestant in the Coronation Oath* is timely and instructive. A piece of good work.

The latest pamphlet of the Church Historical Society is by Mr. Ball, the Provost of Cumbrae Cathedral (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 3d.), and deals with the *Royal Supremacy over the Church of France at the time of the Great Revolution, 1789*. The writer's object is to show that the royal supremacy over the English Church is not peculiar, but that such supremacy always has existed in some shape or other. There is, therefore, no ground for the contempt which Roman Catholics sometimes express for the Church of England as "a creature of the State." Mr. Ball points out that when the Pope was a temporal prince he was "unconcerned or powerless while the royal supremacy was gradually taking under its control the whole governmental machinery of the Church."

West Country Songs. By Mark Guy Pearse. (London : Horace Marshall & Son. 3s. 6d.)

The old Cornwall is dying. Its language died a century ago ; now its dialect is becoming extinct. To such a Celt as Mark Guy Pearse the prospect brings a heartache, and he has tried to recall the humour, the pathos, and the quaintness of his native county in these homely songs. One feels that they come direct from the heart ; and though they are of unequal merit, some of them are very tender, and are full of the joys and sorrows of the fisherfolk and the miners of the county. Love and religion play a large part in these songs, and even an outsider learns to know Cornwall better and to love it more after reading them. The pictures of the scenery and of the fishermen with which the book is illustrated are specially attractive.

IV. BIOGRAPHY.

Souvenirs sur Madame de Maintenon. Publiés par Le Comte D'Haussonville and G. Hanotaux. *Memoire et Lettres Inédites de Mademoiselle d'Aumale.* (Paris : Calmann-Lévy. 7fr. 50c.)

MADemoiselle D'AUMALE was private secretary to Madame de Maintenon in the last years of her life. She came from Saint-Cyr in 1705, when she was twenty-two, and enjoyed the entire confidence and intimate friendship of her mistress, till Madame de Maintenon's death in 1719. She has played the part of Boswell with rare skill, and has preserved a host of details about the daily life of her patroness in the palace of Louis XIV. and in her retreat at Saint-Cyr after the king's death. Count d'Haussonville has added greatly to the charm of this volume by his beautiful sketch of the life of Madame de Maintenon. Her father was a disreputable Huguenot ; her mother was harsh and unfeeling. Her daughter could only remember being embraced twice by her, and even after a long separation she simply kissed the child on her forehead. The girlhood of the great lady of France was singularly unpromising, but her painful experiences really proved a fine school for the future. The way she bore herself as the wife of M. Scarron shows that she already possessed that dignity and prudence which won her the regard of Louis XIV., and established her influence in his court. The portrait prefixed to this volume is that of a woman of great personal beauty. Looking at it we can understand the fascination she exerted over many distinguished courtiers and soldiers of her time. Authentic proof of her marriage to the king has never been furnished, but Count d'Haussonville has no doubt that she was really his wife. She had a kind heart, and nothing gave her more unfeigned delight than to help the poor, and especially to save girls of noble family from the difficulties and humiliations from which she herself had suffered. She said : " The noblesse ought to love me well, because I love them well,

and am greatly pained to see them brought so low." She was never happier than when surrounded by children. When the Marquise de Villette offered her some rare birds she replied that she did not love any animal, but that she greatly loved children. He therefore gave her a little Moor, whom she brought up and instructed. Life had its chagrin and disappointment, but she bore her troubles like a Stoic. Her chief anxiety was to amuse her royal master, and one can see that she had no easy task. Religion was her constant comfort. Whilst she was dressing the New Testament or *The Imitation* or the Breviary was read to her. She said that she made the best use of those moments because she scarcely had any other. The Psalms were also a constant source of comfort to her. This book brings us very near to the great lady who is still something of an enigma. We gain many a glimpse into her court life, with its anxieties and perplexities, and her words and deeds as chronicled by her faithful secretary increase our sympathy and respect for the chief lady in the court of Louis XIV.

The Life and Times of Alfred the Great. Being the Ford Lectures for 1901. By Charles Plummer, M.A., Fellow and Chaplain of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. With an Appendix. (Oxford : Clarendon Press. 5s. net.)

This life is based on a critical study of the sources for the history of Alfred the Great—his own writings, the Saxon Chronicle, and the work of Asser. Mr. Plummer is not content to repeat anything at second hand, and as a student of Professor Earle he is well equipped for his task. He has come to the conclusion that Asser's work is genuine and reliable, though many interpolations have been made in its text by sixteenth and seventeenth century editors. The examination of the text is one of the most valuable parts of these lectures. Most of the misconceptions about Alfred Mr. Plummer traces to the lives of St. Neot, "which are late, and not merely unhistorical, but anti-historical." The famous story of the cakes is dismissed as unauthentic, and instead of Alfred becoming "not merely a hopeless, but a cowardly and criminal fugitive" in Athelney, Mr. Plummer says he made a fort there, from which he kept fighting the Danes. "Athelney, in fact, played no small part in the redemption of England." The discussion of Alfred's literary work is the best we have seen. Mr. Plummer knows how to secure and hold a reader's attention.

1. *George Eliot*. By Leslie Stephen.
2. *William Hazlitt*. By Augustine Birrell.
3. *Matthew Arnold*. By Herbert W. Paul.

(London : Macmillan & Co. 2s. net each.)

1. Mr. Leslie Stephen has given us a volume that contains much food for thought. "George Eliot's" life is even more interesting than her books, and a difficult subject is here handled with due reserve and discrimination. The critiques of her books are very suggestive. *Romola* does not please the critic. He cites a passage from it as an instance of "George Eliot" at her worst, and is inclined to regard historical novels with scant favour. We think he scarcely does justice to *Romola*. Savonarola's preaching and Tita's character are wonderful studies. "George Eliot" made a religion of her work. "I will never write anything to which my whole heart, mind, and conscience don't consent ; so that I may feel it was something—however small—which wanted to be done in the world, and that I am just the organ for that small bit of work." Mr. Stephen says "the combination of an exquisitely sympathetic and loving nature with a large and tolerant intellect is manifest throughout" all her writing. No lady novelist ever had a wider intellectual culture. Her sense of humour was keen, though it did not save her from giving us in her later books "model characters verging too decidedly upon priggishness. A touch of pedagogic severity saddens her view of the frivolous world." Mr. Stephen looks upon her books as "implicit autobiography." Her women exhibit her own characteristics, and have an interest unsurpassed by any other writer. "Here and there, no doubt, there is too much explicit 'psychological analysis,' and a rather ponderous enumeration of obvious aphorisms in the pomp of scientific analogy." "But she is singularly powerful in describing the conflict of emotions ; the ingenious modes of self-deception in which most of us acquire considerable skill ; the uncomfortable results of keeping a conscience till we have learnt to come to an understanding with it ; the grotesque mixture of motives which results when we have reached a *modus vivendi* ; the downright hypocrisy of the lower nature, or the comparatively pardonable and even commendable state of mind of the person who has a thoroughly consistent code of action, though he unconsciously interprets its laws in a non-natural sense to suit his convenience." Mr. Stephen has given a fine start to the new

volumes of "English Men of Letters," and "George Eliot" is certainly entitled to the leading place in that distinguished company. She is the first woman that has reached this proud eminence.

2. This study of Hazlitt could not have fallen into better hands. Mr. Birrell knows his author, and is never afraid to allow him to paint his own pictures. He is not blind to Hazlitt's faults and follies, but he helps us to understand Charles Lamb's verdict that "in his natural and healthy state Hazlitt was one of the wisest and finest spirits breathing." Hazlitt's genius as an essayist and critic is now universally acknowledged. Heine pronounced his mind to be not only brilliant, but deep, "a mixture of Diderot and Börne." Compared with Landor, Mr. Birrell describes him as "a mendicant friar of prodigious eloquence, preaching the joys of good books, good plays, and good pictures." Landor was "a hundred times the better equipped and caparisoned—a high-priest of literature in costly vestments." Hazlitt's coarse *Liber Amoris* is an enduring blot on his reputation, but the irregularities and excesses of some parts of his life show how sadly he failed to carry out the teaching of his fine old father. We have read this book with increasing interest and pleasure. Mr. Birrell has won his reputation as an essayist, but the reserve of strength, the dignity, the good sense and good feeling of this brief biography encourage us to hope for more work of the same kind from his pen.

3. Matthew Arnold has found a keen and a sane critic in Mr. Herbert Paul. He goes too much into detail, and does not give us those wider views of the man and his work which would have been so interesting; but there is not a page of his book from which there is not much to learn, and not a page which does not increase our affectionate regard for Matthew Arnold. The closing summary is admirable, and there is much true and clear-sighted criticism of Arnold's theology and his religious views. "His religion was so peculiar that it can scarcely have much permanent influence upon mankind. Christianity without a personal God, without anything more definite than a tendency not ourselves which makes for righteousness, seems to have neither past nor future. It is, in the language of the book which, with all his learning, Mr. Arnold knew best, salt which has lost its savour." Abundant justice is done to his zeal for education. Mr. Paul says: "Of all educational reformers in the last century, not excepting his father, Mr. Arnold was the most

enlightened, the most far-sighted, and the most fair-minded." We owe Mr. Paul sincere thanks for so discriminating and sagacious a study of a writer "whose best poetry and best prose are among the choicest legacies bequeathed by the nineteenth century to the twentieth."

From Slave to College President, by G. H. Pike (Unwin, 1s. 6d.), is a rather high-flown account of a worthy man, Booker T. Washington, who is a fine natural orator, and is doing thoroughly good work as president of a college for training coloured men and women. Many will be glad to know more of the coloured gentleman whom President Roosevelt recently entertained to dinner at the White House.

The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages. By H. K. Mann. Volume I., Part 2. (London : Kegan Paul. 12s. net.)

In the April number of the LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW we reviewed, somewhat favourably, the first part of the first volume of this large and ambitious Roman work. At the same time we pointed out some of the dangers and difficulties of Mr. Mann's plan of writing history "in watertight compartments." In the first volume the danger was not so apparent, because the author, for the best part of his volume, was dealing with the life of one of the noblest of men, Gregory the Great. But in this second volume the fatal defects of the plan become very marked. The only Popes in the whole list—Mr. Mann deals with the period from 657-795—that even remotely approach to greatness or importance are Gregory II., Zachary, and Hadrian I. The volume is therefore taken up with chronicling the doings of third-rate and obscure Pontiffs, and becomes in fact a dictionary of biography, and not a history. Not even the genius of a Gibbon or Macaulay could have made a history live attempted on such a plan. The method is the more absurd at a time when even school-books are abandoning the old way of counting a nation's life by its division into reigns.

We may add that Mr. Mann's Roman bias comes out more strongly in this volume than in the former. Nevertheless, we are rather astonished that he should choose to defend the letters of Gregory II. through thick and thin against Duchesne and Hodgkin. We should have thought that he would have welcomed the opportunity afforded of getting rid of these coarse

and insolent missives. If Mr. Mann is right—and truth, of course, must be supreme—then so much the worse for the character of Gregory II. But personally we lean to the view of Dr. Hodgkin. It is a pity that Mr. Mann has crippled his scholarship and wide reading with an impossible and useless method. Fairness compels us to add that probably its defects will be most apparent in the portion now before us.

H. B. WORKMAN.

Messrs. Chatto & Windus have published a cheap edition of Dr. Brewer's *Reader's Handbook* of famous names in fiction, poetry, etc. The book was only to be had for seven shillings and sixpence; but in this edition the appendix, giving brief biographies of English authors and the list of dramas and operas, is omitted, and a book which is almost indispensable can be had for three shillings and sixpence. To have such a book at hand adds greatly to the pleasure and profit of one's reading, and it is wonderfully cheap and represents enormous research.

Poems Selected from the Writings of Mr. Abraham Cowley.
(Guildford : A. Curtis. 3s. 6d. net.)

This is a dainty edition, beautifully got up and printed in neat, clear type, with a fine portrait of Cowley as frontispiece. Bishop Sprat's biographical notice is prefixed to the volume, and it has an old-world flavour which a modern reader will know how to appreciate. The selection of poems has been made with taste and skill. There is a leisurely style about them befitting a lover of solitude and of country life. We feel that we are in the company of a true philosopher who has seen the world's vanities and knows their emptiness. His own desires are limited.

Ah, yet, ere I descend to th' grave
May I a small house, and a large garden have!
And a few friends, and many books, both true,
Both wise, and both delightful too!

Cowley is worth knowing, though to most of us he is a stranger, and this little selection ought to win him many readers. The poems come from the heart, and they help us to appreciate the pleasures which are most accessible and most satisfying.

V. BELLES LETTRES, NATURE, ART, AND TRAVEL.

Hortus Inclusus. Messages from the Wood to the Garden, sent in Happy Days to the Sister Ladies of the Thwaite, Coniston. By their thankful friend, John Ruskin. Third Edition, Revised. With Illustrations. (London: George Allen. 5s. net.)

RUSKIN'S friendship with his neighbours, the Miss Beevers, was one of the chief joys of his later years, and these letters touch one's heartstrings. They are both singularly trustful and loving, and on Ruskin's side often deeply pathetic. Some of Ruskin's little descriptions and revelations of his inmost heart are exquisite. His account of his miserable accommodation at Assisi is delightfully querulous, and his fling at the people "who understand by 'Providence' the power which particularly takes care of them" is not without justification. But we like our sage best when he says, "My whole mind is set on finding whether there is a country where the flowers do not fade. Else there is no spring for me." The book is tender and true, and the illustrations added to this edition give it new charm. The last letter Ruskin wrote to his dying friend is only eight lines long, but it took him three hours to write it. It may well be described as a memorial of a sweet friendship.

Roses for English Gardens. By Gertrude Jekyll and Edward Mawley. (London: Newnes. 12s. 6d.)

The man who publishes such a book as this is a public benefactor, and it is only one of many by which Sir George Newnes is fostering the taste for country life in all its forms. Miss Jekyll has called to her aid Mr. Edward Mawley, who in the second part of the book gives counsels as to planting, pruning, and propagating roses, with warnings as to "The Enemies of the Rose" and hints on "Exhibiting Roses." Miss Jekyll discourses on roses old and new, and their beautiful use in gardens, in

her own charming fashion. She writes for amateurs, and deals with her subject from the point of view of garden observation and garden enjoyment. She gives us a list of technical descriptions, but she does more than that. She shows how the spread of garden knowledge and love of flowers has created a demand for good garden roses. We watch the rose invasion with delight. Sight and scent follow it eagerly, and gardeners are encouraged to put forth their best effort to supply the ever-growing demand. The late Lord Penzance saw human nature in its least attractive form in his Divorce Court, but he found purity and beauty with his flowers, and his work "among the sweet briars has given us a whole range of garden roses of inestimable value." Miss Jekyll tells us about rose pillars and pergolas, rose arches, rose screens, about cut roses, and roses in English gardens on the Riviera till we grow as enthusiastic as Luther about these loveliest of all flowers. The illustrations are lavishly given, and they are beautifully executed. The book is itself a rose garden, and we want to linger in such company.

Life and Nature at the English Lakes and A Rambler's Note-Book at the English Lakes. By H. D. Rawnsley. (Glasgow : MacLehose & Sons. 5s. net each.)

Canon Rawnsley knows his Lake country in all its moods ; knows its shepherds and sheep-dogs, its guides and wrestlers, its quaint rush bearings and its noble band of poets. Some of these papers we have read with eager delight in *Cornhill*, and they bear re-reading. The writer looks on nature with a poet's eye ; witness the chapters entitled, "Purple and Ivory at the Lakes," "The Rainbow Wonders of Windermere," "Duddon Daffodils," and many more. But we like nothing better than "The Sheep-dog Trials at Troutbeck" and "On Helvellyn with the Shepherds." The dogs are the glory of the fellside, and the description of the way in which the sheep are penned at the Troutbeck trials is quite exciting. "The Quest of Ravens in Skiddaw Forest" is another lively paper. "The True Story of 'D'ye Ken John Peel?'" appeals to lovers of hunting all the world over. "Cumberland Character" is an attempt to show how the Vikings have left their stamp on the northern Dalesmen, and it is one of Canon Rawnsley's most interesting chapters. The writer's delight in his subject is caught by his readers, and all who love Cumberland and Westmorland will love these

books. The illustrations add much to the pleasure with which one turns their pages.

Highways and Byways in Hertfordshire. By Herbert W. Tompkins, F.R.Hist.S. Illustrations by Frederick L. Griggs. (London : Macmillan & Co. 6s.)

The literature of the country is growing, and a series like Messrs. Macmillan's "Highways and Byways" is a national benefit. Hertfordshire cannot boast of so many historic scenes or of such a wealth of great names as some of our counties, but it has always been "esteemed for the varied character of its scenery; its quiet woodlands, its narrow, winding lanes, its stretches of lush meadow, its streams that thread their course between gentle alternation of hill and dale." Our pilgrimage begins at Broxbourne, with its memories of the Rye House Plot and of the gentle angler Izaak Walton. We are soon hurrying along to Ware in the steps of John Gilpin, and to Hertford, whose history goes back long before the Norman Conquest. Mr. Tompkins shows us the glories of Hatfield, introduces us to Welwyn, where Edward Young, author of *Night Thoughts*, became rector in 1730; takes us to King's Langley, where Edward I. and his successors lived, and Piers Gaveston was buried; and Abbots Langley, near to which Nicholas Breakspear, the only English pope, was born. Many other famous places lie along the line of march, and Mr. Griggs helps us to see some of the best things with our own eyes by his fine illustrations. The book is one that pleases and interests us from beginning to end.

Kamala's Letters to her Husband. (Madras : English Publishing House.)

Many of us have had quite enough sentiment in *An English-woman's Love Letters*. It is really too luscious and too extravagant. The Hindu lady does not give us quite so much sweetmeat, and Indian scenes are interwoven with her rhapsodies which linger in the memory. Kamala's husband is compelled to leave home for a year, and his girl wife pines for his return. She stays with her parents and joins in a wedding festivity, whose songs and banquets and ceremonies she describes with delicate skill. Her English friend, Miss Lively Lovely, adds a pleasant touch to the picture, and there are other fragments that would repay quotation; but Kamala is a weak little creature after

all, and her superstitions, and jealousies amid which she pines away, are rather too much for people with stronger wills and tougher fibre. The book is, nevertheless, a graceful bit of Indian filigree work.

Messrs. Dent publish Browning's *Sordello* in their "Temple Classics" (1s. 6d. net). Mr. H. Burton Forman has supplied a bibliographical epilogue and half a dozen notes. Ample material is accessible in various quarters for a student of this unique poem, but we wish Mr. Forman had given us a couple of introductory pages. The poem marks the final step in the first stage of Browning's intellectual growth, and it has autobiographic touches of great interest. Mrs. Browning compared it to "a noble picture with its face to the wall, or at least in shadow."

An Inland Ferry, by Susan Ferry (Smith, Elder, & Co., 6s.), is a really fresh and vigorous story. The two sisters whom we watch passing from childhood to womanhood have a halo of romance about them, and so has their Aunt Lucy, who is a leader of society and something of a cynic, but a true and tender woman at heart. The chief interest of the book centres round Josephine Hanning, and we are impatient with Adrian Long because he was not more quick to secure her happiness and his own; even at the last moment he almost sacrificed it. The irony of life's ideals comes out in this story, but it has a good moral, which the member of the missionary brotherhood puts in this way to Adrian: "It was from an inner eminence, where a woman's hand would be in yours, that you would exercise the truest, widest influence."

Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall, by Charles Major (Macmillan & Co., 6s.). There is plenty of love-making in this book. A more impetuous maid than Dorothy Vernon we could not conceive, and her love is as unrestrained as her passion. Queen Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots fill conspicuous parts in the tale, and there is much exciting adventure and intrigue. The love scenes are really too intense. We do not wonder that Dorothy lays herself open to the charge of being immodest, and her disregard of truth is phenomenal. Sir John Manners is finely drawn, and so is Lady Magdalene Stanley, the blind girl, who wins Malcolm Vernon's heart. The illustrations are specially pleasing.

Messrs. Virtue & Co. send us Lord Lytton's powerful story *The Last Days of Pompeii* and Charles Reade's *Cloister and the*

Hearth, which they have just added to their "Turner House Classics." The volumes are published at the low price of two shillings net, with very attractive ivory and black covers, and a fine frontispiece. In their red boxes they make very attractive presents, and ought to have a large sale. Charles Reade's story, which Sir Walter Besant regarded as "the greatest historical novel in the language," runs to seven hundred and seventy pages.

Messrs. Dent & Co. have issued an edition of Charles Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* in their "Temple Classics," which will satisfy the most enthusiastic lover of that story. It is in two volumes, which contain more than four hundred pages each, printed in bold type. A fine portrait of Kingsley is given as frontispiece to the first volume, and a picture of Eversley rectory and church adds much to the attraction of the second volume. The price is three shillings net. Kingsley's teaching as to faith and duty has found no better expression than in *Westward Ho!* and we hope that this edition will have a host of readers.

The Battle Ground, by Ellen Glasgow (Constable & Co., 6s.), is a fine story of the American Civil War. The scene opens some years before the struggle, when the two girls who play such a prominent part in the book are little children. War shatters the peace and prosperity of their home, and turns their gay lovers into strong and much-suffering men. The pathos and tenderness of the book get hold of the reader, and every scene and character stands out with such clearness that the whole story seems alive. Betty Ambler proves herself a glorious woman, and her lover grows worthy of her by his four years' service in the ranks of the Southern Army. The negro characters please us greatly.

The two latest volumes of Messrs. G. Bell & Sons' "Miniature Series of Painters" are *Gainsborough* and *Hogarth* (1s. each net). They are just the books to create an interest in art. The story of each painter is brightly told, and a clear account is given of his work, with special descriptions of the illustrations. Nothing could be better done.

Through the Mists (S.P.C.K., 4d.) is "A Spiritual Allegory," intended to cultivate trust in God. It is very tender and helpful. *The Mind of the Master* is a word to Sunday-school teachers,

which will help them to put new strength and devotion into their work.

The Tramps of "The Walking Parson." (London: Walter Scott. 6s.)

Mr. Cooper is Vicar of Filey, and got his love of walking when he was a London clerk and trudged four miles to business in order to save 'bus fare. A journey from London to Filey first made him known as "The Walking Parson," and this emboldened him to tramp to Rome, and to make many other delightful and health-giving expeditions. He finds four miles an hour his best pace, and regards Archbishop Temple's six miles an hour with incredulity. The great requisite is to be well shod; any neglect of the foot or its gear is fatal to the walker's peace. Mr. Cooper is a lively companion, who loves his story, and chafes when he finds his fellow-travellers morose or silent. We have much enjoyed our life with him on the road, and hope his book will help some of its readers to taste the same delights as the genial and vigorous Yorkshire vicar.

Spanish Life in Town and Country. By L. Higgin. (London: Newnes. 3s. 6s. net.)

Mrs. Higgin knows Spain and loves it. She writes well, and gives her readers a mass of information as to the daily life of the people. "The history of Spain is one to make the heart ache," yet Mrs. Higgin maintains that the last hundred years have shown an advance, a continuous struggle for life and liberty. As to religion, "The name of the Deity is rarely heard, except as an exclamation, and the Christ is spoken of rather as a familiar friend than as the Second Person in the Trinity; but the deep-seated love for, and absolute belief in, the power to help in all the joys and sorrows of life of the Virgin is one of the strongest characteristics of this naturally religious people." The women's eyes are rarely quiet for a moment; "they sparkle, they languish, they flame—a whole gamut of expression in one moment of time; and it must be confessed that they look upon man as their natural prey." They wear startling costumes, and when on a journey take immense trunks, which are called "mundos" (worlds), "a name which one feels certain was given by the suffering man who is expected to look after them." At the bull fight "we touch the very soul of Spain." Mrs. Higgin says that it has no more effect on the Spaniard than fox-hunting

has on our countrymen, and it is doubtful whether there is any more cruelty in one sport than in the other. She forgets the horses, however. The chapters on "Portugal," by Eugène E. Street, form an excellent study of the country and the people.

Mr. C. A. Pearson's "Gossipy Guides" to *The English Lakes*, to *The Western Highlands*, and to *Weymouth and the District* (1s. each), well maintain the reputation of the series. The illustrations are really good and helpful, the notes are excellent and tell a traveller just what he wants to know; the directions as to hotels and excursions will be found of great service. Each volume is supplied with maps and index. We like the "Gossipy Guides" better the more we see of them.

The Homeland Association publish a *Guide to Epsom and the Epsom District*, by Gordon Home (9d. net), which deserves to be widely known. The district is very rich in literary and historic associations, and we know no handbook from which one can learn more than this. The account of Ewell and Cheam, of Nonsuch Palace, of Richard Evelyn, and the celebrities that once flocked to drink the waters at Epsom wells is well done, and this little book will charm every visitor and resident. It is a first-class piece of work. It can be had in cloth covers at eighteenpence.

Holidays in Eastern Counties (30, Fleet Street) is a pleasant guide to the country between London and Cromer, with brief notes and many pictures. The Broads and the chief seaside resorts are visited, and Mr. Lindley will certainly tempt many of his readers to explore the regions to which he acts as guide. The hints for travellers are full and exact.

The World-Wide Atlas of Modern Geography, Political and Physical. One hundred and twenty-eight Plates, complete Index. Introduction by J. Scott Keltie, LL.D. Fifth Edition. (London: W. & A. K. Johnston. 7s. 6d.)

This Atlas combines so many high qualities—it is so clearly printed, so full, so accurate, and so thoroughly up to date—that it is bound to be increasingly used. It has already reached a fifth edition, and it deserves all its success. Dr. Keltie's account of geographical discovery and political territorial changes in the nineteenth century is unique, and the whole work does honour to the great publishers whose name appears on its title-page.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

The New Volumes of the Encyclopædia Britannica. The Second, Third, and Fourth of the New Volumes. (London : A. & C. Black.)

THE second volume of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is perhaps not so full of pictures as the first, with its horses, cattle, and sheep, but it is as rich in its articles, and they maintain the high standard set in the earlier volume. The biography is high-class work. Mr. F. Greenwood's sketch of Lord Beaconsfield will especially appeal to politicians. He thinks that as a general interpretation of the man and his career none serves so well as Froude's. "He was thoroughly and unchangeably a Jew." "In shrouding his own character he checked the communication of others to himself, and so could continue to the end of his career the costly mistake of being theatrical in England." Mr. Clayden's "John Bright" gives a good sketch of the chief events of his career. "His letters told with fatal effect against the Home Rule Liberals" in the election of 1886. Lord Salisbury's verdict sums up his position as a public man : "He was the greatest master of English oratory that this generation—I may say, several generations—has seen. At a time when much speaking has depressed, has almost exterminated eloquence, he maintained that robust, powerful, and vigorous style in which he gave fitting expression to the burning and noble thoughts he desired to utter." "Carlyle" has been fortunate to fall into the hands of Mr. Leslie Stephen, who says : "He is not the only man whom absorption in work and infirmity of temper have made into a provoking husband, though few wives have had Mrs. Carlyle's capacity for expressing the sense of injustice. The knowledge that the deepest devotion underlies misunderstandings is often a very imperfect consolation ; but such devotion clearly existed all through, and proves the defect to have been relatively superficial." Professor Sayce gives an account of the excavations and discoveries made in Babylonia and Assyria since the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia* was published. "The contract-tablets have thrown a flood of light on the social life and customs of Babylonia, and have shown that the woman was on a footing of equality with the man. She could carry on business

on her own account, could inherit and bequeath property, could hold civil offices, and plead in a court of justice." "Bacteriology" is one of the most important and fascinating realms of science, and those who wish to enter it will find Dr. Ward and Dr. Muir ready to reveal its wonders. "Brachipoda" is another article of great scientific value. The wants of business men are admirably met by studies of Chartered Companies, Banking, and Bankruptcy which leave nothing to be desired. Geographical and mechanical subjects are very fully discussed, and are thoroughly up to date. Those who wish to read about sports and pastimes will find their wishes met by the elaborate studies of base-ball, bowls, and billiards. The pictures are excellent, and add greatly to the interest and value of the work. Such an article as that on "Caricature" owes much to its full-page plates. We wish the "Birds" could also have been illustrated, but that would have been too big a task. Our impression of the value of the whole work has been deepened by a perusal of this second volume.

The third volume opens with an article on "Chicago," which is a capital illustration of the merits of the *Encyclopædia*. It is comparatively short, but is packed with just the facts we wish for as to the history and present condition of the great American city. "China" is the work of three experts, who bring down the history to the peace of 1901. "Cricket" is concerned with the modern development of the game, in which Australia plays so large a part. Professor Collins's biographical sketch of Bishop Creighton is a notable bit of work. We owe to Chancellor Lias an admirable account of Döllinger. Such articles as "Dentistry," "Dietetics," "Diphtheria" are medical studies of special interest. The editors have been fortunate to secure an article on "Divorce" from Sir Francis Jeune and Professor Wilcox, which is of great importance. Mathematics and scientific subjects are handled by authorities of the first rank. The treatment of "Education" by Sir Joshua Fitch is enough to give distinction to this volume of the *Encyclopædia*. Its main purpose is to trace the gradual growth of what may be called the English system, the forces which have controlled it, and the results it effected during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Biblical and ecclesiastical subjects are splendidly dealt with by the chief authorities. Egypt and Egyptology fill more than forty-five pages, and there are no pages more fascinating in the volume. The 'brief Life of Edward VII. is

written in the best taste, with ample information, and it is actually brought down to six days after the operation performed by Sir Frederick Treves.

The fourth volume of the Encyclopædia will be priceless to the student of science. Electricity and kindred subjects fill one hundred and twenty pages. "Gas and Gas Lighting," "Fire and Fire Extinction," "Experiments on Animals," "Fisheries and Fishery" are articles of very great interest and importance. Dr. Mitchell's short paper on "Evolution" puts the reader in a position to appreciate the march of opinion and investigation since Darwin's day. The time has not yet come to synthesise the results of the different groups of workers, the facts to be explained are being simplified by grouping them under empirical laws. The most general statement that can be made as to them is that no single one of these laws has as yet shown signs of taking rank as a *vera causa* comparable with the Darwinian principle of natural selection. Sir Archibald Geikie's paper on "Geology" shows what advance has been made in that science since the ninth edition of the Encyclopædia was published. No general agreement has been reached as to the age of the earth, but he inclines to the view that it cannot be much less than one hundred millions of years. The articles on "England," "English History," "Law and Literature," on "France and Germany," are themselves sufficient to stamp this work as one of unequalled importance and supreme interest. Fulness of information is combined with compactness and lucidity. The volumes are issued month by month, and each deepens the impression made on a student's mind of the merit of the new volumes. Nothing could be more skilfully mapped out or more ably executed.

Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions. By James S. Dennis, D.D. (London: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. 21s.)

This volume is a sign of the Christian times. That the statistics of the foreign missions of Protestantism at the close of the nineteenth century require a great oblong quarto of four hundred pages to set them forth is significant of much. It suggests the vast proportions to which the enterprise has grown on which Carey set forth, so forlorn and Quixotic a figure. It displays the range, variety, and complexity of the processes that have gradually been discovered to be involved in the fulfilment of the

simple command to "preach the gospel to every creature." It exhibits in comprehensive survey the most ambitious and extensive movement for the peaceful conquest of the world that has ever been undertaken,—the invasion of all the lands of the earth by the evangelizing forces of Christendom, loosely co-ordinated, acting from scores of independent bases, sometimes with little sympathy for each other, yet stirred by a common impulse, following largely the same methods, and moving, under divine over-ruling, to a single end. It is a spectacle that deserves to fascinate every serious student of the world's affairs, and that should especially elicit glad and wondering homage from the followers of Him who claimed that He would draw all men unto Him.

The book was originally planned as an appendix to the monumental work on *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, in which Dr. Dennis has been cataloguing the social transformations which the gospel has effected in heathen lands. In connexion, however, with the Œcumenical Conference on Foreign Missions held at New York in the spring of 1900, the design grew until the projected appendix became an independent and comprehensive work, the completest contribution that has yet been made to the science of missions on the statistical side. It calls the roll of all the Protestant Missionary Societies of all lands, of which there are 294 engaged in general missionary operations, 137 more in specialised efforts in one or more departments, and 127 besides which indirectly co-operate in foreign missions. Under such heads as Evangelistic, Educational, Literary, Medical, Philanthropic and Reformatory, Cultural, etc., it sets out with minute detail and laborious completeness the agencies employed and the results obtained. Here are found particulars of all the 375 theological and training colleges on the mission field, of all the 379 hospitals, and the 783 dispensaries; here we learn in what lands and by what societies the £4,000,000 of annual missionary income is raised, how the million and a half of communicants, the 18,000 missionaries and the 78,000 native helpers are distributed, what kind and degree of education the million scholars in mission schools are receiving.

Complete accuracy cannot be expected under the conditions attending such a compilation as this. Dr. Dennis has done his part with the most painstaking care, and the time, labour, and expense which he has employed must have been enormous.

But he could only use the data available ; and while the main methods of missionary operation are remarkably similar among all the societies, there are such varieties in detail, such differences of nomenclature, such various systems of reporting, that it was impossible to reduce all to a classification without risk of misleading. Dr. Dennis has shown himself acutely alive to the possibilities of error, and has done all that could be done to safeguard his readers ; but while this volume will be of immense service in giving trustworthy views of the general state of the missionary enterprise to-day, it will not serve the student of the operations of a particular society as a substitute for the study of that society's report. The statistics, for instance, of our society as tabulated in this volume, do not cover by any means the whole ground of its operations ; the explanation being that "foreign missions" is defined by Dr. Dennis as "effort to lead *the natives of unevangelized lands* to the acceptance" of the gospel, and under this definition our extensive work upon the Continent of Europe, and the work that has planted Methodism so strongly in the Colonies, do not come into view.

The survey of the progress of Christianity in heathen lands which will be made at the end of the twentieth century will differ in one important respect from this centennial survey made by Dr. Dennis. He has arranged his statistics under the societies at work, and the countries in which those societies have their home, not under the lands and peoples among whom the transforming work is being wrought. From many points of view we could have wished that the work had been modelled on the latter plan. To see just what efforts are being used and what results have been attained in each country and among each race would, in many respects, have been more inspiring and instructive than to know how many organisations are at work, and what each has severally achieved. It is interesting, doubtless, to learn that the American Continents reckon 128 societies, Great Britain and Ireland 154, the Continent of Europe 82, Asia 117, and so on ; but by the time the twenty-first century dawns we may confidently trust that the statistical view-point in measuring the progress of the kingdom of God will no longer be that of the heterogeneous agencies that are carrying on the work, but that of the manifold and widespread results achieved. This work will always, nevertheless, remain an invaluable monument marking the measure of a century's march in the campaign of the Cross.

W. H. FINDLAY.

The Oxford English Dictionary. Edited by Dr. James Murray. Leisureness—Lief. O—Onomastic. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1902.)

In the former of these two sections attention may be particularly directed to the elaborate articles on *less* and its derivatives; *let*, which, both as substantive and as verb, is treated with apparent exhaustiveness; *lowd*, which, though still somewhat of an etymological crux, is conclusively shown to have been in the first instance synonymous with "lay"; and *lie*, to which what we have said of *let* equally applies. A glance at the corresponding articles in Whitney's *Century Dictionary*, excellent though that work is in many respects, will suffice to show the immense advance made by Dr. Murray and his collaborators.

In the latter section (page 14) we notice a curious misprint, "materia circa quem," in the article on *object* (§4); which is the more surprising by reason of the remarkable typographical accuracy by which the work has been hitherto distinguished. Most of the words comprised in this section being of Latin origin, allow comparatively little scope for originality of treatment; but compensation is afforded by the consummate thoroughness of the articles on the prepositions *of* and *on*, and a few other terms as well familiar as recondite.

Constructive Congregational Ideals. Edited by D. Macfadyen, M.A. (London: H. R. Allenson. 6s.)

This book consists of a series of addresses and essays by James Miall, Dr. Macfadyen, Dr. Dale, Dr. Mackennal, Dr. Berry, Dr. Fairbairn, and others, which illustrate the growth of corporate life and feeling in the Congregational Churches during the last forty years. Notes and additional chapters by the editor make up a stout volume. Mr. Macfadyen says it is very common to hear even prominent leaders in Congregational Churches object, "We cannot do this or that without sacrificing our independency." He pleads, however, that Congregationalism is the most potent of all Church ideals, because it is the most adaptable. But the reception accorded to Dr. Parker's scheme for "a United Congregational Church" shows how deep-rooted is the feeling to which Mr. Macfadyen refers. A Methodist reader will heartily sympathise with him in his endeavour to draw individual Churches into corporate union, but the task is a very hard one, and Congregationalists who object to such union have really a strong case. "Free Church Union in England" is

the distant goal towards which Mr. Macfadyen wishes to press, and there is no doubt that such an ideal appeals strongly to Independent Churches, which sadly miss the Connexional bond which gives such strength to Methodism.

The Fascination of London. "Westminster." "The Strand District." "Hampstead." "Chelsea." By Sir Walter Besant and G. E. Mitton. (London: A. & C. Black. 1s. 6d. net per volume.)

Sir Walter Besant was engaged on his survey of London when he died. He said, "This work fascinates me more than anything else I've ever done. Nothing at all like it has ever been attempted before. I've been walking about London for the last thirty years, and I find something fresh in it every day." The four dainty little volumes before us represent the firstfruits of Sir Walter's studies—a regular and systematic perambulation of London, which should bring out the features of interest in each locality, and chronicle its famous residents and historic incidents. It is fortunate that Mr. Mitton has been able to take up Sir Walter's work, and we know no little books on London which will be so eagerly read as these. They link past and present in a way that cannot fail to stir the imagination and lead young people to study the subject for themselves. "In streets and stones, in names and palaces," the history of London "is written for those who can read it, and the object of the series is to bring forward these associations, and to make them plain." That work has been admirably done in these four books. They are more interesting than a novel; and as we turn their pages London casts its spell about us, as it did about Charles Lamb and Dr. Johnson and Sir Walter Besant.

Messrs. Dent's *First Latin Book* (2s. 6d. net), prepared by Harold W. Atkinson, of Rossall School, and J. W. E. Pearce, is a happy attempt to make learning both delightful and thorough. The explanations of early difficulties, the selections from Latin writers given in the form of a connected narrative, and the gathering together in one volume of grammar, syntax, reader, and dictionary are special features of a book which makes us wish we had to begin school again. Miss Durham's coloured pictures taken from Pompeii and Rome give a bird's-eye view of Roman life and manners. The book is a scientific piece of work, which will commend itself to teachers and to scholars.

Professor Wilkins has edited *Cæsar's Gallic War*, Book I., for Messrs. Dent's "Temple Series of Classical Texts" (1s. net). It is a pleasure to handle such a school-book. The notes meet every need of a young student, and the introduction on the Gauls and the Romans, on Cæsar, and the Roman army gives a mass of information in the most concise form. The illustrations are a real help to the understanding of the history.

The Present Dangers and Coming Conflicts of the British Race and Empire, by Colonel Garnier (Banks & Son, 6d.), is an Anglo-Israel pamphlet written by an able man, but it does not convince us. Some of its "proofs" are very slender, and we think that the writer somewhat misrepresents Dr. Whyte's position as to Cardinal Newman. The colonel's views on the Boer War are manly and outspoken.

The Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand for 1900 (Wellington: Mackay) make a Blue Book of five hundred and fifty pages. The population has risen from 634,058 in 1891 to 770,682 in 1900. The immigration for 1900 was 18,074, the emigration 16,243. The volume is admirably compiled, and is a mass of facts and figures.

The New Zealand Year-Book for 1901 is the tenth issue of a handbook which all who are interested in that colony have learnt to value. It is a mass of facts and statistics. The Governor's salary is £5,000, with £1,500 for his establishment and £500 for travelling expenses. In 1900 there were 5,296 marriages between bachelors and spinsters, 184 between bachelors and widows, 287 between widowers and spinsters, 93 between widowers and widows. The volume does great credit to the Registrar-General and his staff, who are responsible for its preparation.

The Report of the Minister of Public Instruction for Victoria has reached us. It covers 1900 and the first half of 1901. Seventy-eight schools were added during 1900, bringing up the number in the colony to 1,966. The number of children was 242,223, the average attendance 146,584, an increase respectively of 3,935 and 3,176. The cost per child in average attendance was £3 14s. 0½d. The abolition of the present system of payment by results is now under consideration. Returns from private schools show that 51,834 children were under instruction there, a decrease of 484. The report is full of encouraging facts as to the progress of elementary education.

VII. SUMMARY OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

METHODIST REVIEW (May—June).—Dr. Tigert's "Critical Descriptive Catalogue of all Editions of the Discipline, from 1785 to 1808," ought not to be overlooked by students. Dr. Herrick, minister of Mount Vernon Church, Boston, has published a volume entitled *Some Heretics of Yesterday*, which contains a remarkable tribute to Wesley and his work from an able and candid observer who does not belong to Methodism. He says: "His scholarship was of the finest quality. He was the peer, in his intellectual endowments, of any literary character of that most literary period. No gownsmen of the university, no lawned and mitred prelate of his time, was intellectually the superior of this itinerating Methodist—a bishop more truly than the Archbishop of Canterbury himself in everything but the empty name." He says that the story of St. Paul's sufferings in 2 Corinthians xi. "might have been adopted almost literally by Wesley as the record of his own. Indeed, I think the story of the English apostle is the more wonderful." Dr. Herrick says that in the light of the statistics of Methodism "it is not an immodest or immoderate assertion which an historian of Methodism makes when he declares it to be the greatest fact in the history of the Church of Christ; greater than the spread of primitive Christianity in the first two centuries, greater than the reformation of the sixteenth century."

(July—August).—Dr. Herben's sketch of the character and work of Arthur Edwards, who was thirty-seven years editor and assistant editor of the *North-Western Christian Advocate*, is a fitting tribute to a man who put his whole heart into his work. "He could build and sail a boat; he was a capable amateur photographer, and an accomplished art critic, whether in sculpture, painting, or natural scenery; he could handle a gun and revolver with the proficiency of a cavalryman; he was thoroughly informed on the technical side of naval affairs, and could converse as accurately and amply on the details of naval architecture, armament, navigation, and kindred themes as a naval officer."

METHODIST REVIEW, SOUTH (May—June).—Dr. Lovejoy writes on "The Influence of Methodism." "Religion, as a spiritual force in the lives of men, and not as a doctrine imbedded in creeds, is one of the blessings which Methodism has given to the world." It became at once a mighty power for the regeneration of society. The Evangelical party in the Church of England, which undertook to apply the principles of Methodism to every phase of society, is illustrated by many noble names, and has a great record of service. In political circles Methodist influence has been manifold. The mammoth mass meetings which have become such a power throughout the civilised world, Dr. Lovejoy ascribes to Methodism. Lord Shaftesbury's splendid work is described, and he is claimed as "a product of Methodism." There is a good note in "Topics of the Day" on "Editorial Responsibility," which Dr. Tigert thinks is reduced to a minimum "when a really responsible man—especially if he be an accredited Methodist preacher, scholar, or professor, who has devoted his life to the investigation of a special field of theological truth—assumes the full responsibility of his views over his own signature." We are glad that Dr. Tigert is re-appointed to the office which he has held with such distinction for the past eight years.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY (July) gives the first place to an article on "The Origin of High-Church Episcopacy," by Professor McGiffert. He reaches the conclusion that in the primitive period the Church of Christ was not regarded as an institution possessed of divine grace independently of its members, and so conferring upon them something which they could not gain directly from the Spirit; no special priest class existed endowed with sacerdotal powers not shared by Christians in general; and ordination, so far as it was employed at all, imparted no special grace, and was not in the least requisite to the valid administration of the rites later known as sacraments."