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THE
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APRIL, 1903.

**MARTINEAU AND MODERN
UNITARIANISM.**

The Life and Letters of James Martineau. By JAMES DRUMMOND, M.A., LL.D., and C. B. UPTON, B.A., B.Sc. In Two Volumes. (London : Nisbet & Co. 1902.)

THREE years ago, as the nineteenth century was drawing near its close, there passed away one whose long life had been almost exactly coeval with its course, and who had powerfully influenced the history of its thought in this country, especially during its later years. James Martineau was born in 1805 and died in 1900, and a considerable part of his most important work was done after he had passed the limit of fourscore years, with their inevitable burden of labour and sorrow. A full notice of his life-work was given at the time of his death. Exactly three years ago an article on Dr. Martineau appeared in this REVIEW, written by Dr. P. T. Forsyth, which attracted interest and attention in various quarters, and is more than once referred to in the

volumes before us. It furnished an appreciation of the man and his work, written with so much fulness of knowledge and sympathetic insight that to attempt to cover the same ground again would indeed be a work of supererogation, and it is one which the present writer is equally unwilling and unable to undertake.

But now that the *Life of Dr. Martineau* has appeared, very carefully and ably written, presenting a full and authoritative account of him such as was not accessible three years ago, it seems desirable to refer again to the history of a mind so remarkable and influential as his, and to study it from another standpoint and with other objects in view. Especially does this publication afford an opportunity to consider Dr. Martineau as a religious teacher of what is generally known as the "Unitarian" type, to consider the history of Unitarianism during the nineteenth century, and estimate its position and prospects at the opening of the twentieth. The fact that in several important respects Dr. Martineau was not in sympathy with his fellow-believers, and that he could say, "I know nothing here in England of any Unitarian Church, and if there were such a thing I could not belong to it," does not at all interfere with such an inquiry. Rather is it in itself suggestive of several questions which just now greatly need an answer. How far has the kind of theological teaching identified with the name of Dr. Martineau—whether it be called Unitarian or not—influenced the Christian thought of this country during the last hundred years? Is it more influential to-day than it was a century ago? Whither runs the current which Martineau did so much to set and keep in motion? How much of his religious teaching was of permanent value, and what is the relation between the positive and negative, the constructive and destructive elements in it? These are questions which the writer does not presume to be able to answer as they ought to be answered; but no one can read Dr. Martineau's *Life* without asking them, or without gaining some materials for a tentative reply.

First let it be said that all who are interested in the

subject are much indebted to Dr. Drummond and Professor Upton for the conscientious care with which they have prepared this biography. Labour has certainly not been spared. Good taste, judgment, and skill are everywhere manifest. The story of the life is clearly and well told, the letters quoted are abundant, but not too abundant; and, whether we regard the work of Dr. Drummond, the biographer proper, or of Professor Upton who has prepared a thorough and excellent estimate of Martineau as philosopher and thinker, it seems to us that little but praise is possible for the way in which a difficult task has been executed. The criticism has been freely passed upon the book that in it too much is said of the author and the professor, too little of the man. Reviewers have complained of the "full-dress" character of the picture here painted, the comparative absence of those little touches of nature which go so far to win affection, whilst there is abundance of material to awaken admiration for a great teacher. But it is probable that the biographers had no choice. They have described Martineau as he really was. Occasional lighter touches are not wanting, but they are only occasional even in his most familiar and intimate letters. His was a lofty spirit, and he lived a strenuous life of almost unrelenting intellectual labour. It would appear that he seldom unbent. He speaks of his own "shyness," which many would call reserve; and if it was true of him as of Milton, "Thy soul was like a star and dwelt apart," it is hardly fair to blame the portrait-painters that they have not depicted a Norman M'Leod or a Charles Kingsley. There is fascination enough about the stately aloofness of Martineau's spirit, mingled as it was with a characteristic wistful tenderness, amply justifying Tennyson's description of him—"A subtle and wonderful mind—mournful and tender-looking—a noble gentleman."

The life of one who was essentially student, preacher, professor, and author, who mingled little in public life, and only in his later years began to receive the recognition he deserved, is soon summarised. Born at Norwich, April 21,

1805, trained for the Unitarian ministry at "Manchester New" College, then located in York, Martineau began his ministerial work in Bristol in 1827, held his first pastorate in Dublin, and spent more than twenty years as minister in Liverpool, from 1832 to 1857. This period was broken in 1848—a year which he calls his *Annus mirabilis*—by the need for erecting a new church, and it was spent in Germany; a memorable and epoch-making year it proved to be in Martineau's intellectual life. From 1857 to 1869 he was a professor at his old college on its removal to London, and in 1869 he became its principal. He continued to preach, regularly conducting the services at Little Portland Street Church till he was sixty-seven years of age, and after 1885, when he retired from college work, his chief books were written—*Types of Ethical Theory*, *A Study of Religion*, and *The Seat of Authority in Religion*. During the last fifteen years he lived a life of studious retirement, spending his time between London and a retreat in the Highlands of Scotland, where some of his best work was done. As a nonagenarian he displayed wonderful vigour of mind and body, and he was over ninety years of age when he wrote a criticism of Mr. Balfour's *Foundations of Belief* which, in its incisiveness, vigour, and brilliance, was worthy of his prime.

There were few events in this life. It is not worth while to spend even a sentence upon the unfortunate discussion with his sister Harriet over his critique of "Mesmeric Atheism," nor on the contest which arose when his name was brought forward as a candidate for the Chair of Philosophy in University College. He published books at intervals, such as *Endeavours after the Christian Life* and *Hours of Thought*, volumes of inimitable sermons. Articles in the *Prospective*, *National*, and *Westminster Reviews* were continually issuing from his fertile pen, and the four volumes in which some of the most important of these are preserved witness to their great ability and effectiveness. He made an attempt in 1865 to found a "Free Christian Union," which was to have no common bond of organisation or

doctrine, but to consist of those who were content to profess love to God and man :

to be content with the real, though unformulated, common faith in God and the divine relations of man which these two forms of love imply ; and to let doctrine, *i.e.* the intellectual statement and definition of beliefs, follow, not as a corporate act of the Church, but as a private function of individual minds.

It failed, as perhaps might have been expected ; but the fact that the attempt constituted an event in this tranquil life shows how quiet and void of active enterprise it was.

It is quite impossible to judge Martineau from the side of his public activities. Fruitless and meaningless might such a life as his easily appear in the eyes of men keenly anxious to distinguish themselves in affairs, to influence their generation, and leave a mark behind them. Yet when this recluse reached his eighty-third birthday he received an address containing a tribute of respect, with six hundred and fifty signatures, constituting a testimonial which Dr. Drummond is justified in calling "quite unique." The address expresses "reverence and affection" for Dr. Martineau personally, enumerates his "great services to the study of philosophy and religion," and dwells upon the help given to "those who seek to combine the love of truth with the Christian life" and the value of "a long life passed in the strenuous fulfilment of duty," one in which "personal interest and ambitions have never been allowed to have a place." The signatures came "from the most opposite quarters in the literary, scientific, political, and religious world," and included the names of Tennyson and Browning, Jowett, Max Müller, Lowell, Lecky, and others equally distinguished in contemporary literature, as well as those of professors in the leading universities of the world, from Oxford and Cambridge to Harvard and Johns Hopkins, from Berlin and Leipzig to Edinburgh and St. Andrews, as well as ministers and teachers from Christian denominations of all types. A man who had so touched at divers points men of such diverse

positions and characteristics, and who could so command reverent regard from many of the foremost thinkers of his own time, could have been no ordinary man and no ordinary teacher. In his essay on "Personal Influences in Theology" Martineau himself says of John Henry Newman that "without an estimate of his genius and influence only two thirds of the theological history of contemporary England could be written."¹ Surely the historian of English thought in the nineteenth century will be inclined to say that side by side with Newman in potent influence over one third of the theological thought of at least two generations must stand the name of James Martineau.

For a study of Martineau as a philosopher we must refer readers to Professor Upton's clear and able *résumé* of his work. Martineau's own interesting account in the preface to his *Types of Ethical Theory* tells of that "new intellectual birth" in Berlin in 1848, when "after a temporary struggle out of the English into the Greek moulds of conception, I seemed to pierce through what had been words before into contact with living thought, and the black grammatical text was aglow with luminous philosophy." He was delivered from his bondage to empirical and necessarian modes of thought, from "successive terms of willing captivity to Locke and Hartley, to Collins, Edwards, and Priestley, to Bentham and James Mill," and as new philosophical light dawned on his soul, the gradual widening of apprehension "was as much a fact as the sight of Alps I had never visited before." The significance of this change will be appreciated by all students of his ethics; but the marks of it are visible in the *Essays* to which we have referred, in his *Study of Spinoza*, and last, but not least, in the earliest portion of his *Study of Religion*, which contains some of his most impressive philosophical writing.

It is as a religious teacher, however, that we have now to deal with this many-sided genius. We cannot attribute any considerable portion of his influence to his power as a

¹ *Essays*, Vol. I., p. 233.

preacher—that is, to his spoken word. True, he found in Liverpool and in London “fit audience, though few”; those who were prepared to breathe the high and rarefied air of lofty religious meditation and speculation knew that in Martineau they could find a guide to the lonely peaks such as men might well seek far to obtain. But in his pulpit was no preacher to the multitude, or to the average mind.

A tall, spare figure robed in the scholar's gown, and wearing the dignities of his office as a natural grace; a thin face, suggestive of the cloister, and traced with deep lines of thought; a voice not loud, but musical and reaching; an enunciation leisurely but not slow, and perfectly distinct. . . . And now the sermon; from the beginning it is plain that it is to serious thought, yes and hard thinking that you are invited. . . . Dr. Martineau never entertains; he has serious business with you, and to the consideration of that he holds you with little thought whether he entertains or no. You have been living in some castle of worldliness or pride;—there it is a hopeless *débris* around you, and you a shivering and unsheltered soul in the bleak desert of the world. You are suffocated with the dust of life; you are borne away to some alpine summit where the air is free and a glory thrills you. You came hither, as you felt, deserted and alone; you go home with—God!¹

Such a preacher, however, would have been secure of a large, as well as an attentive audience, in spite of the demands he made upon their intellectual and spiritual powers, if he had believed in *preaching*, and if his discourses had been sermons. But full as these were of a beauty and sublimity of their own, they were meditations and little more. They did not expound Scripture; they contained no gospel message; they were not addressed directly as appeals to the listeners. His own account of the matter in the preface to the second volume of his *Endeavours* is very instructive. “Preaching is essentially a lyric expression of the soul, an utterance of meditation in sorrow, love, hope,

¹ *James Martineau: A Study and Biography*, by A. W. Jackson, pp. 143, 144.

and joy, from a representative of the human heart in its divine relations." Again he says: "The thoughts and aspirations which look direct to God, and the kindling of which among a fraternity of men constitutes social worship, are natives of solitude; the spectacle of an assembly is a hindrance to their occurrence." With such a conception of preaching a fine mind like Martineau's could not but produce lofty and elevating compositions to which some would listen with delight, and which all devout souls might read in the study with deepest profit. But surely the description above given is as far as it well could be from a definition either of what the actual sermon has been in the history of effective preaching, or of what the preacher ought to strive to make it. The Christian conception of preaching is essentially the delivery of a *message*, and the "spectacle of an assembly" is not a "hindrance" to a man who has a great and urgent announcement to make which most intimately concerns the welfare of his fellows. An audience is the necessary condition, the appropriate stimulus which calls forth the deepest feelings and the most earnest utterances of a man who knows himself solemnly called of God to speak in His name to his fellows. Dr. Drummond explains that Dr. Martineau's spirit was "keenly sensitive to any symptom of indifference or scepticism in his hearers, so that he felt deadened by a lower atmosphere than that which his own lofty spirit was accustomed to breathe." It is easy to understand that this was true; and as the most delicate astronomical instruments must be guarded against the possibility of even distant vibrations, so some of the meditations in the *Hours of Thought*, for example, could hardly have been delivered to an ordinary miscellaneous audience. But the true preacher is not the man who is thus spiritually fastidious and exclusive, whose soul must not be disturbed by the very presence of ordinary men who cannot sympathise with him in his high and lonely flights. He is the man whose soul is stirred to its depths by the needs of those around him, and who exhausts all his resources to reach them at the level they occupy in order that he may

raise them to a loftier range of thought and feeling. Dr. Drummond adds :

This loneliness of nature may explain how it was that, while his preaching fascinated those who came with souls akin to his, and thirsting for his high spiritual thought, it was sometimes found to be less kindling than that of men who were otherwise of far inferior powers.¹

Not from the pulpit therefore, but by the intrinsic force of his written word, did Martineau wield for half a century his remarkable influence upon English religious thought. His style was his own. If he was not born with it and did not lisp it in his cradle, he seems to have spoken and written in it from early youth when his mind was formed, to have employed it whenever he spoke, to have written his most friendly letters in it, and to have preserved it unaltered, unwavering in its stateliness, undimmed in its brilliance, to the very end. If Gibbon marches and Macaulay trots, Martineau now exhibits the army in the splendours of parade and now in the sweep of a cavalry charge. He combines strength and grace ; his thought is lofty, his touch discriminating, his argument close and keen, his definition accurate, his words express with delicate suppleness all the movements of a subtle and rapid and powerful mind. But the whole utterance of the man is suffused with the light of a powerful imagination. His sentences glow with metaphor. Sometimes they glitter—which is not so well. The panes of glass in distant windows which powerfully reflect the sunlight as you look upon a landscape, do not help, but hinder vision ; and Martineau's tropes are sometimes too glistening and too numerous for his subject. Sustained brilliance also must pall, and the reader who for a dozen pages is delighted finds that before he has finished a hundred he is weary. It seems as if the writer hardly knew how to be simple who, in describing his estrangement from his sister, found it natural to say,

I never reciprocated the alienation from which I suffered, and

¹ *Life*, Vol. I., p. 136.

should have escaped a real sorrow, had the efforts to remove it been successful. It has simply counted for me as an instance more of my sister's liability to oscillate between extremes of devotedness and sympathy, and has in no way disenchanted the old affection, or impaired my estimate of her high aims, her large powers, and her noble private virtues.

One homely touch of nature and of love were worth it all.

Yet how noble and lofty an instrument was that on which Martineau played in page after page of inspiring eloquence; what organ-music he drew forth from the English language over which he was such a master! His pages are studded with sentences which may be extracted and pondered alone as weighty utterances of great truths:

No grief deserves such pity as the hopeless privations of a scornful heart. . . . God has so arranged the chronometry of our spirits that there shall be thousands of silent moments between the striking hours. . . . Man, the self-conscious animal, is the saddest spectacle in creation; man, the self-conscious Christian, one of the noblest. Reflecting vitality is hypochondria and disease; reflecting spirituality is clearness and strength. . . . To give to God something that we have is heathen; to offer Him what we do is Jewish; to surrender to Him what we are is Christian.

And who that has once been brought under the fascination of his exposition of fundamental theistic doctrine can ever forget such outbursts as this—not rare or strange in Martineau's writings:

The rule of right, the symmetries of character, the requirements of perfection, are no provincialisms of this planet; they are known among the stars; they reign beyond Orion and the Southern Cross; they are wherever the universal Spirit is; and no subject mind, though it fly on one track for ever, can escape beyond their bounds. Just as the arrival of light from deeps that extinguish parallax bears witness to the same ether there that vibrates here and its spectrum reports that one chemistry spans the interval, so does the law of righteousness spring from its earthly base and embrace the empire of the heavens, the

moment it becomes a communion between the heart of man and the life of God.¹

But what did Martineau teach in religion? Where lay his strength, and where his weakness? In what sense is he a representative of "Unitarianism," and what kind of a message has it, or has he, for the spiritual needs of our time?

The word Unitarian—in itself a question-begging theological epithet—has always been an ambiguous and misleading term. In the early ages of Christianity there were many who came short of the doctrines of Nicæa concerning the nature of Deity and the Person of Christ. The Ebionites were of Jewish origin, and accepted Christianity as a reformed Judaism, asserting in the Jewish fashion the unity of God, and regarding Jesus of Nazareth as a mere man possessed of more or less supernatural power and raised above other men by His virtues. But there were Monarchians of various types who claimed, as modern Unitarians have done, to be the only Christians who maintained the unity of God, because they denied the distinction of Persons in the divine nature. Sabellianism, one of the best known forms of Monarchian doctrine, taught the existence of modal distinctions in the Deity, inculcating the doctrine of one God in three modes of manifestation, or exercising three offices, as opposed to the Trinitarian doctrine of one God in Three Persons. Arianism proved to be the most popular and enduring form of belief for some centuries amongst those who rejected the true divinity of Christ, and tried to steer between the extremes of Sabellianism on the one hand and Tritheism on the other. It taught a high doctrine of the Person of Christ, which yet came vitally short of the highest. Christ was the first and loftiest of all creatures, Son of God, divine in a certain sense and with limitations, but not "very God of very God."

Modern Unitarianism dates from the Socini of the sixteenth century. Socinians—in the proper sense of the term

¹ *Study of Religion*, Vol. I., pp. 27, 28. First edition.

—held a higher doctrine of the Person of Christ than they are sometimes credited with. They believed in His miraculous birth of a virgin, His plenary endowment with the Holy Spirit, His miracles, resurrection, and exaltation to the right hand of God, His mediatorial kingship, and the duty of worshipping Him as, so to speak, the representative and plenipotentiary of God. But English Unitarianism is not lineally descended from Socinianism, which struck but feeble root in this country, though in 1685 Owen could write of Arianism and Socinianism, "The evil is at the door; there is not a city or town, scarce a village in England, wherein this poison is not poured forth." It took its rise in English Presbyterianism, which was Arminian in doctrine, and very different in character from the Calvinistic Presbyterianism of Scotland. In the eighteenth century Moderatism and Latitudinarianism were rife in all Churches. Arianism spread both within and outside the Church of England. Sherlock and South "explained" the doctrine of the Trinity, and were accused of explaining it away. Clarke and Whiston were Arians almost undisguised. Milton as a poet, Locke as a philosopher, and Newton as foremost man of science are claimed as having held a "rational" not an "orthodox" doctrine of the Godhead and of Christ's Person. Watts is placed by some in the same category. The prevalent Deism of the century affected even those orthodox teachers who vigorously assailed it. The English Presbyterians seem to have yielded in unusually large measure to the prevailing theological tendency. The process, however, was gradual; from the evangelical tone of Baxter's time there was a perceptible change, Arianism first being tolerated, then becoming common, and finally gaining the upper hand. In 1719 two Arian ministers were removed from their posts for violating trust deeds; but the majority of trusts were "open," without precise doctrinal specification; and in 1824, a century later, out of two hundred and six Unitarian chapels in England it was shown that one hundred and seventy had originally been Presbyterian.

In Martineau's early days Unitarianism was of the Priestley type. The first chapel known by the name was opened in Essex Street, London, in 1774, by Dr. T. Lindsey, who had been an Anglican clergyman. Priestley, latitudinarian and rationalist though he was, believed in the value of revelation and the authority of Scripture, and in miracle as the only conclusive proof of direct communication from God—especially the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. "The character of his mind and the direction of his favourite pursuits," says J. J. Tayler, Martineau's close friend and colleague, "led him to seek outward and as it were tangible proofs of every doctrine he embraced, and created a distrust in all appeals to feeling and the interior sense of spiritual truth."¹ Martineau's first notable essay—published in 1833, and now heading the long list of similar discussions collected in four volumes—is devoted to the man who was supposed to be his leader, but who, as Mr. Tayler shows, taught doctrine diametrically opposed to that for which the disciple was afterwards so strenuously to contend.

Martineau only began where Priestley left off. When ordained to his charge in Dublin, he made the customary statement of his beliefs; and we find him beginning by declaring himself to be "the servant of Revelation, appointed to expound its doctrines, to enforce its precepts, and to proclaim its sanctions." Of "Jesus Christ, God's well beloved Son," he says :—

I acknowledge Him as the Mediator between God and man. His exaltation to that position which He now holds above all other created beings, where He lives for evermore, and from which He shall hereafter judge the world in righteousness . . . not to honour Him as we honour the Father is to violate our allegiance to Him as the great Captain of our salvation.²

But Priestley's position was not long maintained as the nineteenth century advanced. Channing's influence pre-

¹ *Retrospect of Religious Life in England*, Second edition, p. 294.

² *Life*, Vol. I., pp. 55, 56.

vailed over the next generation ; a teacher to whom Martineau owed far more than to Priestley. The second of the "Essays" is devoted to Channing, who laid as much stress upon conscience as Priestley did upon external credentials of revelation, who emphasised holiness as the eighteenth-century leader emphasised happiness, and who, as Martineau said, "though he rejected the names, left the functions of the Trinity," and who, in his profound reverence for the Person of Christ, often seemed to the orthodox to be but little removed from their own position. Theodore Parker, the next great "Unitarian" name of the century, was feared and denounced by men of the older school because he rejected so many of the Christian doctrines and evidences which to them were important, and seemed in tendency and sympathy, if not in fact, to verge upon Pantheism.

We cannot, however, stay to trace the various disintegrating influences which gradually broke up the strength of the older Unitarianism and made the way plain for the "new school." The history of the whole may almost be traced in the history of Martineau's mind. This development is to our thinking both the most interesting and important feature of the *Life*. It is interesting as a study in psychology ; it is important as showing the direction of one of the main currents of English religious thought during half a century. Its bearing upon the "British and Foreign Unitarian Association," and the prejudices which for long threatened to exclude by far the most powerful representative of "Unitarianism" from positions of influence and power in the community, is a very small part of the matter. Still, it can be traced here. As early as on page 31 of the first volume we find a letter, written indeed many years later, but describing the feeling of an earlier period—the "grieving alienation from the spirit of my Unitarian fellow-believers, from which I have never recovered." And as early as 1838, when the British and Foreign Unitarian Association was formed, Martineau raised his voice in protest, declaring that "if the union were to be a sectarian or

theological union of Unitarian Churches, he for one would have to dissent from it."

But it was in 1859 that he spoke most plainly. In a letter addressed to the Rev. S. D. F. Macdonald, which was virtually a pamphlet on the Unitarian position, he marched forward and burned his boats behind him. He renounced utterly what he called the "miraculously confirmed Deism which often passes under the Unitarian name." He complained of the degeneration of the community into "the noisy egotism of the sects." Nay more.

I am constrained to say that neither my intellectual preference nor my moral admiration goes heartily with the Unitarian heroes, sects, or productions of any age. Ebionites, Arians, Socinians, all seem to me to contrast unfavourably with their opponents, and to exhibit a type of thought and character far less worthy, on the whole, of the true genius of Christianity. . . . In devotional literature and religious thought I find nothing of ours that does not pale before Augustine, Tauler, and Pascal. And in the poetry of the Church it is the Latin or the German hymns, or the lines of Charles Wesley, or of Keble, that fasten on my memory and heart, and make all else seem poor and cold. . . . To be torn away from the great company I have named, and transferred to the ranks which command a far fainter allegiance, is an unnatural and for me an inadmissible fate.

Intellectual accordance with the Socini or Servetus in one cardinal doctrine, he goes on to say, and that a doctrine not distinctively Christian, but belonging also to Judaism, Islam, and simple Deism, "is as nothing compared with the intense response wrung from me by some of Luther's readings of St. Paul, and by his favourite book, the *Theologia Germanica*."¹ In a letter to Miss Susanna Winkworth, written about the same time and acknowledging the gift of her translation of Tauler's Sermons, he says :

I see at once that the book will be for the rest of my life one of my sacred guides ; and will stand, after my Bible, with Plato and Leighton and the *Theologia Germanica* and Coleridge and

¹ *Essays*, Vol. II., pp. 375, 376. The whole letter deserves careful reading.

Tennyson and the German and Wesley hymns. A strange jumble, you will say, of heterogeneous springs of thought ! yet all, I think, assuaging to the same thirst.¹

In 1874 he brought out a new edition of the hymn-book he had prepared years before, and entitled *Hymns of Praise and Prayer*. In the preface he says :

For myself both conviction and feeling keep me close to the poetry and piety of Christendom. It is my native air, and in no other can I breathe ; and wherever it passes, it so mellows the soil and feeds the roots of character, and nurtures such grace and balance of affection, that for any climate similarly rich in elements of perfect life I look in vain elsewhere.

Some of the hymns in this volume are his own, and breathe the devout and pure spirit that we might expect. But he thought himself at liberty to alter, not in an occasional phrase, but in their whole conception, certain great Christian hymns which he included, and "Jesu, Lover of my soul" emerges in a form "translated" indeed. He even altered the Te Deum to suit his own, virtually Sabellian, creed. The feeling here expressed remained with him to the end. In his ninety-second year he acknowledged that the literature to which he turned "for the inspiration of faith, hope, and love is almost exclusively the product of orthodox versions of the Christian religion," and that such books as have been named "have a quickening and elevating power which I very rarely feel in the books on our Unitarian shelves. Yet I less than ever appropriate, or even intellectually excuse, any distinctive article of the Trinitarian scheme of salvation."²

It never seems to have occurred to Martineau that there was a deep-lying intellectual reason for the deficiency he so often noted in Unitarian literature, its barrenness in the power to kindle or maintain the devotional altar-fire. The contents of his own creed dwindled as life went on. Miracles disappeared very early ; the resurrection of Christ was to him a mere myth, and the apostles' belief in it was

¹ *Life*, Vol. I., p. 348.

² *Life*, Vol. II., p. 229.

"not the cause but the effect of their faith in Jesus from other sources" ¹ Sin as a racial evil, and atonement for a race, or for sin in any form, he had never believed in. He not only gave up the idea of any authority in the Scriptures, but denied the possibility of any revelation from without. He contends in his *Seat of Authority in Religion* that Jesus never claimed to be the Messiah, and his arbitrary and unsatisfactory criticism of the Gospels left comparatively few fragments of information about Jesus which he could acknowledge to be credible. The "Letters" trace the outline of this process clearly enough ; but we can only in passing illustrate this point. Writing in 1898, he says :

We plainly want a New Reformation to give us a religion that shall be tenable alike by the natural soul and by the cultivated mind of our age ; and it can never be brought to the birth alive out of Messianic preconceptions, or ecclesiastical dogmas, or physical cosmogonies ; but must be drawn fresh, like the beatitudes, from the divine experiences of the Christlike soul, which are self-evidencing and wait for no visual miracle to vouch them. All that we spiritually know is thus given us in the person of Jesus ; but not all that is told us of His person is of this character, or is in itself credible ; and till the needful discrimination is effected between these two elements, our present Gospels will often mislead us. For in truth they are but anonymous traditions, authentic mixed with unauthentic, current in the second century.¹

He was conscious himself of the changes through which he had passed, which, he says, "seem to make good the charge of instability." But he maintains that throughout his whole course certain ruling principles have directed him, and in 1895 he thus describes them :

The substitution, in short, of religion *at first hand*, straight out of the immediate interaction between the soul and God, for religion *at second hand*, fetched by copying out of anonymous traditions of the Eastern Mediterranean eighteen centuries ago, has been the really directing, though hardly conscious, aim of my responsible years of life.

¹ *Life*, Vol. II., p. 244.

How different is this from his conclusions of thirty years before, when he wrote that he could see how religion amongst Unitarians was losing its distinctive Christian character, and melting into general culture.

From this fate the Churches are protected which, finding their centre of gravity in the Incarnation, unite the Divine and the Human in the representative of our nature, and construe our own moral phenomena into personal relations with the All-Holy Mind. In this I see a germ of fruitfulness ; in the other, only spiritual barrenness.¹

He ended by denouncing the Christianity of the Churches as "the growth of a mythical literature, Messianic dreams, Pharisaic theology, sacramental superstition, and popular apotheosis."²

And so the evolution is complete. We have passed from 1805 to 1895. In Martineau's long mental development we see portrayed, probably at its purest and best, a process which had been maturing through three generations. The Unitarian who bowed to the authority of Scripture, believed in miracle, and well-nigh worshipped Christ, has become the Theist who has shed every vestige of his Christian creed, except a belief that in a few ethical sayings and still fewer credible actions of His life, Jesus of Nazareth was a teacher from whom there is still something to be learned as to true communion with God and the best way of serving man. "Unitarianism" in the old sense of the word is supposed to be dead. Martineau himself held that a generation ago it was barren and ready to die, and he has led his followers by a new path to what is in many respects a new creed. Will the new prove more vital, more stable, more fertile than the old ? That Martineau himself was saint as well as genius we have good reason to believe ; the biography only confirms the deep impression to his effect produced by his sermons and other writings. But he himself has told us whence that devout life was nourished ; and when the

¹ *Life*, Vol. II., p. 32.

² *Seat of Authority in Religion*, p. 650.

springs of *Christian* faith have run dry in the arid sands of rationalism, when Martineau's creed is adopted without his reverence, his piety, his mysticism, his conscience and noble devotion to duty, what fruit is it likely to bring forth ?

No one who knows the religious history of England for thirty years past can be blind to the great strength of Dr. Martineau's positive teaching or the immense value of the services he has rendered to religion by his putting of the Theistic argument. This was especially felt in the period from 1870 onwards, when materialistic forms of belief threatened to become prevalent, chiefly through a misunderstanding of the scope and bearing of the doctrine of evolution. When more orthodox controversialists seemed to have missed their way, or could not secure a hearing, Martineau, who had less to defend, struck hard and struck home. His reply to Tyndall in 1874 was masterly ; and other similar articles and addresses of his were used as war material by many who did not belong to his section of the army. By the time his two great books appeared the tide of materialism was ebbing. But he greatly accelerated the process, and erected dykes and bulwarks against a return-wave which the defenders of religion and morals have felt they could not do better than strengthen. The vigour of his reasoning was greatly aided by the lofty earnestness of his spirit and the imaginative glow of his style. But he was aided also by the fact that for other reasons the great doctrine of the immanence of God in the universe was gaining firm hold of the thought of a new generation. Evolution had taught its lesson ; the coldness of Deism and the mechanical modes of regarding the Deity and the universe which were characteristic of the early years of the nineteenth century were entirely foreign to the mental habitudes of those who lived at its close. One great service which Martineau rendered undoubtedly lay in this, that while strenuously contending for the divine immanence, he never lost his hold of the transcendence of God in relation to the universe, and thus his Theism was never in danger of sinking into Pantheism.

There can be little question either, we think, that as a teacher he helped to purify "orthodoxy" by his repeated protests against doctrines which from time to time were identified with Christianity, though they misrepresented its real character. Calvinism was one of these. When Martineau began to teach, Calvinism and Evangelical Christianity were in many quarters synonymous. Some of his most vigorous denunciations are directed against theories of the Atonement which are little short of immoral in themselves, and which were discrediting Christianity by caricaturing it. Hardly anyone owns them now. We do not say that their disappearance is due to Martineau, whilst we strongly hold that in discarding error he discarded valuable truth with it. But in his teaching on the subject of sin and salvation, on inspiration, on miracle, and some other cardinal topics, Martineau certainly aided in the process of removing from what was known as orthodox Christianity some excrescences which all lovers of pure Evangelical truth have been glad to see disappear. We have all learned now the mistake of laying so much stress on miracle, as to find God only in the exceptional and anomalous, handing over "nature" to "law," while God was to be discerned only, or chiefly, in those breaks and gaps in recognised order which were supposed to be peculiarly divine. The relation between the natural and the supernatural is even now but imperfectly understood by many of those who rightly contend for the reality of a supernatural revelation. But it is better understood than it was, and this is partly due to writers like Martineau outside the orthodox pale, as well as to careful thinkers within it. It would be easy to multiply passages from his writings to illustrate this, and there is one very instructive letter to Rev. J. H. Hutton, written in 1885, from which we should have been glad to make an extract, but the exigences of space forbid.

What we are chiefly concerned with at this moment is the attitude of Martineau in the later and more influential period of his life to what is generally understood as the Christian religion. While we gladly acknowledge the assist-

ance he gave in maintaining the foundations of Theism in vindicating God, freedom, and immortality, and while we should be unwilling to refuse the name "Christian" to anyone who claims it for himself, as Martineau constantly did, it is quite clear that Christ was not to him an object of faith, nor at best anything more than an inspiring example. Of what are known as the cardinal doctrines of Christianity Martineau held no single one, except a kind of sublimated trust in the Fatherhood of God, such as Jesus of Nazareth may be believed to have exercised—so far, that is, as we are allowed to trust the "erroneous" and "superstitious" narratives of the evangelists. It is the more important to turn attention to this subject, because the rationalism of Martineau's later life is in all probability one of the chief enemies against which Evangelical truth will have to contend in the first half of the twentieth century. It was probably held in substance during Martineau's life within the Church of England by Jowett and Stanley and others whom they represented. It would not be difficult to find to-day an Oxford professor and a Broad Church dean who take up a similar theological position; and it is freely stated—though we are not endorsing the accusation—that there are many clergymen who are content to receive the emoluments of ecclesiastical office whilst really believing no more of the Apostles' Creed than Dr. Stopford Brooke or Mr. Voysey. None the less those who occupy this theological standpoint claim to be "Christian." Harnack speaks for them and many more when he says, "No! the Christian religion is something simple and sublime; it means one thing, and one thing only: eternal life in the midst of time, by the strength and under the eyes of God." That is, it means Theism and the performance of duty, with or without that faint Christian tinge which allows that so much as we know of Jesus—painfully sifted out from the gospel fables—may be of some assistance to the soul that to-day would know God at first hand, freed from the "anonymous traditions of the Eastern Mediterranean." Mrs. Humphry Ward in an able lecture has traced "the

history of Unitarianism, from its first beginning in a rationalised Calvinism to its present development as the religion of conscience and discipleship." ¹ The former stage we know; but what kind of a religion is the latter? By whom is the "conscience" regulated, and to whom is the "discipleship" rendered?

For the Theist of to-day has outgrown revelation. Martineau repeatedly protests against any attempt to make the New Testament a religious authority, and he scorns what he calls "second-hand belief, assented to at the dictation of an initiated expert." His is substantially the position of Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, who, in lecturing before the German Emperor a few weeks ago, said, "There can be no greater mistake than the belief that the Bible is a revelation of God. . . . Hand on heart—beyond the revelation of good which every man finds in himself we need no other."² Here is intellectual and religious atomism with a vengeance—rationalistic individualism almost run mad. Yet it was for this kind of "freedom" that Martineau was all his life contending, and it is for this that the older Unitarianism is largely giving up its "rationalised Calvinism" and "miraculously confirmed Deism." The able Review called *The Hibbert Journal*, of which two or three numbers have appeared, represents in the main what used to be called a "Unitarian" section of opinion, and a generation ago it would probably have been established on the basis of a "liberal Christianity." But the esteemed editors in putting forth their prospectus prefer to take as their guiding stars "three positive truths: that the Goal of thought is One; that thought striving to reach the Goal must ever move; that in the conflict of opinion the movement is furthered by which the many approach the One." For a Review which is to call no man master, such a programme, however vague and negative, is intelligible; but for a Church? Yet

¹ *Unitarians and the Future*, Essex Hall Lecture, 1894, p. 31.

² This quotation of a passage which has been reproduced in various forms is taken from the report in the *Times* of January 13.

Martineau's view of a "Christian" Church was hardly more definite than this.

The point which we wish to make has been well stated by Martineau himself. Writing to R. H. Hutton, and speaking of "orthodoxy" and "Unitarianism," he says : "Say what we will, the two religions, as expressed and expressible in words, are wholly different, and cannot find a common medium. Orthodoxy is not = Unitarianism + an Appendix ; and we believe, not *less*, but *otherwise*, than they."¹ The italics are his ; but we gladly adopt the emphasis, and would also italicise the phrase "*two religions*." For the religion of the man who rejects all spiritual authority but that of his own reason and conscience, and the religion of the man who finds in Christ a direct revelation of God and who bows to the authority of the New Testament, are not two forms of one religion, but *two religions*, separated widely indeed at this moment, and likely to be much more widely separated when the creed of Dr. Martineau has been held for a generation by men who have torn themselves away from all the sacred and tender associations of an earlier belief, as he in sentiment never succeeded in doing.

It is not for us at the end of an article to point out the narrowness and deficiencies of this rationalistic creed. The Biblical criticism on which Martineau relied for destroying the authority of the New Testament is dominated by assumptions which it would require a separate article to expose. But it is the less necessary to attempt this because even in the short time which has elapsed since Dr. Martineau died, the ground of rationalism has been changed ; and whereas Martineau relied upon an (unproved) late date for the Gospels, Schmiedel—now that an earlier date is being generally accepted by critics—boldly says that date makes no difference, and were the Synoptic Gospels dated within half a dozen years of Christ's death, their story must be pronounced utterly incredible. Moreover, the line which Martineau drew between the discourses of Jesus—which he

¹ *Life*, Vol. I., p. 276.

accepted—and the teaching of the apostles concerning Jesus—which he rejected with scorn—is one which wiser and abler critics of the New Testament acknowledge to be untenable. Harnack well says :

The more powerful the personality which a man possesses, and the more he takes hold of the inner life of others, the less can the sum-total of what he is be known only by what he himself is and does. We must look at the reflection and the effects which he produced in those whose leader and master he became. That is why a complete answer to the question, What is Christianity? is impossible so long as we are restricted to Jesus Christ's teaching alone. . . . We cannot form any right estimate of the Christian religion unless we take our stand upon a comprehensive induction that shall cover all the facts of its history.¹

As Dr. Fairbairn puts it,

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. . . . If the doctrine of the Person of Christ were explicable as the mere mythical apotheosis of Jesus of Nazareth, it would become the most insolent and fateful anomaly in history.²

If Dr. Martineau's philosophical teaching and grasp of natural theology had not been superior to his Biblical criticism, his exegesis, and his analysis of early Christian history, he would never have ranked as the great teacher he undoubtedly was. His handling of the subject of Christ's resurrection shows not the keen insight of a careful student of religious history, but the extreme resorts to which a theoriser may be driven who persists in interpreting facts in the light of rooted and irremovable preconceptions.

But on such subjects as the nature of God, the racial constitution of man, forgiveness and the conditions on which it is obtainable under a moral Ruler of the universe, Martineau's teaching, fine and impressive as was its form, was essentially shallow in substance. The anti-Trinitarian is

¹ *What is Christianity?* p. 10.

² *Philosophy of Christian Religion*, p. 15.

not a profound thinker on the subject of the interior Being of the Godhead. Sometimes Dr. Martineau seems to have caught a glimpse of this. In one place he writes :

Better insight into the origin and meaning of the Trinitarian scheme, more philosophical appreciation of its leading terms—Substance, Personality, Nature, etc.—and more sympathetic approach to the minds of living believers in it, have greatly modified our estimate, and disinclined many of us to make the rejection of the doctrine, any more than its acceptance, a condition of Church communion.¹

Precisely. And better insight into the solidarity of the human race, more philosophical appreciation of what is implied in the true Christian doctrine of Atonement, and more sympathetic approach to the minds of living believers in salvation through Christ, would have prevented so deeply religious a man as Dr. Martineau from absolutely rejecting the whole of Christian soteriology.

Again, it is somewhat surprising that Dr. Martineau did not draw from the acknowledged sterility of Unitarianism the lesson which it is calculated to teach. No one confesses the fact more freely than he. Mrs. Humphry Ward, in more guarded and delicate phrase, speaks of the "discouragement" caused by the lack of progress among the communities with which she sympathises. The high personal character and great intellectual ability of the representatives of Unitarianism in this country and in America, the able sermons of their ministers, and the notable philanthropy of their Churches, do not avail to endow these communities with the contagious power of a living and conquering faith. One of the most distinguished of Unitarian divines in America has said, "Unitarianism has proved itself inferior to orthodoxy as a working power. . . . The coldness with which the orthodox have charged us we have felt, and instead of denying the charge we prefer the grace of frankly acknowledging it." And Professor Everett of Harvard wrote but a few years ago, "It is true that in the

¹ *Essays*, Vol. II., p. 377.

greater part of our country to-day the strength of the orthodox Churches means the strength of religion, their weakness the weakness of religion."¹ This deficiency in earnest religious life has not resulted from the lack of intellectual ability or high ethical standard or personal energy of character, but from the maintenance of a creed without a gospel, without an authoritative guide, and without a living dynamic to seize, change, move, and raise mankind.

The new Unitarianism is in these respects very unlikely to prove more effective than the old. Dr. Martineau's creed was not enriched as time went on, but the contrary. Recruits to the Unitarian communities seem to consist of those who find themselves obliged to drop certain articles of the orthodox creed, not those who are attracted by the—increasingly negative—character of Theistic beliefs. We have been interested to read a small volume recently published which gives an account of the reasons which led five ministers, converts to Unitarianism, to leave the orthodox Churches to which they were attached. In it an Anglican clergyman, a Congregational, a Wesleyan, and a Presbyterian minister, and a Roman Catholic priest tell their respective stories, and explain the different paths by which they were brought to the same fold.² It is in each case a history of the loss of faith. In no case was there a powerful magnet of influential doctrine causing a disturbed and unsettled mind to gravitate towards a desired resting-place, but rather a drifting, more or less gradual and unconscious, as one intellectual and religious mooring gave way after another. Thus it was that almost in spite of themselves these former ministers of Evangelical truth found themselves side by side,

¹ An American paper recently reports, that from the period, about one hundred and twenty-five years ago, when Unitarians and Methodists were on a level in the United States, the relative progress has been as follows: Unitarians, 453 Churches; Methodists, 56,101. Unitarian ministers, 544; Methodists, 38,995. Church members—Unitarians, 61,000; Methodists, 5,966,500.

² *Types of Religious Experience*, by E. W. Lummis and others. (Philip Green. 1903.)

exulting together in their "freedom," *i.e.* their deliverance from authority, which was really almost the only feature they possessed in common.

Not thus is a strong and living religious community built up. Such a negative entity was, however, Martineau's ideal of a Church. He desired nothing more than the establishment of a "Christian" community, as he understood it, in which there should be no creed, no doctrinal bond of any kind, only an agreement in the desire, as he expressed it, to "love God and man"; the God in question being quite undefined and largely unknown, and the love to man including no belief in a gospel which would make true zeal for his welfare possible, and give it an adequate leverage, object, and end. Some would say that this was the dream of an idealist, too good for this wicked world, too high for the grovelling aims of existing Churches. But whilst a simplification of creed may be a legitimate object for all Christian Churches, and a very desirable one for some, and whilst every Christian should keep his heart and sympathies open as far as possible towards those whose creed differs from his own, a Church without a creed is a Church without a gospel. And we should add, a Church without a gospel can hardly be called a Church at all. Dr. Martineau's Theism has been an inspiration to the minds, and a stay to the faith, of thousands. His "Christianity" is the shadow of a shade. Rightly has he said that there are two religions. The one, whether called Unitarian or not, whether of an older or a newer type, rejects Revelation, exalts individual reason, adores a solitary God, and disdains the idea of Redemption. The other is the gospel of the eternal Son of God, who was also mortal Son of man, who gave Himself for the salvation of a sinful world, and whose redeeming love is the most potent force in human history to-day.

W. T. DAVISON.

THE NONJURORS.

The Nonjurors : their Lives, Principles, and Writings.
By J. H. OVERTON, D.D. (London : Smith, Elder, & Co.)

WE have always regarded the refusal of certain bishops of the Anglican Church to take the oaths of allegiance to William and Mary, and the consequent formation of a Nonjuring community, as one of the most interesting and important episodes in English ecclesiastical history. The question of principle involved, deeply momentous as it is to the High Anglican, is not without importance to the Nonconformist ; and from any point of view the story can hardly fail to interest. The heroes of the movement, indeed, were in themselves, and apart from theological prepossessions, men whom no student of English history, political or literary, can afford to neglect. By the Teutonic scholar the names of George Hickes, of Thomas Hearne, of George Smith, will always be held in grateful remembrance as the pioneers in studies which only during the last fifty years have entered on their full inheritance. The historian, in days when accuracy is of more importance than mere style, is not likely to bear hard on such men as Rawlinson, Carte, or Baker, in whom he recognises qualities not to be found in the more brilliant pages of Hume and Robertson. No moralist, careful of the honour of his country's literature, can think of the work of Jeremy Collier in purifying the English stage without gratitude ; and no man of piety, least of all a Methodist, can hear the names of William Law and Robert Nelson without a thrill of emotion. The Christian apologist, grateful that he need no longer defend his religion from

the Deist, sacrifices to the memory of Charles Leslie, "a reasoner," in Johnson's words, "not to be reasoned against," to whom Deism owed its death-blow. Ken, Spinckes, and Kettlewell are ranked by us with Francis of Assisi and Fletcher of Madeley as saints of the universal Church. And to all these men, whatever view we may hold as to their principles, the high praise is due that they made for those principles a sacrifice of wealth, of friends, and of position; that they were men whom the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews would have delighted to honour; that they esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt, and even than what they would have valued far higher—the treasures of the Bodleian.

Interesting as the men are in themselves, the cause in which they suffered is more interesting still. To us, of course, it may seem as if they made their sacrifices for a crotchet; but a crotchet for which men are willing to sacrifice a moment's ease is not so common as to deserve to pass without a tribute of respect. If we think *our* principles right and *theirs* wrong, let us so live as to be willing, if the time comes, to give up as much as they. But we shall see, as we proceed, a further reason why we as Evangelicals should be specially interested in the history of the Nonjurors; for, if we mistake not, the position of the High Church party has been seriously shaken by the actions of these highest of High Churchmen. While seeming to be pillars of the sacred edifice, they have, we believe, been unintentional agents in its overthrow.

We owe a debt of thanks to Canon Overton for his scholarly and well written book on these remarkable men. The amount of research which the book has demanded is very inadequately represented by its size; and we have no doubt that Canon Overton would have found it easier to write three or four volumes than the one into which he has compressed the vast stores of information which his indefatigable pains have enabled him to accumulate. Here are short and accurate biographies of forty or fifty men, some of them so obscure that materials have had to be gathered

from the most out-of-the-way sources. Dr. Overton writes sympathetically, nor does he conceal his own pronounced Church views ; but he is, we think, impartial. The style, though occasionally somewhat colloquial, is bright and pleasing. He disclaims any desire to be amusing, and refuses to give specimens of the eccentricities of Richard Rawlinson or to regale us with the doctrinal freaks of Dodwell. Nevertheless, the work is exceedingly interesting ; and few indeed will begin it who do not go on steadily and admiringly to the end. Some indeed may find the order confusing ; and the biographical method chosen is certainly not the one that conduces most to clearness. But anyone who has tried to write a book himself will be the first to admit that an author is himself probably the best judge of design, and to allow him a little freedom as to the way in which he may present his facts to his readers.

As becomes a true Anglican, Canon Overton starts with the "deprived Fathers," proceeds next to such of their clerical followers as became bishops, then sketches the lives of the rank and file of the clergy, and only then arrives at the laity. At the very end of the book he turns to speak of what to many is the most interesting part of the work of the Nonjurors—their contributions to general literature. We are thus rather breathlessly hurried from decade to decade ; and some care is requisite to prevent the reader from becoming bewildered. But in a work of this kind and magnitude it is difficult to see how any other method could have been clearer ; and Dr. Overton is obviously writing primarily for Anglicans, to whom the Church point of view is the most important. We are, we repeat, grateful to him for an admirable and painstaking work, on which we shall unhesitatingly rely in giving our reasons for totally disagreeing with his conclusions.

The Nonjuring "schism"—to use a convenient word which in the mouth of a Nonconformist conveys no notion of censure—began, as all the world knows, with the Revolution of 1688. About four hundred clergy, including eight of the best known bishops, refused on conscientious grounds

to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, and were deprived in consequence. Of the bishops, two died before the sentence of deprivation could take effect ; and two others, Ken and Frampton, though still refusing the oaths, refrained from active participation in the movement that followed. Of the others, Sancroft, who from his archiepiscopal position would naturally have taken the first place, remained only long enough to give the initial impulse ; and the real work fell to Lloyd of Norwich and Turner of Ely. The great and deserved influence of White of Peterborough was exercised in a more quiet though equally effective and courageous fashion.

The Nonjurors were Churchmen to the backbone ; indeed their nonjurancy was so to speak a mere accident of their Churchmanship. Holding strongly the Anglican view as to passive obedience, which they called emphatically "the doctrine of the Cross"—a view that had been hitherto advocated not only by the High party but by such typically Low Churchmen as Tillotson and Burnet—they found it impossible to give their allegiance to a government founded upon the direct contrary of that principle. Of all dogmas, those of the Apostles' Creed alone excepted, this may perhaps claim to have been the one most uncompromisingly asserted, and most universally adopted, by the Church of England. The Nonjurors therefore asserted—and it is hard to prove their error—that they were the real representatives of that Church. They refused to admit the right of the majority, merely because it was a majority, to call them separatists, "unless," in the words of Hickes, "you will affirm that when a ship breaks from the shoar when she lies at anchor, the shoar removes from her and not she from the shoar." Few things, in fact, are more certain than that, in the first instance, it was the Nonjurors who stood for consistency in the application of Church principle ; and that the Establishment, sincerely or not, renounced a doctrine that had been universally held by all parties in the Church till the policy of James II. forced upon them its practical disadvantages. We do not know,

nor is it to us of much importance to know, whether there is in the Anglican Church a theory of "development" which enables her to cast aside old doctrines, and to recast her formulas to fit new circumstances. The essential point is to make it clear that at the Revolution it was the seceders who stood for antiquity and prescription. They may, perhaps, have been wrong in pressing a minor doctrine so far as to split the Church upon it. It is possible that passive obedience is not one of those fundamental dogmas on which it is necessary to stake everything. But it is certain that hitherto the doctors of the Church had repeatedly stated that dogma in the most uncompromising terms, and that the Nonjurors only carried out in action what had been again and again expressed in theory. In any case, the blame we must give them is singularly like the height of praise. They pushed Church principles to the extent of losing their all; while their opponents, to say the least, invented an accommodating theory which saved their places at the expense of their consistency.

Holding these strong Church views, the Nonjurors were soon confronted with a difficulty. Episcopacy is essential to the very idea of a Church. The new bishops, appointed while their predecessors were still living, could only be regarded as intruders, and guilty of the sin of schism. What, then, as to the future? Were the new bishops to be left alone in their sees, filling up the measure of their guilt, but becoming, when in due course the deprived incumbents died, the canonical bishops? Or was a new and uncontaminated order to be consecrated? Readers of Macaulay know what took place. In spite of the opposition of Ken and Frampton, Sancroft supported the latter view, and in 1694 George Hickes and Thomas Wagstaffe were consecrated, by Lloyd, Turner, and White, to be bishops of Thetford and Ipswich respectively. The new Church was thus decisively inaugurated.

This important act was not done without due consideration. There being no deans and chapters to whom the *congé d'élire* could be sent, it was resolved to follow the Act

of Henry VIII., and ordain only suffragan bishops. The consent of the exiled king, who himself did not move without the consent of the pope, was obtained before the consecration took place. The Nonjurors thus hoped to provide against two dangers. Only suffragans being appointed, and those within Lloyd's own diocese of Norwich, they fancied they were impregnable to the charge of schism; and, by securing James's sanction, they imagined that, if he should come to his own again, the regular order of episcopal consecration would have gone on without a break. Nevertheless, they inevitably laid themselves open to assault. It would seem that by the Act of Henry VIII. the suffragan derives his power solely by commission from his diocesan. If, then, Lloyd died, Hickes and Wagstaffe would *ipso facto* cease to be bishops. So keenly was this difficulty felt, that after this first consecration no more suffragans were appointed. Every succeeding bishop was made so without receiving a titular diocese in which to exercise his shadowy functions. "He was," as Canon Overton says, simply "a bishop at large of the Catholic Church"; that is, he held what we may call a roving commission, and carried about with him the potentiality of transmitting the apostolical functions to others.

Full use was to be made of this transmissive power. In 1712 Wagstaffe died; and the existence of what Hickes regarded as the only true Church of England hung upon the precarious life of Hickes himself. A theory of Christianity which involves such perils as this—a theory in which the spiritual is made to depend upon the perpetual possibility of the mechanical—might, one would think, have occasionally struck even Hickes himself as doubtful. He must in any case have been in a state of painful anxiety; for never, not even during the persecution of Diocletian, can the existence of a Church have been in greater peril than at that moment. Some persons, indeed, might have imagined that the true Church had actually perished; for three bishops are required to consecrate a bishop, and Hickes was the only bishop left. But he was equal to the

emergency. Two episcopal members of the Nonjuring Church of Scotland were called in ; and on June 3, 1713, Nathanael Spinckes, Jeremy Collier, and Samuel Hawes were consecrated bishops. They were given no dioceses, and the Act of Henry VIII. was not alluded to ; but provision had been made for the due transmission of the episcopal grace, and the true Church, which had been tottering on the edge of destruction, was rescued just in time. Delay would indeed have been fatal, for Hickes survived but two years. It is curious to speculate on the kind of artifice which, if he had died with Wagstaffe, would have been required to bring back a Church, not merely moribund, but actually dead, like Alcestis, from the grave.

When Hickes died, two new bishops, Brett and Gandy, were consecrated by Collier, Spinckes, and Hawes. Brett was a learned man, steeped in liturgical lore, and a master of patristic tradition. He had, indeed, a superfluity of what Charles Wesley calls "learning's redundant part and vain"; and his episcopate, accordingly, was the initiation of a split in the small sect—a split on a question as to which we may say that Brett was probably right, while it matters not two straws whether he was right or wrong. He thought that the Church of England had made a mistake in departing from certain "usages" laid down in King Edward VI.'s first Prayer-Book ; and, in alliance with that stalwart controversialist, Jeremy Collier, he published works in which a return to these practices was advocated. On the other side were the saintly Spinckes and the profoundly logical Leslie—according to Johnson the only Nonjuror who could reason, and the man whose *Short and Easy Method with the Deists* has gained him the kind of immortality only to be reached by writing books of which everyone has heard and which nobody reads. Both sides argued ably and convincingly enough, and fulfilled the usual laws of controversy ; they travelled on lines which, though produced ever so far both ways, could not meet ; they convinced their own supporters and converted not a single opponent. Brett and Collier showed conclusively that the "usages"

were consecrated by immemorial antiquity, and that to bring them in was not an innovation but a restoration; Spinckes and Leslie, though defeated on the historical ground, proved equally conclusively that however ancient the usages were they were not essential, and had never been regarded as fundamental in the liturgies of the ancient Church. As might have been expected, the argumentation proved futile, and the result was a split. Secession generally breeds secession; and those who see nothing morally reprehensible or religiously sinful in heresy and schism may easily admit their inexpediency, for they exhibit to the full the strange reproductive power of immorality and sin. When once begun, schism springs from schism almost as fast as an amoeba divides into amoebæ; and he who sets the example of causeless division has a serious responsibility. This split was neither the first nor the last in the troubled history of the Nonjurors, who indeed went on dividing as steadily and systematically as Burke in his orations, until the process was stopped by the physical impossibility of further subdivision. Towards the end, indeed, it would have required not a quarrel, but a surgeon's dissecting-knife, to divide them further.

The controversy about the usages lasted about fourteen years, during which each party took care to consecrate bishops in order to keep up the sacred succession; but it was obvious from the very first that the Usagers were the stronger. All the younger Nonjurors of any influence took their side; and even the support of King James III. did the Non-usagers no service. In 1731, indeed, the dwindling remnant of the Non-usagers, seeing the contest to be hopeless, submitted to the terms of their opponents, one bishop alone remaining recalcitrant. But thenceforward the body seems to have broken up more and more into a strange kind of congregationalism, curiously at variance with the great idea of Church unity on which it had been primarily based; and the ultimate absorption of the scattered Churches into the national fold could only be a matter of time. After the settlement of the Usages quarrel, indeed, only two regular

bishops appear to have been made, Mawman in 1731 and Gordon ten years later. Gordon survived till 1779 ; but before he died he had seen the majority of his spiritual children, in spite of his most determined efforts, fall off into the Established Church. The absolute certainty that the Stuarts could never be restored, and the decline of rigid Church principles in the country, provided arguments which mere logic could not meet. After the death of Gordon, bishops were indeed consecrated, but in a manner that can only shock the truly ecclesiastical mind ; for whereas till now three bishops had always been present at a consecration, henceforth only one seems to have been regarded as necessary. The famous Dr. Deacon of Manchester, for example, was apparently consecrated by Archibald Campbell alone ; and Deacon was certainly unassisted when he consecrated Kenrick Price. Price, in 1780, consecrated William Cartwright, with whom, in 1799, this line of bishops ended. There were other lines, but it is believed that none survived beyond the year 1805. The Church of England was thus left without a rival ; henceforward there was none to sign himself, like Deacon, "the greatest of sinners and the most unworthy of primitive bishops"; nor was there one like Cartwright, of whom Horsley might say, to the astonishment of the good people of Shrewsbury, that "he was as much a bishop as Horsley himself."

This survey, rapid as it has been, has suggested certain thoughts to us. The Nonjurors, as we have seen, held from the first extremely various views. George Hickes, for instance, maintained to the end that his Church was the only true representative of the primitive Church in England. Elsewhere, of course, the Church of Rome and the Church of Greece still maintained the succession ; but in England the Establishment, having renounced the doctrine of the Cross—that is, the apostolic doctrine of passive obedience—and having established schismatical bishops, was unworthy of the name of Church. This view seems to be eminently logical and straightforward ; and we are not aware that it has ever been refuted. Assuming, however, that Hickes

was right, it seems a hard case for the Church of England ; for obviously, if the Nonjurors formed the true Church, the mere disappearance of the Nonjurors cannot restore the true succession to a body that had forfeited it. So far from Horsley having complimented Cartwright, he would seem to have complimented himself ; for on Hickes's theory Cartwright was the true bishop, and Horsley no more a bishop than the late Dr. Parker. Or, at any rate, if we assume Cartwright's consecration to have been uncanonical, that of Gordon was sound enough ; and the true succession, instead of surviving till 1799, perished twenty years before ; and Horsley's case would seem, if anything, worse rather than better.

But it is probable that Hickes, in spite of all his learning and logic, was wrong. At any rate, he has not succeeded in impressing his views upon the great doctors of the Church of England, whose very position, indeed, is the negation of his. The Established Church has been stamped by its survival as a genuine branch of the Church Catholic ; and it is therefore certain that it is in the true line of the apostolical succession. We are thus forced back upon the conclusion that Hickes, though himself a canonical bishop, was mistaken in so uncompromisingly denying that title to the fathers of the National Church. We are more likely to find the truth in some more elastic scheme than Hickes's ; and we are relieved to find that we need not seek far. Ken and Frampton, indeed, from the very first disagreed with Hickes. They held, as strongly as he did, the view that the Establishment, by setting up bishops in dioceses of which the lawful incumbents were still alive, was guilty of the sin of schism. But they maintained, first, that the schism was a *partial* act ; its effects could not be felt beyond the borders of the dioceses into which the false shepherds were thrust. And, secondly, they maintained that the schism was, or at any rate might be made, a *temporary* act, whose influence would expire with the deaths of the rightful bishops. They persuaded themselves, for instance, that Fowler, who had taken the see of Frampton, would *ipso*

facto become a canonical bishop the moment Frampton died. In accordance with these views, as we have seen, they hesitated to support Sancroft and Lloyd in their scheme for consecrating new bishops; Frampton in fact holding utterly aloof, and Ken only consenting tardily and reluctantly. They contended that these consecrations would perpetuate a schism which in the natural course of events would die out if left alone. Consistently with all this, Ken, after protesting against the consecration of Kidder to his see of Bath and Wells, waived his rights, on Kidder's violent death, in favour of his successor Hooper, and contented himself with signing his name T. Ken, instead of using the episcopal diocesan title. Nor did he stand alone in this Christian and noble, if possibly illogical, course. He found an ardent supporter in no less a man than Henry Dodwell, the most eminent of the lay Nonjurors, who had always maintained the correctness of Ken's theory, and now took the opportunity of translating it into act. Hardly had Hooper taken possession of the see of Bath and Wells, when it was announced that Dodwell had returned to the National Church. Nor was it a sudden resolution; he had always maintained that the seceders owed allegiance solely to the "deprived Fathers." On their death, or on their voluntary surrender of their rights, it was, said he, the duty of the Nonjurors to obey their appointed successors. This doctrine he stated very ably as early as 1705, in a work entitled *The Case in View*. "We are all agreed," he said in effect, "that our allegiance is due to the deprived Fathers; but when those fathers are removed by death, or if any survivors agree to waive their claim, we ought to return to the National Church." The Case in View became the Case in Fact in 1710, when Lloyd died and Ken voluntarily surrendered his diocese to his friend Hooper. Dodwell, Nelson, and the whole "Shottesbrooke group," accordingly, left the Nonjuring body, which thus sustained a shock comparable only to that received by the National Church when Newman seceded in 1845. It is hardly too much to say that if Dodwell had remained the course of English

ecclesiastical history would have been signally different from what it has actually been.

Dodwell's action only anticipated that of the vast majority of subsequent Nonjurors. In 1715, it is true, the body received a considerable accession, through the refusal of many clergymen to take the oath of abjuration imposed by the Government of George I. These *Nonabjurors*, of course, did not necessarily agree in principle with the old *Nonjurors*; but in practice the two sections were identical; and it might have been expected that the Nonjuring Church, thus reinforced, would have received a new lease of life. The reverse, however, was the case. These men, or their successors, gradually tended to take the same line as that taken by Dodwell and his friends in 1710. Individually, or in the mass, they were reabsorbed into the National Church; nor did fresh converts compensate for these successive losses. Whether deliberately or not, the principle of Dodwell and Ken was thus affirmed in practice.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to see that this conduct, however sensible and business-like it may have been, was logical or consistent. Every argument which justified the original succession would seem to necessitate its perpetuation. An eternal truth is not abrogated by mere lapse of time. The original schism was based on logic as definitely as Euclid's forty-seventh proposition; and separation, if justified in 1690, ought to have been right in 1730. How can a consecration, primarily schismatical, become legitimate by the process of years? The Church law has no statute of limitations, and allows no validity to prescription. This is no case of mere politics; nothing like the submission of a Jacobite, despairing of his cause, to accomplished facts. It is logical and principled, or it is nothing. Yet Ken and Dodwell seem to have been willing to split the Church—temporarily it is true—on a ground that must cease to exist, in the nature of things, after a few years. They rejected Tillotson while Sancroft was alive; when Sancroft died they accepted the intruding robber as the genuine shepherd. All parties agreed in regarding Kidder as no true bishop. Yet

Ken was willing to concede his rights to Hooper. May we not justly ask why, if schism was such an evil that it could not be tolerated after twenty years, Ken did not, by ceding his rights in 1690 to Kidder, prevent the schism altogether? If a great evil could, in 1710, be terminated by a simple act of renunciation, why, we ask, was it not checked in its very commencement, and twenty years of evil saved, by a similar act? If such an act was right later, it was surely still more right earlier.

The reasons that influenced Ken must indeed have been strong, for from his own point of view the evil done during those twenty years must be almost incalculable. What of the clergy ordained by Kidder? What of the ordinations and other episcopal functions performed by Patrick, who crept and intruded into the fold of Turner at Ely, or by Fowler, who succeeded Frampton at Gloucester? As a matter of mere numbers, apart from the question of principle, the point is of portentous importance. The five Fathers were ejected in 1690. Turner died in 1700; were no ordinations performed in his diocese during the preceding ten years? Frampton survived till 1708; did his uncanonical successor do no official act, in all those eighteen years, that could taint the apostolic purity of the Church of England? Ken himself, as we have seen, did not renounce his rights for twenty years; is it impossible that, in such a long time, Kidder may have done things whose consequences are still felt, in untraceable ramifications, throughout the whole Church, from Durham to Truro? May there not, at the present moment, be clergymen deriving their orders ultimately from men whose ordination was received from an uncanonical bishop? Were there, in a word, during the earlier years of the eighteenth century, no bishops who received diaconal or priest's orders from the touch of tainted hands? It is hard to evade the conclusion that Ken's particular form of High Anglicanism leads directly to an Erastianism that he would have abhorred. If, as we should be glad to be assured is not the case, few clergymen can be absolutely certain that their spiritual

ancestry is totally free from this polluted strain, then many of the highest of the High Church clergy must, unless they would deprive themselves of their own orders, rest upon an Erastian principle, and admit that there have been times when the State has justifiably arrogated to itself the functions of the Church. Either, in fact, Patrick, Kidder, and Fowler, though appointed by a mere *tour de force* of the State, were nevertheless rightful bishops, or a painful doubt is cast upon the genuineness of the orders of every clergyman in the land. The Erastianism of Sir William Harcourt himself could hardly demand more.

It is possible, of course, that between the theories of Hickes and of Dodwell there may lie a middle doctrine, not exposed to these objections, and allowing the perturbed High Churchman to rest in peace, secure in the unimpeachable validity of his sacred and necessary succession. It is, we may say, certain that such a doctrine must exist; for otherwise the profound confidence of the clergy in their unshakable position would hardly be as pronounced as it is. But for such a doctrine we have, we must confess, looked in vain through Canon Overton's work. At times he seems to agree with Dodwell, and he passes a scarcely veiled censure on the conduct of Sancroft and Lloyd in consecrating the new bishops. Nevertheless, he does not deny the validity of these consecrations; and he makes it plain that he agrees with Horsley as to the genuineness of Cartwright's—and *à fortiori* of Gordon's—episcopal position. He must, therefore, we conceive, regard Patrick, Fowler, and Kidder as false bishops. But whether he does so or not, he has nowhere definitively stated his views. Can it be that he has an uneasy suspicion that Hickes and Collier were right after all, and that the Church of England is really in schism? For surely he is not so illogical as to imagine that the schism, once started, can have been terminated by the mere disappearance of the true depositaries of tradition? Is a heresy less a heresy because it prevails? Is, in a word, *success* the criterion of apostolicity?

To us, fortunately, there is no complication in the matter.

A man's piety is to us of more importance than his orders, and a bishop depends for his credentials, in our view, neither on the *congé d'élire* of the State nor on the due performance of certain ceremonies by the Church. If, after due recognition by his flock, he proves himself a true overseer ; if he conforms to the conditions laid down by Paul in his letter to Titus ; if he is blameless, holy, just, temperate,—then he is a bishop indeed. If, on the other hand, he is a “blind mouth,” a neglecter of his sheep, an absentee, he is, in the words of Ruskin, “no bishop, though he has a mitre as high as Salisbury steeple.” To us it is simply incomprehensible that there should be people to whom Alexander VI. or Julius II. appears a true bishop, and Dale of Birmingham or Thomas Chalmers none. For the piety and learning of Hickes and Wagstaffe we yield to none in admiration ; but the reality or falsehood of their episcopal claims is to us a matter of historical or technical curiosity, and it is nothing more.

The whole story of the Nonjurors, men who for the sake of a high and fantastical notion of the episcopacy endured such privation and displayed such heroism, leaves us, we must confess, wondering again at the strange vagaries of the human mind. Points of ordinary morality, questions of ordinary prudence, notions of commonsense, were to them as nothing. They often did not stick at what to most people would seem an overstepping of the bounds of right and wrong ; yet for the sake of a theory as to the difference between a king and a regent, or between abdication and desertion, they were willing to divide their beloved Church and to renounce their means of livelihood. But commonsense had its revenge. Had Hickes been able to look into the future, he would have seen “the only true Church of England” dwindle into insignificance and finally disappear, while the schismatical Establishment survived and prospered for the propagation of error.

Those, on the other hand, who hold a spiritual view of the Church can afford to smile at the quarrels of Jurors and Nonjurors. A minister who, like Chalmers or John Angell

JAMES, sees in the multitude of his spiritual children that his work and his priesthood are approved by God, will care little whether or not he is in the so-called line of apostolical succession, and will calmly leave the discussion of the genuineness of mechanically transmitted orders to those who value them.

E. E. KELLETT.

OUR LORD'S VIRGIN BIRTH.

1. *Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation.* By CHARLES GORE, M.A. Art. I., "The Virgin Birth of our Lord." (London : John Murray. 1895.)
2. *Exploratio Evangelica.* By PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D. (London : A. & C. Black. 1899.)
3. *Our Records of the Nativity, and Modern Historical Research.* By JAMES THOMAS. (London : Longmans, Green, & Co. 1900.)
4. *Contentio Veritatis.* By SIX OXFORD TUTORS. Art. V., "Modern Criticism and the New Testament." By W. C. ALLAN, M.A. (London : John Murray. 1902.)
5. *Encyclopædia Biblica.* Vol. III., Art. "Mary." (London : A. & C. Black. 1902.)

DURING the last ten years especially, assaults have been made with increasing frequency upon the narratives in Matthew and Luke that attribute to Jesus a superhuman paternity and a virgin mother. The justification for these attacks is the alleged unhistoricity of the narratives,—a perfectly valid ground of dissent if the unhistoricity can be proved. The first work on our list is an able defence of the orthodox position, but at points it asks too much of its readers, while several strong lines of defence are unnoticed ; and it does not meet some objections which have been raised since its publication. The two following works make a vigorous attack upon the accepted view, but bear the marks, as it seems to us, of owing their inception more to a dislike of the supernatural principle than to any serious deficiency in the New Testament narratives. The

fourth work aims at a judicial survey of the subject. Its verdict is, however, decidedly against the historicity of the narratives ; but the difficulties of dissent are strongly felt, and Mr. Allan is constrained to conclude that "the time is not yet come for passing any definite judgment in the matter." The article in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, by Professor Schmiedel, is a laborious and microscopic effort to prove that the originals of Matthew and Luke were committed to the human paternity, and that the references to the virgin origin are insertions of a later date. Gospels and Epistles are searched for the minutest atom that will work into an argument ; and an evident eagerness to make out an adverse case is witnessed not only by the trivial arguments employed, but by several inaccuracies in quotation and some glaring inconsistencies, which we cannot otherwise explain. We purpose to take a survey of the various arguments employed, and to call attention to some features of the gospel narratives which have been commonly overlooked.

That the divinity of our Lord is not dependent on the truthfulness of the statement that His was a virgin birth may safely be conceded. The physiological process by which a human personality is initiated is so completely unknown, and so likely to remain in the land of mystery, that no one will ever be able to say what must or must not be. We do not feel driven by any necessity of this sort to maintain the validity of the gospel narratives. But why should any objection be raised or any preference be shown for a conclusion that is contrary to the Scripture narratives ? There are several answers to these questions.

(1) There exists on the part of many who claim to be Christians a desire to minimise the miraculous element in Christianity. But that is a wholly profitless *penchant* so long as any belief in the miraculous is to be retained. No healthy mind will be staggered by a miracle more or less in the founding of Christianity if any actual miracle is admitted. If, then, there is held to have been in the person of Christ the actual conjunction of a divine personality

with a regularly produced humanity, that conjunction is a greater miracle than anything involved in virgin conception. It is but seldom that the miraculous feature in the story is openly made the reason for dissenting from it; but dislike to it can often be easily read between the lines. There is the greater need to carefully watch the argument, and to test the truthfulness of every statement made, since this bias may be working unconsciously to the writer. And it is well to keep in mind that if we are staggered by a virgin birth as something too miraculous, we cannot logically hold on to any *bonâ fide* incarnation, as it is the more stupendous break in the law of continuity.

The objection sometimes takes the form that the exclusion of human paternity is a needless miracle, since God could accomplish an incarnation by regular as well as irregular procreation. We take too much upon us if we make any positive assertion. Embryology is not able to shed a ray of light on the vital contribution of either sex in the origination of being. If "the flower in the crannied wall" is too much for our philosophy, much more incomprehensible are the root complexities of so elaborate a life as man's. The physical omnipotence of God is not to be denied, but the recognised economy of all His known methods of procedure may well suggest that He might find a fitness in one method more suitable to His purpose than another.

Various considerations readily occur, especially in view of our modern conceptions of the very full human personality of our Lord. If, for instance, it should happen that the traducian theory of soul-origin is true, and that the distinctive moral biases of a child come from the paternal side, while the intellectual powers are a more distinctly maternal contribution, in that case it becomes conceivable that a sinless humanity, by its own self-determination, could be more *freely* and *spontaneously* secured by the exclusion of paternal influence. The sacred histories give us accounts of a number of divine vital reinforcements made with a view to the modification of the human product. John the Baptist,

the most illustrious of these cases, was filled with the Holy Ghost from the womb ; but the least in the kingdom of heaven stood on a higher spiritual plane than he. It looks as if the fullest divine inspiration, with human paternity, may have the strictest limitations as to spiritual results. This suggests that possibly there is grounded in the constitution of human nature some necessity for less of man's determinative influence whenever there is to be more than usual of God's. It may, besides, very well be the case that on the maternal side there should be no flush of sensuous feeling lowering the sacred moments in which she comes into the power of God. From both a reasonable and a spiritual point of view it seems not unlikely that only ideal relations can form a suitable matrix for a new ideal humanity. That which is born of the will of the flesh will be ethically "flesh." Was it not most fitting that He who must be of fleshly form, but must not be of fleshly taint, should be begotten amid the utter silences of those self-centred clamorous voices which, alas, are too much with us night and day ?

(2) The main objection raised against the virgin birth is that the Scripture evidence is meagre and self-contradictory. To begin with, it is asserted that only Matthew and Luke bear any testimony on its behalf. This, however, is too narrow a canon by which to challenge the credibility of an alleged fact. Are two witnesses not usually sufficient in any evidential inquiry, especially when there is no evidence of collusion, and both are able to give independent notes of information which, when worked into their right connexion, make a consistent and finished narrative ? Their evidence is, however, almost thrown out of court by Mr. Allan, who alleges that Matthew and Luke exhibit a "tendency to minimise the purely human element in Christ's person, and to exaggerate the divine," and to set Jesus forth more "in the light of St. Paul's presentation of Him as the pre-existent Son of God." That is a detraction which every reader can weigh for himself by a comparison with the earlier Gospel of Mark. The only evidence offered is, that Matthew often

omits little personal touches as to the attitude and bearing of Jesus, as if to hide His humanity from the reader ! May it not rather be an indication that Matthew was careful to omit all the interpretations put on the conduct of Jesus by His personal staff, and to make his narrative less subjective and more rigorously accurate ? Luke's Gospel betrays no tendency towards the exaggeration of the divine. We should venture to say that this Gospel is the one commonly held to make Christ the most human. Does not Luke even go so far as to call Joseph the "father" of Jesus, and twice entitle him "parent" ?

Who besides these two might have been expected to give evidence ? Dr. Gardner asserts that Mark and John are not merely silent, but even contradictory. Paul, too, he says, and Mr. Allan acquiesces, knew nothing of this divine origin of Jesus. Let us begin with Mark. He begins his Gospel with an explanation of his purpose, which is simply to give a history of "the preaching of Jesus," and therefore he was not called upon to introduce the birth story. But does not the very title by which Mark designates Jesus in his opening sentence embody the evangelist's view of what Jesus was by His birth ? The title "Son of God" has been commonly relegated to a pre-natal state of existence, as to which we feel certain the first evangelists had no doctrine to promulgate. We take a great liberty when we posit our metaphysical dogmatics in the simple minds of the earlier disciples. Luke records that the angel who visited Mary said to her : "That which is to be born shall be called holy, the Son of God." This should determine the earlier contents of the title. Unless it can be shown that in Mark it is an ethical compliment, or a Messianic title, we have a right to presume that it applies to the historical Jesus, and not to the pre-existent divine personality here incarnate.

John's Gospel is said to take no notice of the virgin birth. His designation of Christ on His pre-existent side as the *Logos*, say Drs. Gardner and Schmiedel, enabled him to dispense with it. The latter adds, "it might have appeared too slight, too external for the *Logos*" to have become thus

incarnate, and "yet it would assuredly have been of great importance to be able to say" that the *Logos* had such an introduction into the world. This betrays too clearly that the writer is not master of his own mind, and is making a case in his article; indeed, he appears to suppose that the writer of the Gospel was also putting his case argumentatively without being scrupulous as to his facts. Instead of recognising signs of the evangelist's dubiety, we claim that he is clearly committed to the virgin birth by his repeated use of the epithet "only begotten," of which our authors take no notice. The statement "we beheld His glory as of the only begotten of the Father" cannot apply to the *Logos* form, but only to the historical Christ, and is in all probability a reminiscence of John's experience on the Mount of Transfiguration. Dr. Gardner goes so far as to say that John even repudiates the virgin birth by putting into the mouth of Jesus the saying, "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit." Even Dr. Schmiedel depreciates the argumentative value of this passage. And well he may, because it distinctly enunciates the principle that the more life is dependent on flesh for its origin the lower is its spiritual standing, and the more life is spiritualised the greater its ethical power—a principle which would seem to say that He Himself did not owe His existence to the will of the flesh.

Much is made of the alleged silence of St. Paul. Dr. Schmiedel is not content with silence. Paul, he says, would not have framed his view of the pre-existent Christ if a view of His birth "so hard to reconcile with it had been handed down to him." We cannot see that single or double human parentage could make any difference to Paul's view of pre-existence. Nor do we see that any legitimate deduction can be drawn from this alleged silence. Does the argument from silence not count when human paternity is so deliberately ignored in his description of Christ as "made of a woman"? Paul was not in the habit of glorifying woman's function in life. For what reason does she stand alone here, except it be in recognition of Mary's unique experience?

In what portion of his Epistles might Paul have been expected to introduce the sole parentage of Mary? Meyer thinks we might naturally have looked for an open reference in such a passage as Romans i. 4, where, he says, Paul expressly refers Christ's relation as a Son of God to His "spirit of holiness," and not to His flesh. We should never have looked for such a reference in the passage. Paul is clearly concerned only with that in Christ which is an open and undeniable witness to His claims to be a unique, authoritative, and divine Person in human history. Any reference to the virgin birth would have been more than futile. It is not an apologetical fact. It needs to be proved before it can prove anything; and it cannot be demonstrated. The phrase "according to the spirit of holiness" is not declarative of the element in which Christ was Son of God, but is descriptive of the ethical condition under which He became "the Son of God *with power*." He was first the Son of God in "the weakness of the flesh," and in this state was crucified; but inasmuch as the flesh was always held under control by "the spirit of holiness" it was glorified in His death, and He thereby came to be "the Son of God in power," "the Lord of the living and the dead"—a Lord who could manifest Himself in both the historical and eternal spheres of existence. The verse contains the fine idea that the divine Sonship of Jesus, so suggestively shadowed forth by His immaculate holiness, was openly demonstrated, and in a supreme sense, "constituted," when the strictly maternal contribution was either dissipated or transformed into the spiritual and immortal. Then Jesus was completely born into His divine and only begotten Sonship, in harmony with the apostle's doctrine of the believer's "Son-placing" by means of "the redemption of the body," and his remarkable application of the words of the Second Psalm, "This day have I begotten thee," to the completion of our Lord's resurrection process. Plainer references to the virgin birth than these could scarcely be expected. In all likelihood there was nowhere intruding upon his notice any denial of what we believe was the

general understanding in the more enlightened Christian circles of his time. His acknowledgment of the unique birth would be evident enough but for the pre-temporal and metaphysical import which has been read into every Scripture reference to Christ as the Son of God. It is full time that this exegetical assumption were questioned and made to give an account of itself. No New Testament writer speaks of our Lord as having been a Son in His pre-existence, though they speak of the Son of God who was known to them as having been pre-existent and divine. When Paul refers to the resurrection of Jesus as the birthday of the Son of God, it appears evident that he regards the resurrection as the corollary of the miraculous birth—the completion of a process of incarnation passing on to excarnation—the begetting of a humanity which is made concordant with divinity, a fitting organ of divine manifestation and government over the human race.

(3) It is said that the precise statements of the first and third evangelists are contradicted by certain traditions of the early Church, and by documentary evidence of a primitive character. The Corinthian Ebionites and kindred little sects argued for a solely human origin on purely theoretical grounds. Marcion taught that Christ was not born at all. What wandering fancies are not to be found in that age of fermenting speculation and abyssmal plungings? The views of a few such early oddities, founded on inherited philosophies, cannot stand for much. Even if the human paternity had found frequent assertion in more sober quarters, it may only have been the result of unconscious ignorance—the lie which had so long a start that it was not then quite overtaken by the truth.

But let us look at a few asserted contradictions. We are informed by Mr. Thomas, and by Dr. Gardner in a footnote, that the Sinaitic Syriac Gospel lately discovered bears evidence that in the earliest times the paternity of Joseph was frankly recognised. Certainly we read that Joseph "begat" Jesus, and that Mary bore Jesus to Joseph. But it is just as certain that "begat" in Syriac, as in Hebrew and

Greek, was used in a merely legal and putative as well as in a carnal sense. With questionable fairness they both fail to mention that the same Syriac narrative goes on to state that an angel warned Joseph to deal graciously with his wife. This shows that the author of the Gospel could not mean his statement concerning Joseph in anything but a putative or legal sense. Mr. F. C. Conybeare, in the first *Hibbert Journal*, deals with the Syriac passage in the same partial manner. He, however, has other weapons in his quiver. He tells us there are six ancient texts, Syriac, Arabic, and Greek, which we who believe that Joseph was not the natural father of Jesus must explain away. How many of these are invalid by the addition of the supernatural story? How many of them are copies or translations from one original? Who were the writers of these manuscripts? What knowledge had their authors of the original facts to make their witness be preferred to that of our canonical evangelists? If Mr. Conybeare's witness to their testimony is equal to his assertion as to the Epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians, his six manuscripts must not be accepted without careful scrutiny. He affirms that Ignatius (152 A.D.) states that Joseph was Jesus' "father in the flesh." The words of the Epistle are: "Be subject . . . as Jesus Christ to the Father, according to the flesh, and the apostles to Christ and to the Father" (xiii.). We submit that the first "father" is the same as the second, and that is God. The reference, says a note to Hefele's edition, is either to the subordination of the eternal Son, or, which is most probable, to the subjection of Jesus to what His Father appointed Him to do and suffer. But even taking the passage as Mr. Conybeare would have it, it proves nothing, as it may mean only that Ignatius was familiar with Luke's statement that Jesus was subject to His parents, and in that subjection saw an example of obedience worthy of imitation. Ignatius makes the most positive statements as to the virgin birth in his Epistles to the Smyrnæns and the Ephesians, and that should be an end of all dispute as to his meaning. Such instances of careless work and inade-

quate statement warn us to be careful of trusting to marshalled proofs against the accepted faith. That Joseph's name should stand against the paternity of Jesus in a few ancient MSS. is nothing whatever to the point, not even if it were found to have been in the original of Matthew's Gospel, as Mr. Conybeare acknowledges. Such straggling statements were inevitable from the very nature of the case. No weight is to be attached to them. The virgin birth is no "poetic creation of the faith of the primitive Church." It cannot be traced as a development of the Church's superstitious reverence; it shows no signs of mythic growth. As it is in the evangelists, so it is in Paul and in Ignatius.

(4) It is averred that the belief had its origin in doctrinal motives—especially a desire to fulfil certain prophecies which were supposed to refer to the Messiah. Dr. Gardner points us especially to "a virgin shall conceive and bear a son." But the Hebrew text does not imply any unusual occurrence, and certainly had no Messianic application among the Jews. The passage could not, therefore, have given rise to the notion; rather did the text obtain all its notoriety from the early belief in the virgin parentage of Jesus. We are assured again that the rise of this conception was inevitable, because profane history had numerous specific cases of alleged divine paternity. It is the custom of the Western mind to imagine that those mythological stories concerning wandering gods and human mothers, most of them originally published in poetic form, were understood in a literal sense by their creators and their earlier readers. These stories are not forms of faith, but only forms of literature. The outstanding man was admirably described by his flatterers as a son of Jupiter, if he was a person of striking appearance and forcible character; a son of Apollo, if beautiful and musically gifted; a son of Mars, if a notorious warrior. This fanciful exaggeration was their poetic way of stating that a man was gifted by the gods, and of tracing remarkable endowments through the office of motherhood. There was, however, no trace of this manner of speech among the Jews, though it was used

by the early Aryan races. These stories, totally unlike the Christian birth narrative, invariably took a sensual form which the Jew would regard with abhorrence. Yet Dr. Gardner has to admit that Christ's birth story arose amongst Hebrew Christians. Such men were most unlikely to be influenced by the impure stories of heathen mythology ; nor likely to transfer into their own religion a fable akin to those which were so utterly discredited. We do not see how the story should have risen amongst Gentile Christians, as Dr. Schmiedel thinks. If, as we have been assured, the incarnation of a pre-existent person does not naturally fall in with the idea of divine parentage for the humanity, then why should it have been invented by men who seem from the first to have held that Christ was the incarnation of the personal *Logos* or Word of God ? We cannot see where the "inevitableness" comes in for the primitive Christian any more than for ourselves.

(5) It is said again that our gospel narratives are discredited by certain questionable contents. First, they are contradictory on some points. Matthew says that Mary and Joseph dwelt in Bethlehem ; Luke says in Nazareth, and went up to Bethlehem. Matthew, however, does *not* say, as the author of the *Exploratio* makes him, that they dwelt in Bethlehem, but only that Christ was born there. It is strange that Luke says nothing of the flight to Egypt, but rather indicates that the parents returned at once to Nazareth. The omission, whether due to ignorance or indifference, is a small variation on which to base the charge of fable or invention. The genealogies certainly do not agree ; but both of them expressly shut off Jesus from physical descent from Joseph, and the interest of the evangelists in them evidently lies in the claims of Jesus to be David's heir, as the legal, though not natural, son of Joseph. There is little room to doubt that in the family genealogy of Joseph there would be entered, and perhaps by the hand of Joseph, the name of Jesus as his son and heir, especially if there was no family by a previous marriage. What else could he do if the family registers were kept by a public official ? He

could not, and would not in the circumstances, do anything so suspicious and cruel as disown the child. Statements in early MSS. that Joseph was the father of Jesus might all arise from the legal record. Yet they prove nothing in the peculiar circumstances.

The difficulty of the census story in Luke is made the most of. It is declared to be unhistorical, but "the most plausible explanation" Luke could find "of what *must* have taken place"—Messiah's birth in Bethlehem.¹ But if Luke was in any trouble, why could he not have said what Matthew is supposed to say—that the parents lived in Bethlehem? Luke must have found the tradition of the census amongst the Jewish Christians of Palestine. Did they invent a disliked and nationally degrading census—a census that could never have happened—in order to make plausible a notion they wanted to be taken as a fact? Surely, in an age when, as we are told, imaginations were so fruitful, consciences so loose, and miracles were so readily believed, it would have been quite as effective and more safe to have invented the story that Joseph was told in a dream to go to Bethlehem. That there are no difficulties in the narrative we are far from saying. But the very difficulties suggested show that the birth narrative early took an objective form and an historical setting, and was not simply a devout imagination. In what history are there not surprising chronological difficulties? The battle of Waterloo, according to the histories, began at all hours from ten till one o'clock. Dr. Gardner admits that the existent accounts of so recent an event as the battle of Sedan cannot be reconciled. According to present critical methods, historians in a few hundred years will be denying that there ever was any battle of Sedan. Minor details that *look* inconsistent are not sufficient grounds for relegating the main event into the region of myth.

Objections are, of course, taken to the miraculous accompaniments of the story, such as the star of the Magi and the

¹ *Explor. Evan.*, p. 238.

angelic intimations. There might well be a star which appeared and disappeared, and created in astrological minds a miraculous impression, while in itself no miracle. If all angelic appearances and reported supernatural impressions are to be wiped out of history before the *a priori* decisions of our modern critics, we must first ask them to tell us how they know so certainly. When we come to this objection, we reach the crux of the whole affair. There is no concealing that the difficulty of belief does not originate so much in defects in the Scripture evidence as in a strong attachment to the notion that the modern discovery of "the conservation of energy" makes belief in miracles impossible. Dr. Gardner stands by "the conservation of energy," but he does not show us how this scientific principle is opposed to miracle. We have the impression that when things are probed to the bottom it will be found that it is just this principle in nature which makes the miracle a possibility.

(6) It is objected that there is much throughout the various Gospels which is inconsistent with the supernatural birth. Appeal is made to Mary's bearing towards the Boy when He was found in the temple. If she knew of His divine conception, she ought to have gone straight to the temple to seek for Him; and she ought not to have been surprised at the Boy's high-pitched answer. This criticism strangely forgets that Mary's mind was probably far from clear as to what this Boy would be, and how He was to shape His life. It was better that she should walk step by step in the dark, and learn only by experience. There is no reason to suppose that, in His earlier years at least, Mary anticipated the Church's verdict as to the personality of her son. Again, Mary is said to have looked on Jesus "as one out of His mind" (Dr. Gardner), and to have "said that He was beside himself" (Dr. Schmiedel)—referring to the incident recorded in Mark iii. 21-35. This is held to have been an impossible attitude to one who knew the tale of His miraculous birth. Our critics might a little more readily excuse the slight inaccuracies of the evangelists if they only observed how inaccurate they are themselves. Mark chronicles that His

"kinsmen" said "He is beside Himself," not His mother. She is simply found along with His brethren outside the crowd, desiring to speak with Him. Quite naturally it would appear to His pharisaic brethren that their mystical Brother was developing a dangerous imprudence. They would not understand the spiritual phrensy of His lofty and eagle-visioned soul. Even if they knew of His peculiar birth, they might easily be staggered by His inconsiderate audacity. In all probability they had not been let into the secret of His birth. How could a delicate-minded mother tell any such tale about an elder brother to her boys, or when as grown-up men they had developed into characters of the type of James, ascetic, pharisaic, and unsympathetic? What could they say about the Brother they liked as little as they understood but that, "He is mad"? If Mary followed out of fear of both these masterful sons and the fuming crowd, what could she do but silently seem to acquiesce, and make all the stronger appeal to their pity and consideration? This public attitude in the crisis was unavoidable, however liable to be misjudged.

Some have remarked that it is suspicious that no note of dissent from the Joseph paternity is anywhere sounded outside the birth narratives. But why should it arise? Outwardly and legally Jesus was the carpenter's son. We cannot imagine that the peculiarities of His birth had been noised abroad for vulgar comment, or that such original rumours would be remembered by many outside of Nazareth at a distance of thirty years. The last thing Mary could have desired was to be followed through life by suspicions of unfaithfulness; nor could her modesty but be offended at the thought of being publicly recognised as claiming that such peculiar honour had befallen her. Of course such secrets as hers are ill to hide. Womanhood is even more curious in the East than it is amongst ourselves. Someone might have come, in those far-away years, to detect an apparent irregularity in Mary's life; or some whisper of a disciple in the secret might have got abroad in the course of our Lord's ministry. May it not be

that the exclamation which broke from one of a crowd of offended listeners, "We be not born of fornication!" was shaped by the rumour of an irregularity in His birth, and spoken in order to plant a stab at the heart of Jesus? It certainly has especial point if it is an arrow winged with a personal birth reproach.

(7) Criticism has gone so far as to set the two angelic visitations at variance, as if Joseph had no need of information because Mary had been distinctly warned. It seems to us that the narrative is here straightforward and pellucid with simplicity. Indeed, altogether the story is so remarkable for coincidences all bearing the signs of definite purpose that we must see in its authorship a very genius of invention or acknowledge the working of God's hand. Take the angelic pre-intimation to the virgin. If God required to lay such a burden on a pious maid, would it have been consistent with His love, or with the maiden's personal rights, to thrust her into this sea of shame without her knowledge and consent? If a maiden is to be burdened with a function that will so inevitably expose her to suspicion and reproach, is she to stand alone and be made a public spectacle? Will not her seemingly too romantic and supernatural tale be met with taunts and sneers, even in her own home circle, and add to the bitter scorn with which she will be overwhelmed by her neighbours? Is it not in keeping with God's goodness to have her first placed under the protection of a good man's name?

If so crushing a burden is to come into a virgin's life, how is she even to hint of such a thing to the man to whom she is betrothed? Only a woman of ripe years and godly experience is fit to hear the first faint whisperings of mingled grief and joy from the lips of this motherless girl. But what woman will hear, with a receptive faith, such a suspicious tale as Mary's, when it is so easy to find a natural and too familiar explanation? Here again God goes before His handmaid with a gracious preparation. Elisabeth, Mary's cousin, after a long childless grief, when hope has died, has her own quickening miracle. With this new and

glad experience, knowing the power of God, she is the one person in the world fitted with a sheltering heart in which Mary may find rest. The two rejoice together because they are both to count in the shaping of Israel's destiny. How beautiful the picture, and how exquisitely it is painted ! At last the blow falls on Joseph's heart. Just because he is old, jealous thoughts the more surely arise, and the vision of a younger rival bites into his tenderest feelings like some mordant acid. When Mary told her tale, the man's embittered heart would dash itself with passion against this seeming wall of lies, and make his sorrow one which only God could help. A vision and a message that come from heaven are flashed upon the old man's angered soul. With faith comes peace, and Mary is taken to his home and heart.

Surely there is an air of verisimilitude in these adaptations which could not be produced by the unconscious and fitful imaginings of deluded men ; and they are too tender with God's grace to be only a human dream. Is it an adequate explanation to say that some of the first Christian generation thought that Christ ought to have been begotten directly by the Deity, and therefore the story came to the second generation as a devout imagination which the dreamers sincerely believed to be truth ? That is substantially the whole explanation of our modern dissentients. First, the story was that to Joseph's wife there came the intimation that her child would be marvellously endowed. Then there was a notion got abroad that Christ was made the Son of God by the baptism of the Holy Ghost—supported by an old Ebionite reading of Luke iii. 22, "This day have I begotten thee." Then the origin of His Sonship was carried back to His conception, and these two processes we are told were for some time rivals for supremacy in the faith of the early Church, with the easily anticipated result that the virgin story obtained the mastery. This is a pure elaboration of the hard-pressed critics. It takes Ebionite and Gnostic fads too seriously. If the reading referred to is authentic, and it may well be so, it does not stand as a rival of the virgin theory, but is only the second of three

complementary grades of divine humanity, all of them essential in their order in the developing experience of the Christ. First, the creative quickening of the human Jesus ; secondly, the spiritual quickening of the outward form for the accomplishment of His Messianic functions ; and thirdly, the transformation of the human form into that state of incorruptibility which prepares it to be an organ for the manifestation of the essential Deity. Christ was thrice born ; and accordingly the Christian requires to be thrice born, after the similitude of his Master. These three births of Christ's have been singly emphasised, but none of them can be substituted for the other. The first secures an organic connexion of the divine and human in the nature of Christ ; the second secures the domination of the supernatural over the fleshly in His experience, shadowed in us by our ethical sonship ; the third is the impartation of divine qualities to the outermost human form—His resurrection glory. A really effective Saviour, a permanent mediation of the divine within the human, is scarcely conceivable on any other terms. All these divine operations in humanity are difficult of belief to the natural man. The mystery of the processes will not to any great extent affect the faith of those who have really grasped the completed Scripture presentation of what Christ is as Son of God and Son of man ; in His ultimate form, the Alpha and the Omega, the Head of the entire creation of God, and to us of the human race especially the "value" of "God over all, blessed for ever."

ALEXANDER BROWN.

ON GROWING OLD.

1. *Old Age and Changes Incidental to it.* By Professor G. M. HUMPHRY. (Cambridge. 1885.)
2. *Etudes Biologiques sur la Vieillesse.* By Dr. E. METCHNIKOFF. I. "Annales Inst. Pasteur," 1901, p. 865; II., December, 1902, p. 912.
3. *Richet's Dictionnaire de Physiologie.* Article "Croissance." By Dr. H. DE VARIGNY. Tome IV. 1900.
4. *Essays upon Heredity.* By Professor AUGUST WEISMANN. Pages 1 and 107. (Oxford. 1889.)

THIS is not a medical essay, nor a commentary on Cicero's *De Senectute*. It is a biological study of a familiar, but not obviously intelligible, fact of life—growing old. It is an attempt to apply modern biological ideas to the elucidation of a persistent problem—the meaning of senescence.

Introduction.

While there are many animals, as we shall see, in which no naturalist has detected *any* signs of old age, and while there are no wild animals which are known to exhibit senility so markedly as it is seen in man, there is an undeniable general resemblance between the curves of life for man and beast.

All around us we see living creatures growing from the apparent simplicity of germs to the obvious complexity of adult organisation. From their earliest days they are exposed to death's sickle, and in most cases the majority are cut down. Out of a million energetic oyster embryos, it may be that only one survives—survives to become, ulti-

mately, that gustatory flash of summer lightning of which Huxley playfully spoke. As we watch the minority of living creatures who escape the dangers of the first part of the Mirza bridge, we see that they wax stronger, attain a stable constitution, adjust themselves masterfully to their environment, and give rise to others like themselves. From almost every point of view the curve of their life rises ; and they are full of promise. But as we continue to watch, we begin sooner or later to detect symptoms of decadence : vigour slackens, the range of life's activities narrows, the thrusts of adverse circumstances or of intrusive disease are less successfully parried, the organisms drift rather than swim in the environmental current, they lose their grip upon the surroundings which seem to close in upon them, they sometimes show internal symptoms of weakening and atrophy ; in a word, they *grow old*.

The Problem.

Our problem, then, is to try to understand more clearly why it is that the curve of life, after attaining a *vita maxima* (as Treviranus called it), should begin to droop, sinking quickly or very slowly to that nadir of *vita minima*, which is the prelude to death. Why do living creatures, or rather, why do many living creatures grow old ? As this is a very difficult problem—not admitting at present of complete solution—we are compelled to nibble round about it, instead of venturing on a direct attack. By patiently approaching it from different sides, we may reach in the end some greater degree of clearness. Shakespeare had the problem before him when he wrote, “and so from day to day, we ripe and ripe, and so from day to day, we rot and rot, and thereby hangs a tale.” But the tale is not as yet a straightforward one.

First Approach to the Problem : Different Modes of Death.

Death, from the biological outlook, plainly means the irrecoverable cessation of organic life, and it may come about

in three different ways. It may be (a) violent, (b) due to parasites or microbes, and (c) natural.

(a) *Violent death*, like that of the men on whom the tower of Siloam fell, like that of the grouse shot by the sportsman, like that of the shrimp swallowed by the herring, like that of the jelly-fish stranded on the beach, is clearly separable from other forms of death. It implies a more or less casual wrench in the relation between the organism and its environment. Although many, if not most, animals die a violent death, we may fairly say that there is something catastrophic or accidental about it. It is due to extrinsic, not intrinsic causes; it is casual rather than inevitable. It cannot be laid to the fault of the organism, except in those cases where it might easily have been escaped if the creature had not been stupid or lazy. The great majority of men are freed from it by their wits, or by the humane precautions of our civilisation.

(b) In the second place there is *that mode of death which is due to intruding microbes or other parasites*. These poison the system with their waste-products, or set up fatal inflammation, or choke channels which should be open, or make openings which cannot be shut. This kind of death—illustrated by cholera, typhoid, tuberculosis, swine-fever, grouse-disease, and so on through the long grim list—is in some cases discriminate in its selective agency, weeding out the relatively unfit; but it is in other cases quite indiscriminate and casual, felling giant and dwarf, strong and weak, fit and unfit alike, in its inexorable sweep. A household may be almost exterminated by microbic disease due to the drains next door; and Robert Bruce was a leper. On the whole, this kind of death cannot be laid to the fault of the organism, except in so far as the powers of vital resistance are constitutionally weak, or have been impaired by careless living—which includes too rarely opened windows as well as sensuality.

(c) Thirdly, there is *natural death* at or about the normal limit of life, often quite apart from any extraneous violence or any intrusive disease, or so slightly connected with either

that we can only think of the accidental exposure or the mild influenza as the last straw. It is obvious that the breeze which brings down the tottering tree is not the *vera causa* of the tree's fall. It is with this natural death only that we have to deal in our discussion of the problem of growing old. In his oration on old age, Professor Humphry refers to the case of Dr. Willis, physician to King George III., who,

in his ninetieth year, after a walk of four miles to see a friend, sat down in his chair and went to sleep, or was thought to be asleep, but he did not wake again. . . . A lady, aged ninety-four, attended the early service at church, to which she walked a distance of a quarter of a mile, to and fro, caught a slight cold, and died in the night.

Such is *natural* death !

Second Approach to the Problem : The Immortality of the Protozoa.

One of the interesting results of modern biology is expressed in the somewhat startling phrase—which we owe to Professor Weismann—the *immortality of the Protozoa*. This implies that the simplest plants and animals—the unicellulars—are not subject to natural death in the same degree as higher forms are. It seems that many of them at least are practically immortal. They may be devoured, they may be crushed, they may be killed ; some are liable to parasitic or microbic death ; but of their natural death there is no definite proof.

In the open sea there are countless millions of unicellular organisms—both plants and animals—Foraminifers, Radiolarians, Diatoms, Desmids, and so forth, which are continually being killed by vicissitudes of temperature and the like. Dying, they sink slowly down, like a ceaseless gentle snow shower, it may be through miles of water, to form no inconsiderable part of the food supply of the animals who people that dark, cold, silent, eternally calm realm which we term abyssal. But so far as we know, these moribund

sinking atomies have all been killed ; they are subject to violent or environmental death, but not to natural death.

It may be noted, in passing, that many of the simplest animals (Protozoa) are but little troubled by bacterial infection, which is so fatal to higher forms. Metchnikoff has shown that Amœbæ, for instance, are able to engulf and digest various kinds of very virulent microbes, just as the wandering amœboid cells or phagocytes of higher animals (our indispensable bodyguard) are able to do.

But how is it that these simple pioneer organisms escape natural death ? The presumably true answer is twofold : (1) that being relatively very simple—in a sense, without a body—they are able to sustain persistently the vital equation between waste and repair ; and (2) that their common mode of multiplication—by division into two or more units—is inexpensive, and unattended with any loss of life. On the one hand, we reach the idea that death was the price paid for a body ; on the other hand, we see that in the simplest forms immortality had not yet been pawned for love !

In many living creatures the giving origin to new lives is the beginning of death. The annual plant dies as its seeds are scattered. Many a worm, many an insect never survives the climax in which it gives origin to others like itself. *Quasi cursores lampada tradunt* ; the torch is handed on to another, ere the runner falls and dies. Even among backboned animals cases are known, *e.g.* of lampreys and eels, in which the parents collapse and die after reproduction. Often, indeed, do we see in nature the tragedy of Burne-Jones's famous picture—the little child Love vainly holding the door against the entrance of stalwart Death. But this does not apply to the Protozoa.

Third Approach to the Problem : Limits to Cell-Generations.

As we have noted, the process of multiplication in the practically immortal Protozoa is exceedingly simple, and, so to speak, inexpensive. In most cases a unit (A) divides into

two or more daughter-units (B, C, etc.), which soon repeat the process. An individuality (A) does in a sense disappear ; it becomes two or more similar individualities (B, C, etc.) ; but we cannot speak of death when there is nothing—not even ashes—left to bury. In many cases the multiplication is extremely rapid ; a little one soon becomes a thousand ; from one infusorian there may be thirty-two in the course of a day, and a million in four days. In the case of bacteria the rate of multiplication is much more rapid.

But an interesting point is this, that there seems to be, in some cases at least, a limit to the number of divisions which can successfully occur in the case of an isolated family of Infusorians all descended from one, and in the absence of that pairing of unrelated forms which normally occurs in natural conditions. Maupas observed an isolated culture of the common Infusorian, *Stylonichia pustulata*, from November, 1885, till March, 1886 ; by that time two hundred and fifteen generations of asexual multiplication by fission had occurred, but the result was disastrous. The family was evidently suffering from exhausted vitality ; the new members were being *born old* ; they were dwarfish, degenerate, weak, and senile ; they were unable to feed and unable to divide. In isolation, therefore, apart from pairing, senile decay sets in and the family becomes extinct. Even at this low level of organisation it is only through the fire of love that the phoenix of the species can renew its youth !

It seems as if the senile degeneration that results in the case of these Infusorians was in part dependent on the rapidity with which the generations follow one another, and not merely on the number of generations. For in repeating Maupas' experiments, Jowkowsky found in 1898 that over four hundred and fifty-eight generations might occur in *Pleurotricha lanceolata* without degeneration, and that a colony of slipper animalcules (*Paramæcium*) kept isolated for five months showed only a reduction of locomotor cilia and a consequent sluggishness. [It will be observed, of course, that the senility and dying out which Maupas

described cannot be regarded as contradictory to the doctrine of the immortality of the Protozoa, which presupposes normal conditions of life, excluding all the unnatural restrictions of the artificial isolation.]

But what has this to do with our problem of growing old? Simply this, that the suggested limitation to the number of successive cell-divisions may have a deep significance in regard to the growth of higher animals, which is of course accomplished by successive cell-divisions. It has particular relevancy in regard to the brain, whose cells stop dividing or multiplying at a very early date—it may be even before birth. In this connexion we may quote Weismann's sentence: "The real cause of death is to be looked for, not in the using up of the body-cells, but rather in the limits to the reproductive power of cells."

*Summation of Preceding Points, leading to General
Rationale of Natural Death.*

What has been said enables us to return with fresh light to the problem of the senescence and natural death of the higher forms of life. We have now reason to suspect that natural death is not to be regarded simply as an intrinsic necessity—the fate of all life; it is incident on the complexity of the bodily machinery, on the limits which are set to the multiplication or renewal of cells, and on the occurrence of organically expensive modes of multiplication.

The general rationale of natural death may be outlined as follows: Day after day, year after year, it may be decade after decade, the machinery of the living body holds out. Its inevitable wear and tear is made good again by food and in rest, but the recuperation is seldom quite complete. Especially if there has been over-stimulation, as in the case of brain-cells, or over-strain, as in the case of the heart, there is a gradual mounting-up of physiological arrears. In fact, the living organism, *unless it be a very simple one*, goes quickly or slowly into debt to itself. The items of debit

may be infinitesimal, but they mount up until the sum total of bad debts involves that physiological insolvency which we call senescence and death.

Concrete Illustration.

Let us now recall a very familiar concrete case which illumines the whole subject. I refer to the history of the worker hive-bee.

Is it not the case that almost from infancy many of us—especially those of us who incline to laziness—have been urged to consider the little busy bee which improves each shining hour? A more intimate and critical knowledge of bees and their behaviour entirely shakes our confidence in this exemplar of our childhood. Let us lift only one corner of the seamy side by asking how the shining hour improves the busy bee. Whenever we ask this question we are struck by the fact that the worker hive-bee has but a short life—often only for a few weeks after its industry begins. It is a victim to over-exertion. With all its getting, it gets not wisdom, but foolishness, for its brain-cells go steadily and surely out of gear. Hodge compared the brain of bees issuing from the hive in the morning—when they were presumably fairly fresh—with the brain of bees who came last into the hive in the evening—presumably tired out,—and demonstrated what, fifty years ago, would have excited great wonder—the structural effects of nerve-fatigue.

The same striking contrast is seen when the brain of a young bee, fresh from the comb, is contrasted with that of a relatively old bee. A large number of cells have passed into what may be called a state of irrecoverable fatigue—collapse. As Professor Hodge says: "The nerve-cells, in the course of the bee's daily work, gradually cease to be functional, and die off, until no more are left than are sufficient for the necessary vital functions." His work suggests that there are three grades of nervous fatigue in animals: (a) that from which recuperation is usual, what one might

call the normal daily fatigue ; (*b*) that from which recuperation is possible, but difficult, what one might call extra wear and tear ; and (*c*) that from which there is no recovery, the final functional collapse of nerve-cells as in the bee's brain, and in some forms of old age. The state of the nerve-cells in the brains of some hibernating animals is also very interesting in this connexion. The suggestiveness of a contribution like this must be plain to all. The story of the bee's brain is a warning against over-industry, and one of the sections in *the apology for rest*.

Special Theories of the Immediate Causes of Senescence.

We have sketched what may be called the general wear-and-tear theory of senescence, but many other more detailed suggestions have been from time to time brought forward.

(1) We may begin with a reference to the conclusions of Professor Charles Sedgwick Minot, who published in 1890 an interesting research with the title *On Certain Phenomena of Growing Old*. It is interesting because based on a large number (8,000–9,000) of measurements, sustained through five or more years, especially in reference to guinea-pigs—convenient animals for the study of growth, since they attain maturity in about a year, and are easily kept in a state of good health. Minot's data form a large series of statistics—perhaps the largest that we at present possess—on the growth of one particular kind of animal.

What Minot's statistics show is, that from the guinea-pig's earliest days after birth the rate of increase in weight (measured in percentage of total weight) steadily falls. In this respect there is no distinction between a period of development and a period of decline ; there is one steady decline in rate of growth. Whereas the first ten per cent. of addition in weight is made in a time a little exceeding two days, the twenty-fifth addition of ten per cent. (absolutely much greater, of course) requires a period of nearly eighty-eight days. The growth illustrates the law of diminishing return. It is an up-hill business all the time, but the hill gets steeper

and steeper as we go up, until at length the gradient becomes impracticable, and growth stops. Minot compares the business of growing to the building of a wall by one man.

The wall is built and grows larger, develops, but the man grows more and more tired, and as he grows more fatigued, and as the wall becomes higher, the progress thereon becomes slower and slower, but the wall has developed all the time. So we see that the body develops all the time, but the power to continue the development of the body steadily diminishes.

Professor Minot maintains that his law holds true of man, of chickens, of rabbits, of dogs, and of ferrets, of all of which he says he has sufficient statistics to speak with positiveness.

As Professor Minot is one of the foremost of living embryologists, and has been studying growing and developing all his life, what he says on the subject is worthy of careful consideration.

Minot's law that the rate of weight-growth in animals exhibits a persistent decline after birth is probably true on the whole, but we must make exceptions for particular cases where there are periodic spurts of rapid growth, as in caterpillars. De Varigny's careful article on Growth in Richet's great *Dictionary of Physiology* corroborates in the main Minot's law as regards weight. But Minot goes on to re-express his law in a form which seems to us, we say it respectfully, extremely fallacious. He says there is from earliest youth "a gradual loss of vitality," and this seems to us a quite illegitimate conclusion. We do not know—no one knows—what "vitality" precisely means, but it must mean more than rate of growth in weight. Energy is expended by the animal, notably by the wild animal, in many ways apart from growth either in weight or size ; and these other activities must obviously be considered in estimating vitality. It may be that in some domesticated animals, *e.g.* sheep, cattle, fowls, there is a decrease in the range of vital activities and interests after adolescence is past ; it may be that the two year old child lives a more active life than a man of sixty ; but these are exceptional cases. To say that the life

of a wild animal shows from its earliest days a progressive loss of vitality seems to us quite absurd.

Minot has sought to establish a second corollary of his law—that as the body grows older there is an increasing disproportion between the cell-substance (cytoplasm) and the nucleus (nucleoplasm). He believes that the cytoplasm increases out of proportion to the nucleoplasm, and thus interferes with the power of growth. There is no doubt that in some cases, *e.g.* muscle-fibres, the increase of cytoplasm is enormous, when compared with that of the nucleus, and everyone knows that in the red blood corpuscles of mammals and man the nucleus practically disappears. But while there is no doubt that the continuance of life depends upon subtle inter-relations between cytoplasm and nucleoplasm, we are not prepared to accept Minot's second conclusion (or paradox) "that protoplasm (or cytoplasm) is the physical basis of decrepitude," or that "the development of protoplasm (or cytoplasm) is the cause of loss of power of growth."

(1*) Somewhat analogous to the view of Minot is that of Kassowitz, who points out that as life goes on there is more and more accumulation of what one may call half-used substances (metaplasms), such as cellulose in plants or fat in animals. The body becomes as if smothered in the results of incomplete combustion.

(2) Démange, the author of a French treatise on old age, seems to interpret all the phenomena in terms of the degenerative changes in the walls of the arteries. These show hardening or sclerosis, the nutrition of surrounding cells is thereby lessened, and atrophy sets in. Doubtless this is very important, but we wish to know *why* the arterial wall should become sclerotic. Moreover, this theory is far too human in its reference, many old animals show no trace of arterial sclerosis, and even in men—a case of an ancient of one hundred and eighteen showed, according to Mühlmann, almost no sclerosis.

(3) According to Metchnikoff, the symptoms of old age may be for the most part summed up in the conception of

atrophy—or insufficient nutrition. This defective nutrition is the prelude to an internal conflict in which the wandering amœboid cells or phagocytes, and one kind in particular, which he calls macrophagous, attack the nobler tissues which are no longer vigorous, which have ceased to produce protective substances, which have been poisoned, or which have been over-loaded.

(4) Very suggestive, too, is the view of Mühlmann, who starts from the fact that growth of surface does not keep pace with growth of volume—the so-called Leuckart-Spencer principle, also emphasised by Dr. Alexander James. He points out that those organs which are most shut in from the surface of the body are the first to reach their greatest rate of growth, *e.g.* brain, kidneys, spleen; while more superficial organs like skin, lungs, muscle, etc., go on growing longer, and are later in reaching their maximum of possible growth.

(5) We must also notice the suggestion that the setting in of old age is due to local exhaustion of certain parts of the bodily machinery with which few of us are familiar—the organs of internal secretion,—such as the thyroid gland. These normally furnish to the blood some more or less obscure specific substances without which vigour cannot be sustained. This view has led to the suggestion of various modern elixirs of life—from injections of common salt upwards—intended to replace the deficiency due to local breakdown. None of the elixirs has as yet proved itself markedly efficacious, nor has any good reason been given why organs of internal secretion should be exhausted sooner than many other organs.

After considering these and other suggestions as to the immediate causes of old age, we feel bound to conclude that in spite of their importance in furnishing descriptive details of the familiar process, they do not throw much light on its necessity. The law of the conservation of energy makes us aware that, defiant as the organism is, arrears are likely to accumulate in the activity of a complex system, but the immortality of the Protozoa shows that this dynamic

bankruptcy is not inevitable. We know that a carefully constructed inanimate engine may outlive three generations of the animate engines who controlled it ; and we know that of two organisms, apparently equal in complexity, one may be old in twelve months, and another may be still young in twelve years. It is easy to speak of accumulated debts, of diminished trophic activity of nerves, of hampering superfluity of metaplasms, and of diminishing activity of internal secretion, of the *Kampf der Theile im Organismus*, and of the limitations to prolonged cell-divisions ; but why should it be so at all, and why should the results be so different in different cases ?

We are not surprised, therefore, to find an expert writer on senility (Dr. W. H. Allchin) declaring : " We do not know why the body, after it has reached a state of maturity and vigour, should gradually decline ; why, when once an even balance between tissue-waste and restitution is established, it is not maintained indefinitely." It is easy to understand why individual human beings with poor inheritance, unnatural environment, and vicious habits should exhibit senile involution and die ; it is often difficult to understand how they live so long ; but these abnormal, though frequent, cases do not touch the biological problem of normal senescence. All the signs of human senility may be seen in a patient under twenty years of age ; but this sad fact hardly touches the general problem of normal senescence—which is so elusive.

Suggestion of Four Categories.

As we think over such facts as we have hinted at, the suspicion grows strong that we are apt to miss biological truth by being too anthropocentric. Man is in many ways a very artificial organism : he is super-organic. He has an external heritage not less important than that embodied in his germ-plasm ; he has often a self-made environment not less important than that which he was born into ; he has peculiar functions and habits—both for good and ill—which

are all his own ; and there is good reason for supposing that the impression of old age which we get from the majority of our aged fellow-beings is very different from what we should have inferred from an impartial survey of animal life.

As the outlook on the phenomena of growing old seems, to say the least, hazy, I venture to make a suggestion of four categories.

(a) In many human beings, in not a few domesticated animals, *e.g.* horse, dog, cat, and in some semi-domesticated animals, notably bees, and possibly in some wild animals, the close of life is marked by *senility*. The organism is no longer in full possession of its faculties ; more than that, some function or other—notably that of the nervous and sensory systems—has gone out of gear. Intelligence has waned, instincts have ceased to ring true, unified control is lost, the senses are dimmed and dulled, even locomotion becomes impossible, the life is reduced to an existence—an existence which cannot be prolonged except under artificial conditions comparable to those of an incubator for premature infants.

(b) In a minority of civilised human beings, in some domesticated animals, and in many wild animals, the decline of life is marked by *senescence*. Growth has long since stopped, and decrease in weight and stature has been going on ; there is a general shrinkage—of brain and spinal cord, of spleen, lymphatic glands and kidneys ; the gonads have ceased to be active ; there is narrowing or even obliteration of capillaries ; the bones become thinner, weaker, and of course lighter ; and the corresponding functions are slackened in each case in relevancy to the weakening of the bodily engine. A slight shrinkage of articular cartilages, a slight weakening of dorsal muscles, brings about the normal stoop. A slight atrophy brings about the normal grey hairs, which in this category may be a crown of glory.

(c) Of many animals it must be said that they reach the length of their life's tether without any trace of either senility or senescence. They pass their climacteric of vigour,

it may be ; they may be old in years, but certainly not in structure ; they pass off the scene—or are shoved off—victims to violent death. It is impossible to tell whether the vital energies were or were not really impaired, but we know that in many fishes and reptiles, for instance, which have lived long and have in the end died violently, there is not, in their organs or tissues, the least hint of senile involution or even of senescence.

(d) The fourth category is obviously that of the immortal simple animals which never grow old, which disappear directly into other individualities like themselves. Of these enough has already been said.

Fourth Approach to the Problem : The Duration of Life.

Let us now see if we can make further progress towards intelligibility by proceeding on a quite different tack—by considering the great variety there is in *the duration of life*. This has often been made the subject of popular remark and of quite fanciful popular estimate. Weismann quotes from Jacob Grimm an old German saying :

A wren lives three years, a dog three times as long as a wren, a horse three times as long a dog, and a man three times as long as a horse, that is eighty-one years. A donkey attains three times the age of a man, a wild goose three times that of a donkey, a crow three times that of a wild goose, a deer three times that of a crow, and an oak three times the age of a deer.

It need hardly be said that most of these figures are quite fictitious, *e.g.* the estimate of the deer's duration of life at 6,000 and the oak's at 20,000 years. By counting the rings on some of the great Californian trees, an age of 2,000 years and more has been estimated, but some say that more than one double ring of wood is sometimes formed in one year.

In one of his celebrated essays Weismann has sought to show that it is impossible to find the key to the great differences in the ages of animals by any simple reference to size, or to complexity, or to rate of growth, or to rate of life. "The strength of the spring which drives the wheel of life

does not solely depend upon the size of the wheel itself, or upon the material of which it is made," or upon its rate of movement. The duration of life has been, in part at least, *punctuated from without and in reference to large issues*; it has been gradually regulated in adaptation to the welfare of the species.

It is true that large animals usually live long, and that small animals are often short-lived,—an elephant may live two hundred years, a horse forty, a blackbird eighteen, a mouse six, and many insects only a few weeks or days. But then a cat or a toad may live as long as a horse (forty), a pike or a carp as long as an elephant (two hundred), a crayfish as long as a pig (twenty), and the sea-anemone "Grannie," which died a natural death in Edinburgh on August 4, 1887, was at least sixty-six years old.

Flourens hazarded the generalisation that the length of life was always five times the period of growth; but the horse, for instance, matures in four years, and may live to be forty or more.

On general grounds, already hinted at, we might suppose that very active animals wear themselves out quickly, while sluggish creatures live long. The case of trees living for a millennium rises at once in the mind; on the other hand, the male ants live only for a few weeks, while the queen ant may live for thirteen years, and the workers for several years. Birds are exceedingly active animals, yet some of them have a long life; there are cases of ravens, falcons, eagles, vultures, living about or more than a century—in captivity of course, which would lessen their expenditure of energy.

The clergy have longer lives than other professional men, yet most of them live a very active life. St. Antony did not mix much in practical affairs, and died at one hundred and five; Titian was all his life about a Court, and painted a fine picture at ninety-six.

Perhaps the most astounding fact in regard to human length of life is that brought out in such statistical researches as those of Tarchanow, that throughout the world,

from equator to poles, the duration of life remains on the average the same. This is an astounding fact when we consider the diversity of race, of diet, of occupations, and of surroundings. There are short-lived and long-lived families, for *longevity is hereditary*; there are life-sparing and deathful occupations and habits; there are pleasant and unwholesome surroundings; yet the average duration of life for different peoples and countries is about the same. This makes us feel that the punctuation of the length of life, which is so diverse among individuals, is, as regards the species, referable to much wider issues than the immediate surroundings, diet, habits, or rate of life. I see no alternative to the conclusion that the clock of human life has been regulated in the course of the ages in reference to the wide issues which we sum up in the conception "the welfare of the species."

We have expounded a general reason why higher organisms must grow old: the perfect self-repairing capacity of the unicellulars is no longer possible when the bodily mechanism is very complex and when reproduction is physiologically expensive. But this natural interpretation of senescence fails to suggest why a dozen different kinds of animals of about the same size and complexity and with similar modes of reproduction should grow old at very different times. An attempt to explain the diversity of longevity by reference to the immediate conditions of life also fails. We have to face the fact that while the rate at which the wheels go round is doubtless very important for individual cases, it cannot be the key to an understanding of the diversity in the average duration of life in more or less similar species. Many sluggish animals, such as molluscs, are short-lived; many active animals, such as birds, are long-lived. Nor can we find the solution in considering the diverse environments, diets, industries, and so on. We are thus prepared for the next step in the argument.

The Selectionist Interpretation.

Weismann's theory is that in the course of time, after

many experiments, so to speak, the length of life in a species has been regulated in reference to the rate of multiplication and the average mortality. The *punctuation is from without*, not from within ; it is natural selection that has determined—and that slowly, after grave consideration as it were—where the stops come in, the semi-colon of maturity, the colon of senescence, and the full stop of natural death. In other words, the internal constitutional arrangements which secure that an elephant can persist for two hundred years and a freshwater sponge for less than a year, have been gradually wrought out or regulated in relation to the welfare of the species.

Let us take a concrete case ; the golden eagle, weighing nine to twelve pounds, is intermediate as regards weight between hare and fox ; all three are very active, all three are very complex. But while the hare lives ten years, and the fox fourteen, the golden eagle lives sixty. Weismann says that this has been in the course of time regulated in reference to various big facts of life, *e.g.* that the two mammals are more fertile than the bird, that there is less mortality among the young mammals than the young birds, that the young mammals are sooner able to look after themselves, and so on. If the golden eagle matures at about ten years, and lays two eggs a year, "then a pair will produce one hundred eggs in fifty years, and of these only two will develop into adult birds ; and thus on an average a pair of eagles will only succeed in bringing a pair of young to maturity once in fifty years." For this reason, according to Weismann, golden eagles have a high degree of longevity.

Signs of Old Age.

Montaigne says of his father :

I have seene him when hee was past threescore years of age mocke at all our sports, and out-countenance our youthfull pastimes, with a heavy furr'd Gowne about him leap into his saddle ; to make the pommada round about a Table upon his

thumb ; and seldome to ascend any staires without skipping three or foure steps at once.

We have known a venerable pastor and naturalist of seventy-five make the ascent of Ben Cruachan, and walk eight miles besides, without a trace of fatigue. Similar examples are familiar to all, and there seems no good reason why they should not be regarded as perfectly normal and natural. They represent the ideal, but doubtless quite attainable, defiance of senility. They illustrate one of the points of this essay—the contrast between senility and senescence.

In a recent paper by an expert student of reptiles—Dr. F. Werner—it is noted with emphasis that even in giant specimens of crocodile and snake “no trace of senile degeneration could be detected.” In a careful investigation of very old freshwater eels from the Isle of May, Mr. George Sandeman found no trace of senile changes in the tissues. Apart from semi-domesticated or captive carp, trout, etc., which must be discounted in this argument, I venture to assert, from a wide survey, that even very old fishes do not exhibit any senile degeneracy. The sad fact is that man and his domesticated animals seem to have almost a monopoly of senility. Most wild animals die a violent death, in the majority of cases before they exhibit even senescence.

Our argument is that (*a*) few wild animals of great age show *any* senile degeneration ; (*b*) few wild animals of great age show more than signs of general senescence ; (*c*) many very old men show no signs of senility, but only a senescence ; (*d*) all the so-called signs of human senility may be found illustrated in young men under twenty ; *therefore*, we may discount senile degeneration altogether as an unnecessary incident of old age.

What then, it may be asked, are the signs of normal senescence in man ? Here we cannot do better than fall back upon the celebrated lecture of Professor Humphry, which he delivered after having had direct or indirect know-

ledge of the state of the body in five hundred men and women of eighty years of age and upwards :

In the normal "descending" development the relative proportions of the several structures and organs are preserved, while weight, force, and activity are being lowered by a gradual and well adjusted diminution of material and nutritive activity. During the time that the bones are becoming lighter and less capable of offering resistance, the muscles become, in like proportion, lighter and weaker, and with a narrowing range of action ; and the associated volitional and other nerve-apparatus exhibits a corresponding lowering of energy and force. . . . The weakening of the heart and the diminished elasticity of the arteries provide a proportionately feeblor blood-current ; and a lower digestive power and a lessened appetite provide a smaller supply of fuel, enough to feed, but not enough to choke, the slow-ing fires. . . . It is upon the well ordered, proportionately or developmentally regulated, decline in the several organs that the stages which succeed to maturity are safely passed, and that crown of physical glory—a healthy old age—is attained. . . . A time comes at length when, in the course of the descending developmental processes, the several parts of the machine, slowly and much, though equally, weakened, fail to answer to one another's call which is also weakened ; when the nervous, the circulatory, and the respiratory organs have not force enough to keep one another going. Then the wheels stop rather than are stopped, and a developmental or physiological death terminates the developmental or physiological decay. . . . Yet, strange and paradoxical as it may seem, this gradual natural decay and death, with the physiological processes which bring them about, do not appear to present themselves in the ordinary economy of nature, but to be dependent upon the sheltering influences of civilisation for the opportunity to manifest themselves, and to continue their work.

A Concrete Instance.

While it is beyond my scope to discuss in detail the signs of senescence, I wish to illustrate the way in which these are now being treated by modern biology, and a most interesting instance, which comes home to some of us, and is familiar to all, may be found in the process by which the

hair turns grey or white. This has been recently studied by Metchnikoff with signal success.

In almost all animals, from sponges to mammals, there is, within or apart from the vascular fluids, a bodyguard of wandering amoeboid cells, technically called phagocytes. It is well known that they perform many functions both in health and in disease; they form a bodyguard, struggling with invading microbes, surrounding and engulfing irritant particles, helping to repair wounds, aiding in the regeneration of lost parts, and so on. To the pathologist "phagocytosis" has become a word of comfort, and perhaps there has been some exaggeration of its importance. But no one can deny that the phagocytes play an important and versatile part in the vital economy.

If we hold a hair against a strong light we see at once a distinction between a lighter central portion—the medulla—and a darker peripheral portion—the cortex. Both parts are built up of cells, but the medullary part is the more living of the two. Metchnikoff has recently discovered that the disappearance of pigment from hair beginning to turn grey is due to the intervention of phagocytes. These amoeboid cells appear in the medullary part of the hair and make their way out into the cortex, where they absorb the pigment granules, which they then remove from the hair. In a hair beginning to turn white there are many phagocytes laden with pigment—especially about the root of the hair. In absolutely white hair—the colour of which is due to gas bubbles—there are no phagocytes with pigment, or only a few. "It is thus indubitable," Metchnikoff says, "that the phagocytes of the hairs swallow up the granular pigment of the cortical layer, and transfer it elsewhere, the result being the complete whitening of the hair." This interesting discovery brings the whitening of the hair into line with other processes of senile atrophy in which phagocytes play an important part.

Study of an Aged Parrot.

It is well known that some kinds of parrots outlive their
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possessors. Except for relaxation in a dry discourse, there is little use in referring to Humboldt's famous case of an aged parrot that spoke the Aturic language of a tribe of American Indians for years after there was any human survivor able to understand it. But there is no doubt that some parrots may attain an age of fourscore years.

Metchnikoff, with the assistance of Messieurs Mesnil and Weinberg, has recently made a careful post-mortem examination of a parrot (*Chrysotis amazonica*) which must have been over eighty when it died. During her later years the veteran captive was feeble and senile; but a thorough investigation of its tissues revealed little that could be regarded as degenerative or deathful.

The liver was slightly fatty, but showed no hint of cirrhosis; the kidneys were tending to fatty degeneration, but showed no sclerosis; muscles and heart were quite normal, and so on. Only in the fore-brain was there anything very noteworthy,—its nerve-cells were in many places surrounded with "neuronophagous" or nerve-devouring phagocytes. These neuronophagous cells are well known in the brains of patients suffering from certain neurotic diseases and from persistent intoxication; they are also frequent in the brains of old men and old mammals, but the authors never saw a case so marked as that of this aged parrot. There seemed to be "an intense phagocytosis," the brain was being literally "devoured" by the "neuronophages." The noblest elements of the organisation were falling victim to cells of the most primitive type—comparable to the immortal *Amœbæ*. Here we have a most interesting case of marked senility in a captive creature, and a supplement to what we have already noticed in regard to the brains of bees.

According to one line of interpretation, at least, (see *Delitzsch's Commentary*), we have one of the sublimest pictures of senility in Ecclesiastes xii. The mind and senses begin to be darkened, the winter of life approaches with its clouds and storms; the arms—the protectors of the bodily house—tremble, the strong legs bow, the grinders cease because they are few, the apples of the eyes are darkened, the jaws

munch with only a dull sound, the old man is nervously weak and startled even by a bird chirping, he is afraid of even hillocks, his falling hair is white as the strewn almond blossoms, he drags himself along with difficulty, he has no more appetite, he seeks only for his home of rest, which he finds when the silver cord is loosed or the golden bowl broken.

Senescence and Senility.

Let us once more face the painful question : Why should wild animals show so little trace of senility which is often marked in domesticated or captive animals ? Why should wild animals usually exhibit at most a slight senescence, while man often exhibits a bathos of senility ?

In reference to the contrast between wild animals and those tamed or in captivity, we have to remember that the former seem usually to die a violent death before or after old age has set in, but almost always before there has been time for senility. From such violent death man more or less protects the pet horses, dogs, cats, etc., whose life has become entwined in his affections. Furthermore, while natural death is due, as we have seen, to the accumulation of physiological bad debts, the character of old age depends upon the nature of these bad debts ; some are much more unnatural than others, much more unnatural in tamed than in wild animals.

As to man in particular, let us recall a few facts which may explain why he is unhappily notorious as the best illustration of senility. (a) Being sheltered by Reason from most of the extreme physical forms of the struggle for existence, he can live for a long time with a very defective hereditary constitution, which may end in a period of undesirable senility. (b) Endowed as he is with Reason—the capacity of handling general ideas and regulating his conduct in reference thereto, Man, especially in highly civilised communities, is very deficient in the resting instinct and seldom takes much thought about resting habits. A simple creature exhausts its stores of internal fuel, the

nervous system gives the signal "hunger" or "fatigue," and infallibly the simple creature will eat or rest if it can. Its brain is not disobedient. In higher animals however, and especially in man, the business is much more complicated. The signals for stoking or resting are plainly given, but some higher nerve-centre suddenly countermands them, and we say in our folly, "full steam ahead," "no time for lunch to-day," "late up to-night," "no holiday at Christmas this year" ! We disregard the moral of the worker-bee's life.

(c) The artificiality and injuriousness of many human activities and environments must necessarily affect the character of the physiological bad debts which lead on to natural death. The death is inevitable, but just as there is more than one kind of bankruptcy, so there are different forms of old age. Everything depends upon the nature of the bad debts. We may have an old age such as Cicero praised, or one whose days are labour and sorrow. As there is no power of regeneration in the nervous system—for, except in very rare cases of injury, we never get any new nerve-cells after we are born ; and as it is especially the wearing out of the nervous system which makes the down grade of life often ugly ; and as it is pre-eminently by rest and change and a quiet mind that the nervous system is kept young, we come back to the old commonplace, "Let us be aisy ; and if we can't be aisy, let us be as aisy as we can."

(d) In contrasting man and the animals we have also, of course, to remember that in many cases there has come about in human societies a system of protective agencies which allow the weak to survive through a period of prolonged senility. We cannot do otherwise in regard to those we love ; but it is plain that our better ambition would be to raise the standard of our vitality, so that if we have an old age it may be without senility.

After writing these hard sayings, I was relieved to read what Dr. Humphry said in 1885.

Through the growth of this germ (of sympathy) it was given to man to introduce a new factor into the economy of nature,

and by forethought, by mutual co-operation, and by care for others, which are the very essence, at any rate the very best feature, of civilisation, to prolong life when by this very forethought and sympathy life had become more valuable, and when the prolongation of it had consequently become more desirable; and scope was thus afforded for the carrying out of these descending or senile developmental processes which must have been nearly dormant in the earlier periods of human existence. . . . It is not to be expected that this good seed should be without a blending with tares; and the scope thus given for the fuller development of the physiological processes gave scope also for the development of the pathological processes, and enabled the various diseases to spring up and take their course, afflicting not man only but those animals also which come under his fostering or protecting influence.

It may therefore be said that the prolongation of life into and through the periods of decay, and into and through the processes of disease—indeed almost, if not quite, the very existence of decay and disease—are the result of human forethought and sympathy. In other words, decay and disease are by civilisation substituted for quick and early death.

This is a forcible and authoritative statement, which leads us to doubt whether the humane policy which makes so much of the individual, is not in some respects prejudicial to the best interests of the race!

What have we to suggest? Certainly no elixir vitæ, but a humdrum commonsense prescription, the common property of the oldest and the newest physicians, which does, however, gain some added force from the biological facts that have been submitted. Closer touch with nature, more open air, more change of environment, more versatility of function, more effort to secure the lines of activity that are organically most suitable and therefore most effective, less artificial stimulation, less "pressing" as golfers say, stricter avoidance of nerve-fatigue, more resolute cultivation of resting-habits, an effort to heighten the standard of vitality rather than an effort to prolong existence:—such are some of the conditions of *remaining young*.

J. ARTHUR THOMSON.

THE INNER LIFE OF JESUS.

Die Bildersprache Jesu in ihrer Bedeutung für die Erforschung seines inneren Lebens von HEINRICH WEINEL, Privatdozenten der Theologie in Bonn. (Giessen : J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.)

THE value of the Gospels as a revelation of the inner life of Jesus is a favourite theme of modern expositors of the New Testament. It would not be difficult to show that older writers have not forgotten the sound principle of interpretation : a man's words and deeds reveal his thoughts and purposes ; but in recent years more systematic attempts have been made to understand that "personal life of Jesus which speaks to us from the New Testament, viewed as the disciples' testimony to their faith." Valued by this standard the Gospels are an inexhaustible treasure ; no words of Jesus are more precious than those which give us glimpses into the depths of His consciousness, and no actions of Jesus are more instructive than those which reveal His ruling motives. The disciples of Ritschl—and in this connexion Herrmann's name should be mentioned with honour—have earned our gratitude for so persistently striving to restore in fair colours "the great picture of Jesus' inner life." Especially significant and timely is their vindication of the trustworthiness of that portrait whose clear features no discrepancies in the evangelists' narratives can disfigure.

This picture of the inner life of Jesus cannot be too carefully contemplated, though it may be too exclusively studied. The evangelists have portrayed the historic Jesus from many points of view ; in their sketches we are permitted to see Him, not only as he holds communion with

God, but also as He manifests His glory in mighty works, as He lays down His life that it may be a "ransom for many," and as He takes His life again by rising from the dead. A picture of the personality of Jesus is incomplete which does not include every trait of His character as it is revealed in the gospel narratives. A fallacy underlies Herrmann's words: "Jesus becomes a real power to us when He reveals His inner life to us." Such a revelation is a notable manifestation of the power of Jesus, but it is not the only way in which He becomes the power of God unto our salvation; on the contrary, the preaching of the disciples of Jesus, to which Herrmann appeals, shows that many felt "the exceeding greatness of His power" whose vision of the personal life of Jesus was very dim, but before whose eyes He had been "openly set forth crucified."

The gospel within the Gospels includes, but is not limited to, the revelation of God in the inner life of Jesus. It is true that in His communion with the Father He realised the true relation of man to God, but it is also true that "the incomparable moral strength of Jesus" is one of "the simplest features of His appearance in history"; it follows that the mere knowledge of the fact that He who was conscious of His own purity lived a perfect inner life—this knowledge cannot, in and of itself, impart to sinners who are conscious of their own moral impotence the assurance of God's willingness to hold communion with them. A motive sufficiently powerful to prompt us to reverent study of the Gospels is furnished by the hope that in so doing the mind of Christ may be more fully made known to us; but the knowledge of His inner life, though unspeakably precious, is not all that we need to learn of His person and of His work.

The vision of the inner life of Jesus is the reward of diligent study of His words and deeds. The attempt to discover in this way His ruling ideas is quite legitimate, whether the inquiry be as to His conceptions of God or as to His views of the destiny of man. But the psychological study of the Gospels—which Jülicher in his work on the

parables declares to be the determining factor in their exposition—cannot give us such clear insight into the mind of Jesus as some modern critics claim to possess. A gross exaggeration of the results attained in this sphere of research is involved in the assumption that knowledge of the inner life of Jesus can enable a man to sift the words spoken by the Master Himself from the words which, it is said, the first generation of His disciples put into His mouth. Was there ever a great man whose sayings did not sometimes surprise those who had the most intimate knowledge of his plans? Is He who spake as never man spake the only One whose individuality is so completely understood that readers of His words can say with swift assurance, "This saying is inappropriate to the occasion," or "That saying is contrary to His mind"? Such confident assertions often mean nothing more than that the writer has applied to Jesus the measure of a man—that is to say, of himself; the psychological basis of his dictum is that in similar circumstances the critic would not have uttered the words which Jesus is reported to have spoken.

An interesting work on *The Figurative Language of Jesus*, written by Herr Heinrich Weinel, of Bonn University, is an excellent example of the legitimate method of studying the inner life of Jesus as it is reflected in His words. The author writes as one who rejoices to believe that New Testament exegesis is becoming more historical and more psychological. In the "pre-scientific period" words and sentences were torn from their context, and were made the expression of arbitrary conceptions; but a more thorough use of grammar and lexicon marked the introduction of a new era,—“correct grammatical exposition of sentences led to study of the context, and the fixing of the meaning of words led to the study of the ideas expressed and of the world of thought underlying each expression.” Modern commentators have garnered the abundant fruit of the labours of many scholars who have devoted themselves to the investigation of the language of the New Testament

and of the characteristics which mark the style of its individual authors; any attempt to penetrate more deeply into the secret of the personality of Him to whom both evangelists and apostles bear witness must take account of the results of these linguistic researches, for it is only by the strict application of the inductive method to the facts thus brought to our knowledge that valid conclusions can be drawn as to the world of thought which was the mental environment of the New Testament writers.

One of the reasons for shrinking from the application of the psychological method of interpretation to the Gospels is the apparent difficulty of answering the objections urged by destructive critics, who often reject a saying of Jesus for no other reason than its inconsistency with their own conceptions of His personality. It is possible, however, to use a scientific method unscientifically; a false theory may vitiate the results of the historical method, and an arbitrary hypothesis may lead to wrong conclusions in psychological investigations. In each case the remedy is a more rigorous application of the method used, and a scrupulous adherence to facts. In this direction there are encouraging signs of progress. Just as Baur's theory of New Testament history was refuted by the researches of scholars who were unfettered by *a priori* conceptions of the course of events, so the psychological hypotheses which cast doubt on the genuineness of all but a few of the words of Jesus are being met and refuted by the scientific study of the inner life of Jesus on the part of expositors who, being unbiassed by a prejudice against His divinity, are ready to accept the inferences which can fairly be drawn from the facts. The Rev. W. L. Walker, in his admirable defence of our Lord's sayings concerning His death,¹ has pointed out that it is always possible for a critic to say that the words of Jesus are not accurately reported, and must be a product of primitive Christian theology; such assertions "it may be impossible to disprove," but it is always possible to meet the

¹ *The Cross and the Kingdom*, p. 50 ff.

objector on his own ground, and to show that his interpretation rests upon a theory which is "*psychologically* very improbable, if not altogether impossible." For example, to ask us to believe that the first Christians regarded the death of Jesus as a stumbling-block, and yet "put sayings into the mouth of Jesus" which, *ex hypothesi*, they knew He never uttered or His cross would have been no stumbling-block, "implies that they deceived themselves with their eyes wide open." Dr. Denney makes occasional use of the same method of argument, as, *e.g.*, when he replies¹ to those who ascribe our Lord's words at His baptism (Matt. iii. 14 f.) to the productive activity of the Church, stimulated by dogmatic motives: he is appealing to our sense of what is psychologically probable when he says, "A dogmatic motive would have produced something more obviously and unequivocally dogmatic than a phrase ('to fulfil all righteousness') which has baffled most readers by its excessive vagueness."

Weinel finds in the figurative sayings of Jesus another proof of the trustworthiness of the Gospels. He brings the charge of "unpsychological procedure" against modern critics who can find a place for the word-pictures and parables of Jesus at the close of the first century or at the beginning of the second, but will not admit that, after all, it is possible that this picturesque language came from His own lips, and was the product of His own spirit's communion with God in nature. How great is the contrast between Jesus and Paul in their use of nature-images! Paul hears the groaning of the whole creation as it longs for deliverance "from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God"; but to Jesus the songs of birds suggest thoughts of His heavenly Father's care for them, and for His children who are far more precious in His sight; yea, even when the sparrow falls from the roof to the ground Jesus does not muse on the "vanity" to which creation has been subjected, but makes

¹ *The Death of Christ*, p. 21, footnote.

the event an occasion for gracious speech about the providence of Him who excludes none of His creatures from His charge : if a sparrow, worth about half a farthing, falls not to the ground "without our Father," the shadow cast by fear should not rest upon any of His children's lives. The outlook of the apostle is that of one on whose spirit the pessimism of the ancient world in its decline has left its impression, although it has not destroyed his hope ; the vision of Jesus is that of one to whose happy, childlike spirit nature speaks of a fulness of life in which thoughts of death are swallowed up.

When, as the result of the labours of the great apostle, Christianity had become a religion of the lower strata of society in Greek cities,—when, on the other hand, Palestinian Christianity had approached very closely to Judaism and imbibed something of its Pharisaic spirit, the invention of the word-pictures and parables of the Gospels in their original, free, and yet truly homely style would have been simply an impossibility.

The nature-images used by Jesus are a reflection both of the external world in which He lived and of His own inmost thoughts ; they tell us much, not only of the influences which surrounded Him as He grew in wisdom and in grace, but also of the nature of the development of His inner life. Schrempf has recently made a bold attempt to show that Jesus' personal life had been rent asunder, so that when He came to John for baptism "He had a tragedy behind Him." The flimsy argument by which this opinion is supported is that Jesus came to be baptized as a guilty, wretched man, and that the divine voice so agitated Him that He was obliged to withdraw into the wilderness in order that He might regain His self-control. The assurance "Thou art My beloved Son" is taken to mean "Thou—in spite of thy sin"; whereas the form in which the words are given (Mark i. 11) naturally suggests the interpretation : "Thou,—as distinguished from other men,—*Thou* (Σὺ) art My Son, the beloved one (ὁ ἀγαπητός)." The psychological improbability of this theory is manifest ; its defenders are compelled to set a tradition found in the apocryphal

"Gospel according to the Hebrews" against the clear and consentient witness of the New Testament writers. Weinel has no hesitation in appealing to the evidence furnished by the figurative sayings of Jesus as a proof that unlike Paul He was not conscious of any breach with His past. The topic is introduced by way of reply to Nietzsche, who misses in Jesus the smile with which Zarathustra greets the world. That the Gospels furnish no warrant for this view is easily shown : Jesus was no stern prophet of doom, although at times His wrath flames forth in burning words which denounce hypocrisy and wrong.

There are many evidences in His word-pictures that He was a keen yet sympathetic observer of the daily life of men, and there is no evidence to show that before His public ministry He, like John the Baptist, had lived the lonely, self-tormenting life of an ascetic.

Parallels are frequently drawn between the words of Jesus and the sayings of the rabbis, the object being to prove His dependence on them. But there is no trace of the terminology of the Pharisaic schools in the discourses of Jesus, although there are occasional allusions to life under the law, as, *e.g.*, in the "parable" where we read, "There is nothing from without the man, that going into him can defile him : but the things which proceed out of the man are those that defile the man" (Mark vii. 15). Nor when Jesus speaks of the heavy burdens which the Pharisees laid upon men's shoulders is there any implication that He is describing His own experience ; in His words there is no hint that His own manner of life had at any time been regulated by the traditions of men. The difference between Jesus and Paul, whose figurative language is often taken from legal procedure, is ultimately to be accounted for by the difference in their personal religious life. Weinel heightens the contrast between Jesus and Paul by a comparison of their language in so far as they make use of military metaphors. Paul delights to clothe his thoughts in figures of speech suggested by the battle-field or

the race-course, and his words reflect his eager, aggressive, and combative spirit; such metaphors are not entirely absent from the teaching of Jesus, for He knew that He "came not to send peace, but a sword" (Matt. x. 34); nevertheless, His favourite word-pictures, chosen to describe the work He came to do, are suggested not by the triumphant soldier, but by the kindly physician, the zealous merchant, the patient fisherman, the diligent sower, and the faithful shepherd. On this theme Weinel's observations are full of interest, and deserve careful consideration; but it seems hardly possible to arrange the figurative language of Jesus in such strict chronological order as the theory requires, for it relegates His warlike metaphors to His later ministry—the period of storm and stress. Nor is it always easy to perceive "the dignified, gracious calm" which is said to underlie His words when in reality they are half battles, and His spirit is powerfully stirred.

Weinel displays both ingenuity and insight in the account which he gives of the origin of the figurative language of Jesus. The association of a thought with a visible image may arise immediately as some object or incident is contemplated; but the association may also be the work of memory as it recalls past experiences, or restores the faded colours of word-pictures with which reading or popular speech has made the mind familiar. These are all real sources of metaphorical, parabolical, and allegorical language; but there is room for differences of opinion as to the precise source to which some of the picturesque sayings of Jesus ought to be assigned. To some of Weinel's decisions in regard to particular parables exception might well be taken, but it is impossible here to enter into details; it must suffice to direct attention to his treatment of a group of parables which afford welcome glimpses into the inner life of Jesus immediately before and at the beginning of His public ministry. The prevailing tendency of expositors to regard Jesus merely as a teacher is bewailed; readers of His parables may ask, "What is their teaching?" but they should also ask, "What kind of an inner life do they reveal?"; they

may ask, "What was the moral and religious condition of His hearers?" but they should also ask, "What moral and religious conceptions underlie His words?" The primary significance of some of the parables of Jesus is neither what they prove nor what they teach, but what they enable us to perceive of the development of His consciousness; for they mark stages in His own personal experience, and they were to Him revelations of God, whose working in the natural world was to Jesus an emblem of His energetic presence in the spiritual world. From this point of view the Parables of the Kingdom (Matt. xiii.) are most suggestively expounded.

In several of our Lord's figurative sayings He refers to His approaching death; for reasons which are not convincing Weinel does not accept some of these sayings as historical in their present form. He is, however, too faithful to his psychological method to assume that Jesus had no prevision of His cross. There is truth, if not the whole truth, in his comments on the words of Jesus to the sons of Zebedee (Matt. xx. 22), and to Mary (Mark xiv. 8): in these hours thoughts and feelings rise from the inmost depths of the consciousness of Jesus, and involuntarily He reveals the very secrets of His soul. Men approach Him whose minds are filled with ambition to share His glory, but their words call forth immediately the ominous question, "Are ye able to drink the cup that I am able to drink?" A woman anoints Him with precious ointment of spikenard, the emblem of all that is joyous and festive, but the action brings up from the gloomy deep the picture of a pale corpse that is being embalmed with costly spices, and He says: "She hath anointed my body aforehand for the burying." Weinel maintains that these scenes are described with a delicacy of psychological feeling which is utterly beyond the reach of anyone who was capable of inventing a prophecy after the event, and the words of Jesus which are in such striking contrast with His surroundings prove that in His inner life thoughts of His death were uppermost.

From the critical study of the sayings of Jesus as they

reflect His inner life the best results may be expected. "Is it psychologically probable?" is a touchstone which will reveal the inconsistency of many speculative views; the sounding of the depths of the inner life of Jesus cannot fail to elicit truer conceptions both of His person and His work, and it will become increasingly impossible to believe that the writers of the Gospels invented the Jesus of the Gospels. Would that all who attempt to restore the great picture might give heed to Bacon's warning, "Beware how in making the portraiture thou breakest the pattern"; but whether that warning be heeded or not, as men contemplate the divine-human Life which is reflected in the Gospels as in a mirror, they will find that

That one Face, far from vanishing, rather grows,
Or decomposes but to recompose.

JOHN G. TASKER.

THE TELEPHONE QUESTION.

THE policy of the British Post Office in regard to the telephone question has not been altogether a happy one. It has been marked, as everyone must see, by some serious blunders; and the changes of policy which have occurred at frequent intervals have more than once resulted in greater difficulties than those they were designed to remove. And yet the policy, with all its changes, has been governed by the best intentions; and the decisions which have proved to be the greatest mistakes have seemed at the time of their adoption to have much to recommend them. The mistakes have not been the result of carelessness or incapacity. They have been due merely to want of foresight,—a foresight, possibly, which none but veritable geniuses could have been expected to possess.

The worst blunder was the first,—the decision which deliberately left the telephone, on its introduction five and twenty years ago, to be exploited by private enterprise. And it was also the most inexcusable, for one of the gentlemen who brought the first specimens of the new instrument to this country from the United States was the Engineer-in-Chief of the Post Office; and bearing in mind the difficulties which had attended the transfer of the telegraph system from private companies to the State a few years earlier, the Post Office authorities ought, one thinks, to have guarded carefully against similar difficulties in connexion with the telephone. But the importance of the new invention was not recognised; and there was, moreover, a strong feeling at the time against State interference with private enterprise, as well as against burdening the Treasury with financial risks.

The Government, however, were advised by the Law Officers that the telephone was legally a telegraph instrument, and that persons undertaking telephone exchange

business were infringing the Postmaster-General's monopoly. In view of this advice they were of course compelled to take action against the two companies,—the *Edison* and the *Bell*,—which had been formed to work the invention in this country, and which had hitherto failed to recognise the Postmaster-General's rights. The case was heard in 1880 by Mr. Justice Stephen, whose judgment fully upheld the opinion of the Law Officers. The companies threatened to carry the case to appeal, but thought better of it, and ultimately accepted a licence from the Postmaster-General, providing, *inter alia*, for the payment of a royalty of 10 per cent. on their gross receipts. Shortly afterwards the companies amalgamated, under the title of the United Telephone Company.

The first licences were limited to the Metropolitan district ; but subsidiary companies were formed for other districts, which also received licences from the Post Office,—the action of each being confined to its own locality. Meanwhile, in certain districts, more particularly in Northumberland and Durham and South Wales, the Post Office in more or less half-hearted fashion was establishing exchanges of its own, and very reasonably refused, at first, to grant licences for these districts. So little, however, was the confidence of the authorities in their ability to meet the public demands, or so great was their predilection for private enterprise, that the refusal was not maintained ; and the remarkable spectacle was shortly afterwards seen of the Postmaster-General granting licences to private companies for the express purpose of enabling them to compete with himself. Except in these districts there was no competition, as only one company was licensed for each district, although of course the Postmaster-General retained the right to license others if he chose.

Such, briefly, was the state of affairs when Mr. Fawcett adopted a change of policy in 1884. The companies had complained that the restriction of their operations to particular districts militated against their success. Mr. Fawcett admitted this ; and on the other hand he was dis-

satisfied with the practical monopoly which was growing up in each district for which a licence had been granted. He therefore inaugurated what he intended to be a fresh era of free and unrestricted competition, by announcing his readiness to give licences (terminable in 1911) for the whole kingdom to as many as chose to apply. In theory this policy had much to recommend it, especially to so enthusiastic an adherent of the Manchester School as Mr. Fawcett was. But in practice the result was the exact opposite of that which he desired. The existing local companies surrendered their restricted licences for general ones, and several new companies were licensed. But in some cases there was no intention of doing actual work,—the licences being applied for merely with a view to their being used as an asset ; and, even where this was not the case, the absorption of the smaller companies by the larger soon began. Among the older undertakings was a somewhat important one called the National Telephone Company, holding a licence for a district in the Midlands. This combined with the original Company,—the United,—and although, of course, the latter was by far the more important of the two, its directors, with a shrewdness they have often displayed, chose for the title of the combination the name of the smaller Company. In the case of the National Telephone Company there has undoubtedly been “much in a name.”

And now the telephone companies, having been authorised to work throughout the whole country, began to erect trunk, or inter-urban wires, to connect their local systems, with the consequence that the telegraph revenue began to suffer seriously. It was this fact which led to the next change of policy, dating from a Treasury Minute of 1892. The heads of an arrangement were agreed on between the Post Office and the companies, now practically reduced to two, by which the latter agreed to sell their trunk wires to the State, their operations being again confined to local areas,—this time of much less extent than originally. The wires were to be sold at cost price, plus 10 per cent., but in addition the Post Office undertook to give certain valuable

facilities to the companies, chiefly the use of the general telegraph system in connexion with the exchange system, and way-leave for the companies' wires (in return for a nominal payment) on those railways on which the Postmaster-General had acquired the exclusive right of erecting telegraph wires for public use. The heads of arrangement were signed in 1892, but the bargain was not completed until 1896,—the delay being caused by the length of time occupied in the valuation of the trunk wires and the delimitation of the local areas. In the meantime the National Telephone Company had absorbed all its rivals.

The agreement of 1896 has been very severely criticised; but the general policy which it embodied was probably the wisest that could have been adopted at the time, short of the purchase of the whole undertaking. The National Telephone Company had now become a practical monopoly. It was empowered to work everywhere, and its charges and service were entirely uncontrolled. It was daily extending its borders. It was seriously threatening the public telegraph system; and thanks to its possession of the long distance wires any merely local competition was impracticable. The Post Office, it is true, might have entered into competition with the Company with every chance of success; but this would have led to the duplication of the very expensive long lines,—a step for which public opinion did not press. It was probably the original intention that the exchange areas to be worked by the Company should as a rule be coterminous with each town; but as a matter of fact the areas ultimately agreed to were mostly of considerable extent, many comprising several towns. The London area, the largest of all, comprised over six hundred square miles. The size of the areas, and the so-called "terminal" fees which the Company reserved the right of charging in the case of trunk conversations between its subscribers and subscribers to other systems, were the two most serious objections to the provisions of the agreement.

The length of wire acquired by the Post Office under this agreement was about 29,000 miles, and the cash price paid

was nearly half a million. But the trunk system was a very inadequate one ; and as soon as the change of policy was agreed on in 1892 the Post Office began to lay the basis of a more complete system, commencing with a skeleton of backbone lines running from London to the chief English and Scotch provincial centres, and even embracing Dublin, Belfast, and Cork. The system has since been vastly extended, until, according to the Post-master-General's last Report, it now comprises some 70,000 miles of wire (representing 35,000 miles of circuit, since each circuit is composed of two wires), and is probably the most efficient in the world.

Relieved of its trunk wires, which the Post Office was rapidly extending and improving, the Company was now free to devote exclusive attention to its local system. The number of subscribers increased by leaps and bounds ; the profits grew, and the price of the shares went up correspondingly,—the £5 shares being quoted at over £8. Never had the Company appeared to be so strong. In reality, however, the loss of its trunk system had weakened its position to an extent which neither Company nor Post Office had anticipated ; for the way had now been opened for competition in the local areas. True, the Post Office showed no inclination to grant fresh licences. It seemed to assume that the Company was the only possible telephone exchange authority, and must remain so until it quietly gave way to the State in 1911 ; and competition languished even in those districts where Post Office exchanges had been opened. But some of the municipalities, Glasgow leading, entertained very different ideas. Glasgow had applied for a licence in 1893, and, though repulsed, returned to the charge again and again, bringing to bear that Parliamentary influence which the larger local authorities know so well how to manipulate. There were many complaints, also, concerning the charges and service of the Company, which,—lulled to indifference by the attitude of the Post Office and the apparent improbability of competition,—was more or less indifferent to criticism, and disposed to treat the

press and the public somewhat cavalierly. The agitation grew, until in 1898, after only two years of the new regime, it became impossible for the Government any longer to ignore it. Mr. Hanbury, the representative of the Postmaster-General in the House of Commons, made a speech foreshadowing active competition by the Post Office, and the possible grant of licences to local authorities, and ended by promising a Select Committee to consider the whole question. The Committee was duly appointed, and proved to be a fairly strong and representative one. It met in the summer of 1898, and after hearing many witnesses, representing the Post Office, the Company, and the municipalities, reported emphatically in favour of immediate, general, and effective competition by the Post Office, or, failing the Post Office, by local authorities. It declared that the Company, although enjoying a practical monopoly at the time, was not entitled either in law or in equity to be shielded from competition; and it asserted that competition was eminently desirable for three reasons: first, because the Company, while catering for the wealthier commercial and professional classes, had not brought telephony within reach of the general community, and was unlikely to do so; secondly, because its service, being dependent to a large extent on way-leaves voluntarily granted by local authorities or private persons, and terminable at short notice, was a precarious and uncertain one; and, thirdly, because, in the absence of an alternative system, the Government, no less than the whole body of telephone users, would be placed in an awkward position on the termination of the Company's licence in 1911. The Report of the Select Committee was followed by a Treasury Minute, in which the Government practically adopted its recommendations *en bloc*; and this again was followed in 1899 by a Bill to give legislative effect to the new policy,—the main objects being to create a capital of £2,000,000 for Post Office competition, and to enable local authorities to raise the necessary funds for competition on their own account. The attention of the Post Office was to be chiefly devoted to London.

By this time the price of the Company's shares had gone down with a rush, and the Company had become nervous as to the future. Its managers have always appreciated the value of Parliamentary representation ; and at this juncture there were on its Board, besides other members of Parliament, two ex-Cabinet Ministers, Sir Henry Fowler, and Sir James Fergusson, who as Postmaster-General in 1892 had been responsible for the " Heads of Arrangement " preceding the purchase of the trunk wires. These gentlemen now had conferences with Mr. Balfour and Mr. Hanbury, and in the result the Bill was modified in one or two important respects. Subject to certain conditions, the Government agreed, first, that where the Company had provided expensive underground systems on the strength of agreements with local authorities for the use of the streets, these agreements must remain undisturbed for the period covered by any licence which might be granted to the local authorities concerned ; and, secondly, that in any case in which a competitive licence might be granted for a period extending beyond 1911, the Company's licence should be similarly extended. The Company, on their part, agreed that where their licence was extended for eight years or more, they would allow intercommunication between their local system and the system of the new licensee. In this form the Bill was passed.

By this legislation the Government ran counter to a strong body of expert, and even of official, opinion, which held that competition in telephony was an almost unmitigated evil. Competition, it was said, might answer in the case of gas, water, or electric light undertakings, where each consumer required only his own supply, and cared not whether any other person patronised the system or not. But it was the essence of a telephone exchange system that each subscriber should be able to communicate with all other subscribers ; and in the event of competition, therefore,—unless, of course, there were intercommunication between the competing systems,—it would be necessary for the public either to forgo the full advantages of a telephone

exchange, or to subscribe to both systems. The Government, probably, were right in ignoring this view. No one would regard competition in telephony as an ideal arrangement, or even as one which could be contemplated with equanimity if likely to last for any considerable time. But the experts and officials overlooked the fact that competition, if not desirable as a permanency, may be necessary temporarily, in order to admit of an unsatisfactory system being replaced by an efficient one, or to bring to reason what might otherwise become an overbearing monopoly.

Some, who had no strong feeling against competition in the abstract, objected strongly to municipalities being encouraged to undertake the task. They thought that the municipalities were being used to pull the Government chestnuts out of the fire, and deprecated the rates being risked in any such scheme ; more especially as telephony, so they held, could never benefit more than a small class of ratepayers. No doubt this view is entitled to consideration ; but telephony is by no means the risky business it is sometimes thought to be, nor is it likely in the future to appeal to so small a *clientèle* as in the past. To suppose that a new telephone system can be rendered obsolete and worthless in a few years by the progress of invention,—*e.g.* wireless telephony,—as some have suggested, is absurd. Given a licence for a reasonable period, with the certainty of being able to sell their undertaking as a going concern at the end of that period ; given, also, protection against undue cutting of prices on the part of their competitors—both of which essentials were covered by the Government scheme—the municipalities, with careful management, were perfectly safe, especially those which, like Glasgow, had not already granted the National Telephone Company the use of their streets for underground wires.

Since 1899 licences have been granted to several local authorities, including Glasgow, Belfast, Hull, Portsmouth, Brighton, Swansea, and Tunbridge Wells, and negotiations are in progress with a view to the issue of several others ; but it is too soon to estimate the ultimate issue of the

scheme. Glasgow is the only place at which a municipal system is at present in full operation. Such a system was opened at Tunbridge Wells in 1900, but was recently sold, with the Postmaster-General's consent, to the National Telephone Company, under circumstances which are no doubt fresh in everyone's memory. It will be sufficient to say here that the Corporation, who seem to have mismanaged their undertaking rather badly, had every reason to be satisfied with their bargain, which not only provided for the return of their expenditure in full, but also secured to the inhabitants of the town a large and efficient telephone system at three fourths of the cost of the small and comparatively inefficient system of pre-competitive days. Moreover, the conditions attached to the Postmaster-General's consent were such as to retain for the public all the advantages which competition was designed to afford, including the right to purchase all suitable plant in the Tunbridge Wells area in 1911 at its then value as material *in situ*, without any allowance for profits (*i.e.* on so-called "tramway terms"). At some of the other towns mentioned, municipal systems are in course of construction; but the other local authorities which have considered the question seem disposed, for the most part, to await the experience of the pioneers before taking any financial risk. In the meantime, the Post Office has opened an exchange system in London, and has made a fresh agreement with the Company which has excited much criticism.

The Act of 1899, as we have seen, provided for intercommunication under certain conditions between the Telephone Company's subscribers and municipal subscribers in the same local area, but it contained no provision for such intercommunication between subscribers of the Post Office and of the Company. The Company, it is stated, has some 25,000 subscribers in the London area, and it would no doubt have been a difficult thing for the Post Office to build up a new system without the right of communication with these. The only way in which it could have been done, indeed, would have been to grant a free service to

Post Office subscribers until a sufficient number had been obtained to make the service effective. Instead of adopting this course, the Government chose to arrange with the Company for free intercommunication between the two systems. The *quid pro quo* which the Company received was a valuable one, *viz.* the provision of underground wires by the Post Office for the use of the Company at practically cost price (a concession the more valuable as the London County Council have always refused underground way-leaves to the Company), and an undertaking on the part of the Government to buy so much of the Company's plant as may be useful for Post Office purposes in 1911 on "tramway terms." Meanwhile, the Post Office and the Company agree to charge the same rates in the London area for the next three years at least. It is safe to remark that this agreement does not deserve all the hard things which have been said of it in Parliament and in the press ; but it is equally clear, on the other hand, that it is a reversion from the new policy of competition to the old plan of co-operation. The co-operation under existing conditions, however, is much safer for the State than it could have been before. The Company, so far as London is concerned, has been brought under effectual control.

This long *résumé* has been necessary in order that we may the better understand the present position. The position is briefly this. Throughout the country the local exchange system is still mainly in the hands of the National Telephone Company. The number of its subscribers is probably about 180,000. Its charges vary from £17 a year for an unlimited service in the London area to £10 and £8 a year for a similar service in the larger and the smaller provincial towns respectively ; and from £5, plus 1*d.* or 2*d.* per call, for a message-rate service in London, to £3 10*s.*, plus 1*d.* per call, for a similar service in the provinces. In addition, the Company offers a "party-line" service—*i.e.* a service given by means of a line shared in common by two or more subscribers—at a minimum charge of £3 a year (covering two calls a day in the provinces, but none in

London), with further charges for calls as on the message-rate basis. The party-line service is fairly popular in the United States, but it is generally regarded here as being "cheap and nasty," and the competitors of the Telephone Company are for the most part avoiding it.

The Post Office has now probably some 9,000 subscribers, a number which is rapidly increasing, especially in London. The charges in London are the same as those of the Telephone Company. In the provinces the unlimited service rate is £7 10s. for premises within half a mile of the exchange, and the message-rate £3, plus 1d. per call. The Glasgow Corporation has some 8,000 subscribers. Its unlimited service rate is £5 5s., and its message-rate service £3 10s., plus 1d. per call. In the whole of the United Kingdom, therefore, there are, roughly speaking, 200,000 subscribers. In proportion to the population this number is much less than in Switzerland, Sweden, and Norway, and it is absurdly small as compared with the United States, where they number their subscribers by millions—a result which has been achieved mainly through competition during the last four or five years. The proportion is about the same as in Germany, and is greater than in France, Austria, or Italy. Both in Berlin and Paris, however, the number of subscribers as compared with the population is much greater than in London. As regards the rates of subscription, the National Telephone Company's charges are higher for the most part than those in vogue on the Continent; lower than those charged by the original Bell Company and its subsidiary companies in the United States; but higher than those of the so-called "Independent" Companies which are in competition with the Bell. The Post Office charges, which, as we have seen, are lower than the Company's, compare favourably with those of any telephone administration except the Swiss and the Scandinavian; while the municipal charges, estimated by the service given, compare not unfavourably even with these. The case of London is quite exceptional. The area is the largest local telephone area in the world; and when it has been thoroughly served the facilities covered by the

higher charge (£17 a year) will not be dear at the price. It is difficult to estimate the average amount which message-rate subscribers—who constitute the great majority of the new subscribers—may have to pay, but it will probably be much less than has been generally supposed. Indeed, the average payment, taking message-rate and unlimited service subscribers together, may even be below the ideal of Metropolitan telephone reformers—£9 or £10 per subscriber.

The municipal licences which have already been granted run for various periods, one or two terminating in 1911, and others extending for a term of twenty-five years. The Glasgow licence terminates in 1913. It is possible, of course, that these licences may be renewed. It is also possible that the Telephone Company's licence, which terminates in 1911, except in those areas where longer licences have been granted to competing authorities, may likewise be renewed; but it is extremely improbable that public opinion would sanction such a course, even if the Government wish to adopt it. This brings us, then, to the question of future developments.

In London and in other competitive areas the question of the future is practically solved. The Post Office is building up a complete system, or will have such a system at its disposal when the municipal licences expire; for each municipal licence provides for the purchase of suitable plant by the Post Office on "tramway terms" at the termination of the licence, and as all plant is constructed in accordance with the Postmaster-General's specification, no question as to "suitability" should arise. But what as to non-competitive areas, which still form, and are likely to form, the vast majority?

Two courses are open: the construction by the Post Office of an entirely new system, or the purchase of the existing system. The former alternative would obviously involve great waste, if not of public money, then of the money of those members of the public who are shareholders in the Telephone Company, for it would mean the construction of a system which—while doubtless better and

more complete than the present system—would duplicate it in its essential features. The cost of a new system will obviously, however, be the criterion of the price which the State should pay for the old. The inferiority of the old to the new will indicate an amount to be deducted ; while something might be added in respect of the profits which the Post Office would be able to earn if it took over the present system as a going concern, but which would be wanting during the process of construction if it were to build up a new one. The estimates for municipal exchanges have recently worked out at about £20 per subscriber, but this is undoubtedly too low. The cost of serving London was estimated by Mr. Hanbury, on behalf of the Post Office, at about £40 per subscriber ; but the cost in London must necessarily be far greater than elsewhere. If we take £28 per subscriber as a reasonable average, and the number of subscribers throughout the country as 180,000, we get, as the cost of replacing the whole of the existing system by a new one, about £5,000,000. The deductions and additions to be made would depend on considerations which it is obviously impossible to discuss here. The Company's land and buildings are probably worth nearly £500,000 more.

The Company's licence provides for purchase in 1904 on terms to be determined, if necessary, by arbitration ; but curiously enough it does not provide for purchase on the expiration of the licence in 1911. It would be the height of folly on the part of the Post Office simply to await the latter date with a policy of *laissez faire*. The Company, it is true, would be unable to work their system in 1911, but the business exigencies of the country could not afford the cessation of the service for a single day ; and failing an extension of the licence the Post Office would be compelled to buy the plant on the Company's own terms. Whatever is done, therefore, must be done in good time, and the present is none too soon to determine on a course of action. An early decision is the more necessary as the Company appears to find a difficulty in raising capital for the extension

of its system, and has threatened to cease the opening of new exchanges, and even the provision of new subscribers' lines.

If notice to purchase the Company's system in 1904 were given by the Post Office, and if, failing mutual agreement, the case were taken to arbitration, we may safely conclude that the arbitrator would arrive at the purchase price in some such way as that now suggested. But probably the matter would never come to arbitration. The Company's Board is not likely to be unreasonable; and a price based on recent Stock Exchange quotations would probably not exceed by more than 30 per cent. the price arrived at on the basis of the cost of replacement. In round numbers the amount would work out thus :

Preferred Stock, £1,800,000, at par...	£1,800,000
Deferred Stock, £2,000,000, at 60 ...	1,200,000
Preference Shares, at par	1,550,000
Debenture Stock, say	2,600,000
	<hr/>
	<u>£7,150,000</u>

A portion of the nominal capital (say one fourth) represents "water," *i.e.* the amount expended, beyond the actual value of plant, in buying up other companies so as to stop competition. But, on the other hand, the Company has for some years been putting into its business an annual reserve of £100,000 or more, and this must now have almost absorbed the "water," although it cannot have gone far towards replacing the capital legitimately expended in plant now obsolete. A price based on the nominal capital of the Company would therefore be much fairer to the community than it would have been some years ago, but it would still be much too high.

In 1898 an agitation was begun by certain prominent stockbrokers and others for the purchase of the undertaking by the State on the basis of the average price of the Company's shares during the preceding three years—a price,

excluding the debentures and preferred shares, nearly double that which has ruled since 1898. The higher price was entirely fictitious, being due to the general ignorance of the Company's true position, and especially of its liability to competition. If the recommendations of the Select Committee of that year, and the subsequent legislation, have merely substituted a real for a fictitious value, the new policy cannot be said to have been a failure. It may not perhaps result in the creation of that complete competitive system which some had hoped to see, but it has probably rendered possible the purchase of the existing system at a not unreasonable price, and has thus paved the way for the establishment in the near future of a cheap and efficient service in the hands of the State and the larger municipalities.

F. JAMES.

A CURIOUS STORY OF PAPAL FALLIBILITY.

1. Cambridge University Library : Manuscript li. 3 10.
2. *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*. (Published by the French Government. Edited DENIFLE and CHATELAIN.) Vol. II. (Paris, 1889, still in progress.)
3. *Continuatio Guill. de Nangis*. ED. GÉRAUD. Vol. II.
4. *Archiv für Literatur-u-Kirchengesch.* DENIFLE. Vol. VI.¹

IN the course of hunting out certain references in the University Library at Cambridge, I happened to come across a manuscript of peculiar interest. The manuscript is unique ; there is not another record in all the world of the larger part of the subject matter it contains. The sole manuscript of any book is always interesting ; more so a manuscript which, as in the case in question, has never been printed. Curious reflections arise in the reader's mind. Even the most unimaginative cannot but realise the strange play of the forces of time ; the waves which cast up the flotsam and jetsam of our libraries, for ever destroying some, treasures perhaps of the highest value, the records of some

¹ Owing to their highly technical character I have suppressed all references. The main sources will be found in the researches of Denifle.

The only account that I have met with in English of the story that follows is by the erudite American, H. C. Lea, *History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, iii. 590-595. But Lea did not know of the Cambridge MS., and wrote before Denifle. It is little to the credit of English theological scholarship that the MS. at Cambridge should still be unprinted. In Germany it would have formed a thesis for a doctorate.

mute inglorious Milton, stranding others high and dry, oftentimes mere shells from which the life has fled, upon the shelves of our libraries. What a narrow margin in a case like this between "to be and not to be." That sole thread of life upon which the thing before us depends, how slender at the best. A fire, a thief, a moment of carelessness and the thing has passed for ever out of existence,

And no one asks
Who or what they have been
More than he asks what waves
In the moonlit solitudes mild
Of the midmost ocean, have swell'd,
Foam'd for a moment, and gone.

But to return to our manuscript. It is not only, for the most part, the only copy in the world, never printed: its contents are of equal interest, especially for the theologian. For the manuscript contains sermons and other documents connected with the practical condemnation of a Pope for heresy; so forms altogether a most curious incident in the evolution of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. We are not surprised at its uniqueness; we are rather surprised that the kindly fates have allowed its preservation. For the subject matter is very awkward indeed, and in fact at one time made no small stir in the Church. Its timely destruction would have saved the Ultramontanes from controversy and difficulties. So, under this idea, some thoughtful vandal in the seventeenth or eighteenth century destroyed the manuscript sister to the one in Cambridge which at one time existed in the great Paris Library. Even the Vatican, the treasures of which have been made public by the enlightened policy of the present Pope, according to the statement of that most astoundingly learned of all mediæval scholars, its librarian Denifle,¹ seems to possess only a few

¹ The student who compares Denifle's superb and erudite quartos with Anstey's slipshod *Munimenta Academica* (for Oxford, Rolls Series, 1868) will be somewhat ashamed at the contrast.

scraps, not in Cambridge, of certain of the heretical sermons in question together with an extensive collection of controversial pamphlets thereon.

The matter of the Cambridge Manuscript is technically known as the Heresy of Pope John XXII. as regards the Retardation of the Beatific Vision. Before we explain this heresy, if it be a heresy, let us glance for a moment at the actors in the struggle.

Of the character of John XXII. and his disastrous Papacy (1316-34) we have written at length elsewhere.¹ The tales that were afloat as to the manner of John's election are true to this extent, that they mark the current estimate of his character. According to the common scandal, the cardinals, in the weariness of the deadlock caused by the death of his predecessor, had agreed to elect as Pope the name to be submitted by the Cardinal of Porto. The astute Cahorsine nominated himself. By another version, which we can still read in the Annals of a far-away Yorkshire abbey, John was only elected after promising the Italians that he would neither mount horse nor mule until he should set out on his return to Rome. He kept his vow by hiring a boat and dropping down the Rhone to Avignon.

The son of a shoemaker of Cahors James D'Ueza was a worthy native of a city so famed through the Middle Ages for its usurers that Dante specially singles them out for punishment in his lowest Hell.² At John's death a banker, the brother of Villani, the historian of Florence, was ordered to take the inventory of his hoard. It amounted to eighteen millions of gold florins³ in specie, and seven millions in plate and jewels. 'The good man,' satirically adds Villani, 'had forgotten the saying, "Lay not up for yourselves

¹ *Dawn of the Reformation*, Vol. I., cc. 1 and 2.

² *Inferno*, xi. 46-50.

³ The gold florin at this time was worth six shillings; the silver florin three shillings and four pence. The sum seems to me incredible, and I suspect error. In 1291 the total revenue of the English Church was not a quarter of a million pounds a year.

treasures upon earth " ; but perhaps he intended this wealth for the recovery of the Holy Land.'

Though an old man when he ascended the throne—he was born in 1243—John's energy was as remarkable as his rapacity. Seventy thousand documents in the Papal archives bear witness to his world-wide labours. Few subjects escaped his notice—from the habit of the French king of talking in church, the misrule of Edward II. of England, the devices of sorcerers, old women practising medicine in the suburbs of Paris, to the weightier matters of theology and law. His vast legal learning was only equalled by his avarice ; his passionateness by his piety. His ambition filled the world with war ; his theological tenets, as we shall see in the course of this article, convulsed the Church with strife. By his immoderation and dogmas he did more than any other pope except Boniface VIII. to overthrow the dreams of Hildebrand.

The other actor in the contest was that most powerful of all the institutions of the Middle Ages, the University of Paris, then at the very height of its power. At the opening of the fourteenth century the University of Paris, whose only rival was Oxford, was looked upon as a sort of standing committee of the Church. Her Theological Faculty claimed in practice, if not in words, to be a higher authority in matters of faith than bishops or cardinals. They received their orders from neither Pope nor Curia ; the Vatican decrees had yet to be invented. With the Pope as the business manager, so to speak, of the Church the University had no quarrel, at any rate so long as he abode at Avignon. But if the Vicar of God should venture into the field of theology, and attempt to settle matters there on his own account contrary to the views of Paris, then let him look out for serious trouble. Paris was as jealous of its theological monopoly as a Transatlantic Cable Company of Signor Marconi. More than once open conflict seemed imminent between the Pope of the day and the great University over some knotty question, the Immaculate Conception and the like. Difficulties were only avoided by

the Popes pursuing a policy of irresponsibility for decision that would have done credit to our War Office itself.

On November 1, 1331, the smouldering embers of controversy were unexpectedly fanned into flame. The day was the Feast of All Saints, and the Pope at Avignon had found time to prepare a sermon for the occasion. John dealt with the knotty point : Do the spirits of just men pass at once into Heaven, or is there for them any Intermediate State of waiting ? The reader will notice that the question is not altogether without present-day interest. We ourselves have heard preachers more than once argue upon this theme, some in favour of an Intermediate State, others laying down dogmatically

The Saints who die of Christ possessed
Enter into immediate rest,

and identifying that rest with the final Heaven. Which of the two views is correct we are not now called upon to decide. We are inclined to believe that among the people at large the prevailing idea is that of an immediate Heaven : the difficulties as regards the Resurrection and the Judgment Day into which this view may lead the theologian are quietly ignored. In our opinion the idea owes no small part of its strength to the great influence of the closing pages of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. As we watch Mr. Valiant-for-Truth, Mr. Standfast and Christian himself cross the river and sweep through the gates into the City, as we hear all the trumpets sound for them on the other side, and catch a glimpse through the open doors of the glories of the saints, we too with Bunyan wish ourselves among them, and the thought of an Intermediate State seems a desecration. Popular Theology is more the product of fiction and songs than students are at times inclined to admit. One thing should be noticed. The idea of the man in the street is supposed to be a protest against Roman doctrine. As a matter of fact, extremes meet : Rome and the popular idea are almost one, the chief difference—the question of Purgatory apart—is a difference beyond the ken of man to

settle—who are the Blessed who thus enter at once into the immediate rest of the complete Heaven.

But to return to the Pope and his sermon.¹ John had determined to improve the occasion. He would give the cardinals a sample of his theological skill. So he laid down clearly the doctrine of an Intermediate State. The saints who have no need of the purging fires of Purgatory must await like ordinary mortals for the Beatific Vision until after the Resurrection and the Judgment ; for if otherwise, as the Pope shows, the Resurrection by adding nothing would condemn itself as superfluous : ‘The soul separated from the body has not that Vision of God, nor can it have before the Resurrection.’

The Pope was little prepared for the outburst that followed. On December 15 he found it advisable to preach a second sermon to explain the first—not the first nor last time in the history of the Church that this has been done. In this sermon, while sticking to his position, John feels so uncertain of his own infallibility that he concludes with the remarkable words : ‘I say with Augustine that if I err let him who knows better correct me. I cannot hold otherwise unless the determination of the Church or the authority of Sacred Scriptures be shown to be contrary’ ; exactly the position taken up at a later date by Hus and Luther, with different results. In a third sermon preached on January 5, 1332, ‘in the presence of cardinals, prelates and doctors,’ the Pope, fully aroused now to his need of the defensive, showed that his opinions were not new. He referred especially to his contention that if the Blessed do not enter at once into Heaven neither do the wicked enter into Hell until after the Day of Judgment. In a fourth sermon (February 2, 1332), John wandered away from his text and theme, and succeeded in dragging in by the neck

¹ It is interesting to note that the Pope took a text. This familiar custom had only recently (about 1203) been introduced, and was looked on by conservatives as an innovation to which St. Augustine would never have descended. Preachers who stuck to the older fashion of Exposition were called *Postillators*.

his favourite topic. He acknowledged that there were many murmurs against his opinions. 'But,' he added, in words which remind us again—with a difference—of the famous words of Luther, 'I can do no otherwise.'

The hullabaloo roused by the sermons of the Pope can hardly be understood by a generation whose impatience with theology is seen in the ease with which it sacrifices even more momentous questions for the sake of peace. John, carried away by zeal for his new opinions, scarcely saw their far-reaching consequences. He did not realise that he had swept away at one stroke the foundations of mediæval worship. If the Saints are not already in Heaven, what becomes of our prayers for their help to the thousand and one names in our Calendar? Are we to understand that St. Thomas of Canterbury, or St. James of Compostella, to say nothing of lesser lights in the firmament, are at present with the other souls "groaning under the altar," with little clearer vision of the future than ourselves? If that be so, perhaps even the Blessed Mother herself—for no Pope has yet ratified the great dogma of our Paris University, the Immaculate Conception—may be "under the altar," without the Beatific Vision? Such a thought is blasphemy—if the foundations be thus removed by the Pope himself, what shall the righteous do?

When the news of these sermons and the subsequent disputes at Avignon was brought to Paris, a riot at once broke out among the people. For John's theological subtleties the mob cared little; for the popular saints they cared a good deal. Religious life was inseparably bound up with their cult. The riot was suppressed; the more readily because a formidable champion had already entered the lists against the Pope. The University could not tamely allow John to settle opinions so contrary to their cherished belief. For half a century the theologians of Paris had been struggling to obtain the ratification of their favourite doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Though they had not yet succeeded, they could not see its possible basis overthrown. Feeling ran high, and was brought to a head in the autumn

of 1332 by an English Dominican called Thomas Walleys Walsh, or Welsh. In a sermon still preserved at Cambridge, as also in a tract now lost but the substance of which Walsh incorporated in a later work, the Dominican attacked in unmeasured language the Pope's theology, praying that the curse of the Trinity might alight on all who should consent to the Pope's errors. The Franciscan Inquisitor, who had, it would appear, scores of his own to settle with Walsh, promptly cast him into prison (January 9, 1333). But in Paris there was danger of release, so Walsh was brought without delay to Avignon. When the horse was stolen, Paris woke up to the discovery. Philip did his best to repair the mischief by writing to the Pope to complain of the arrest. John replied¹ that the suggestion that Walsh had been arrested for preaching against himself was a wicked lie, for others who had preached against him were still at large. On further complaints from Philip, John wrote again. Walsh, he said, was not confined in 'a dreadful cell at all, but in a beautiful apartment (*honesta camera*) such as Walsh would have been very glad to have had in his own friary.' The last clause was a subtle sarcasm. No friar was entitled to a room to himself except the Tutor (*lector*) in Theology. Walsh's own views of the 'beautiful chamber' differed, however, from the Pope's.

'I firmly believe,' he wrote, 'that if I had been at the court of the king of Tartary, or of the Soldan, I should not have met with greater injustice than I have found at the court of the Inquisition.'

He complained bitterly of the lack of books, and of

'the scanty opportunities of writing because of my jailer coming suddenly and frequently into my rooms, so that I was in continual dread of being caught.'

On receiving further complaints from Philip, John wrote² 'that he had released Walsh from the Inquisition and transferred him to our Palace.' Palace is a large word, and the

¹ February 28, 1333.

² November 18, 1333.

Pope's Palace at Avignon, as every tourist knows, was a large place. In this case 'palace' meant the cell recently tenanted by the antipope Nicholas of Corbara. The story of this wretched man, a minion of Lewis of Bavaria, does not concern us. Wits at Avignon were still laughing over the good tale how after his election as antipope at Rome his wife, who had abandoned him years before, now came forward and claimed him as her husband. The complications that might have followed were cut short by his submission to John, and imprisonment at Avignon. Several receipts still exist for moneys paid to the jailer for the expenses of his keep. Judging from the large sum—at the rate of about three gold florins a week—the luxury of keeping a prisoner must have been beyond the pockets of all save millionaires. It would be interesting to know how much of this sum reached the prisoner himself—but on that matter the receipts are silent. On the antipope's death (October 16, 1333) Walsh had been transferred (October 22) to his vacant cell. As Philip still continued his efforts on Walsh's behalf, John replied¹ once more that he had handed over his case to two inquisitors 'that Walsh might have a speedier release'; in fact, Walsh, as the Cambridge MS. shows, had appeared before them in the previous week. This last phrase, so characteristic of the Inquisition, must have given John huge delight as he penned it. How 'speedy' was the release may be gathered from the fact that long after John was dead and the dispute settled against the Pope, Walsh was still living in the dungeons of Avignon, 'broken down with old age,' as he himself describes his condition, and with only one friend in the world, a certain Lambert of Poulshot. In his earlier days, while still in the prison of the Inquisition,—that 'beautiful chamber,'—Walsh had occupied his time in writing *Answers* to John, as well as a larger work entitled *De Instantibus et Momentis*. By a freak of fortune these relics of the English friar have drifted to Cambridge, and may still be read there by the curious.

¹ March 30, 1334.

The imprisonment of Walsh, a typical instance of Inquisition methods, did not end the matter. The University was bubbling over with excitement. Condemnation of the Pope's heresy was heard on every hand. In the French court also the matter was eagerly canvassed. Philip of Valois, ever anxious to assert the supremacy of the Crown, saw an opportunity by the help of the University of striking a blow at the Papacy similar to the famous blow that Philip the Fair had struck at Boniface VIII. John woke up to the dangers into which his oratory had led him. He gave orders for the sermons themselves, and a little volume he had written on the subject, to be translated into French and carefully explained to Queen Joanna 'who perhaps may not know Latin.' If the translator met with any difficulties in the explanation, he was to let the Pope know. At the same time John obtained a decision from eighteen theologians representing the different orders. Among the eighteen we detect the names of no less than five Englishmen. Their interest in the matter was probably an anxiety to strike a blow at their rival Paris and at the French king. Of these we may note John Luttrell, late chancellor of Oxford, (a letter from him on the subject of the Vision is bound up in the Cambridge MS.,) and the friar Walter Chattun—the spellings of his name are legion—whom Clement VI. at a later date appointed Bishop of St. Asaph, 'though completely ignorant of the tongue of that country.' On arriving at St. Asaph, Chattun found that his supposed predecessor was not dead at all, but very much alive—an interesting commentary on the state of Welsh communications. The eighteen theologians with many dissensions and reserves condemned sixteen out of nineteen propositions extracted from the writings of Walsh. John in delight sent off the same day their decisions to the Queen (September 15, 1333). Joanna, we will hope, had now learned Latin sufficient to read them.

The astute Pope also bethought him of another device. He dispatched Gerard Odo, the Franciscan General, to England ostensibly with the object of making peace with

the Scots. The good man was, however, instructed—verbally of course, for as a matter of fact we shall find a denial convenient later—that as his way lay through Paris no serious objection could be taken if he found it advisable to preach there a few sermons, in the course of which he might accidentally defend the opinions of John. So on September 16, 1333, Odo set off from Avignon with an escort of ten horsemen and a liberal allowance of seven gold florins a day for expenses. On arriving at Paris, Odo discovered something of which the child in these matters at Avignon had of course no conception when he dispatched him: 'The king of Scots was not in Scotland, nor had he any representatives with whom he could treat.'¹ So for lack of something better to do Odo began to preach 'in the presence of an almost infinite number of scholars,' and of course defended the views of his master. At the conclusion 'a great commotion was heard among the students,' in the which they were joined, as John complained, 'by some of the court who don't know how to live quietly with their superiors.' Philip seized the opportunity the sermon and riot afforded. He boasted openly that the question was his, and that it should be preached throughout the realm and the Pope's doctrine condemned as heretical.² So on December 19 Philip summoned twenty-nine Doctors of Theology of Paris to Vincennes. Needless to say not one Englishman was among them. With many honeyed words about 'seeking in this matter as in all else the honour of John,' the king brought the matter before them for decision. The Faculty—at the head of which we note with interest the famous Biblical commentator Nicholas de Lyra—was placed in a dilemma. On the one hand Philip, whom they flatteringly described as 'the beloved founder and guardian of our University,' was

¹ John refers to the great English victory of Halidon Hill (July 19, 1333) which led to David II. being sent for safety to France.

² The student will note that I reject (a) the account of a trial of Odo on December 18 before the doctors, *Contin. Nangis*, ii. 136; (b) Philip's famous threat to burn John. The first seems to me doubtful, the second ridiculous.

pressing for the Pope's condemnation ; their own feelings led in the same direction. On the other hand they were too astute not to be aware of the consequence of the step they were taking. But for the present they had no option but to gratify the king and his Council by a verbal condemnation of the Pope's heresies. 'The souls,' they said, 'which have no need of purgatory, or which have already finished their purgation, pass at once to the vision, naked, clear, beatific, immediate, and intuitive, of the Blessed Trinity, a vision which the Apostle calls Face to Face.' This they held was a necessary consequence of the Descent of Christ into Hades and His Harrowing of Hell, that favourite mediæval idea whereby men expressed to themselves the larger hope.

If the Faculty lay under the impression that their verbal condemnation of John committed them to nothing, they were reckoning without their host. On December 27 Philip ordered them 'to meet at Paris and reduce to writing the things they had said in his presence.' With much reluctance and a week's delay this was done. But the theologians guarded themselves by a little hedging on their own account. They dispatched the same day a letter to John full of professions of loyalty and willingness to obey his decisions when not 'mere opinions or hearsay.' With naïve simplicity they besought the Pope, 'who had argued most beautifully and subtilely on the other side,' to end the matter by a decision in their favour (January 2, 1334).

Philip lost no time in dispatching their opinion to Avignon. Doctors of Paris, he added, ought to know better what should be believed than clerks at Avignon, who knew little or no Theology. This last was the unkindest cut of all, in reality the repetition of a sneer against which John had already protested. For the Pope, a doctor of both laws, had never taken his degree in Theology ; and as is usual in such cases was very sensitive to remarks on the subject. 'Perhaps,' he replied to Philip, 'it has been told you that we are not a Master in Theology. Listen to the advice of the sage : mark not who says a thing but what he says,'—

very good advice no doubt, but somewhat curious on the lips of a successor of Hildebrand. 'You will find,' added John 'that we have not advanced one sentence out of our own head, but only what Christ or His apostles or the Holy doctors of the Church have advanced' (November 18, 1333).

On receiving Philip's letter with the formal condemnation enclosed, John once more wrote in the same humble strain.¹ He tells the story of Gerard's mission, and the astonishment that he had experienced to discover that he was preaching. He had not pronounced in favour of one side or another, but certainly he could not officially condemn a doctrine to which he leaned. As for the king's complaint that such sermons are not suitable for the people, the Pope replied that he granted this 'in the case of rude and unintelligent laity.' But the king should remember that his argument somewhat reflected on the Apostles who had discussed the matter in their writings. 'Moreover we did not preach this sermon to the people but to prelates and doctors and other men of culture who have been accustomed to be present at our sermons.' Popes, it would appear, are not above the foible that besets common clay of noting the quality of their congregation, though none but the credulous would ever have suspected John of 'preaching to the people.'

John's humility did not, however, reverse the decision of the Paris doctors. He had already, it would appear, come to the conclusion that he had landed himself in an impossible position. Hearing of the king's intention to summon the Faculty to Vincennes, John too held a consistory at Avignon to discuss the nature 'of the Vision of the Divine Essence which the Apostle calls Facial or Perfect.'² All the cardinals except two and a great number of prelates and doctors were present. At the commencement of their deliberations they laid down 'that in such matters we must have recourse to the testimony of Holy Scripture.' 'No one here to-day,' said the Pope 'would give as much as I would for the

¹ March 10, 1334.

² December 28, 1333—January 2, 1334.

affirmative to be proved, for then I myself, my parents and friends, would come more quickly to the Beatific Vision'—John must have forgotten for the moment his vast money-bags and possible difficulties they might bring. 'But if,' continued the Pope, the Consistory should decide otherwise, 'we protest that if perchance in the sermons referred to some things be met with at all contrary to Scripture and the orthodox faith . . . we expressly revoke the same, for it is not our intention to stick to them or defend them either now or hereafter.'¹

After John's speech five days were spent in reading authorities for and against. Each member in turn was then forced under pain of excommunication to declare 'what seemed to him to be the truth according to the testimony of Scripture.' The result is not known, but would seem to have been neither unanimous nor satisfactory. A certain Dominican present, Friar Armandus by name, who had already compiled a defence of Walsh, (according to a letter of his still preserved together with his Defence (*Responsiones*) at Cambridge,) summed up decisively against the Pope, and called his theory 'a new and strange idea.' Later in the year a second attempt was made by John to settle the matter. At this consistory there happened to be present a certain Englishman Thomas Poncy, the newly elected abbot of St. Augustine's Canterbury, who had arrived in Avignon on April 22, 1334. According to his account 'he was not allowed to leave Avignon before he had freed his conscience in the matter.' He pleaded ignorance, but found it useless. 'From the abundance of the Pope's library books were brought out in large numbers,' to enable him to study the question. Finally he decided to cast in his lot with Walsh who was still in the dungeons below Poncy's quarters. So he gave his opinion that the Pope was wrong, and maintained the same in speech and writing. On August 10, 1334, Poncy slipped back to England and his comfortable quarters at Canterbury.

¹ This leads me to reject the statement (*Chartul.*, ii. 414) that on May 5, 1334, John preached again and repeated all his old theories.

Poncy's departure is the historian's loss. If only he had stayed on, we might have known the truth about the mysterious final scene in this curious story. The official version tells us that on December 2, 1334, John summoned a consistory to complete the degradation of the Empire. The chief business was the election of a successor to the contumacious Lewis the Bavarian. But that same evening John was seized with a fatal flux. His kinsmen, it is said, surrounded his bed and urged the Pope to save his soul by a complete if tardy retraction. The old man—he was over ninety—at last yielded. According to his successor Benedict XII., the value of whose evidence is discounted by his opposition to John's ideas—the Pope, realising the next day (December 3) that his end was near, summoned the cardinals 'together with some prelates and public notaries specially summoned on account of the event.' John then 'caused a letter to be read engrossed under his name,' many copies of which, spurious or genuine, are still preserved. In this letter John declared that if 'he had said anything whether in sermon, dogma or teaching or otherwise contrary to the determination of the Church, Sacred Scripture, and good customs we wish them to be regarded as if they were not said.' The letter goes on to affirm that John now 'confesses and believes that purified souls though separate from their bodies are already in Heaven and see God face to face.' Thus one of the most obstinate of Popes at last 'made confession, revocation and submission concerning the matters discussed in the letter.' A few hours later John lay dead (December 4, 1334).

Whether the letter be true or false, John's body was hardly cold before the Curia published to the world John's letter and the story of his deathbed repentance (December 5, 1334). From the first it was received with incredulity and contempt. The chroniclers of the day openly contended that the letter was a forgery, and the repentance a myth conveniently devised to shelter John as a Pope from the consequences of his heresies. John's opponents at Munich, at the head of whom was the famous English

Franciscan William of Ockham, of course poured ridicule on the whole story. John, they said, had died a heretic, and had now passed immediately without Intermediate State, as he would presently discover, into the Hell reserved for heretics.

Of the convenience for the Papacy of the story of this deathbed repentance there can be no doubt. Almost within a year of John's death his successor, Benedict XII., who was as infatuated on the one side as John on the other, settled the matter with the help of a committee of Paris Theologians, most of them young men.¹ Henceforth in the Roman Church, by the constitution *Benedictus Deus*, it was held to be heresy to agree with the views of Pope John XXII. The saving John himself from the damnation of the heretic, the rescue of his hallowed bones from the fate which overtook Wyclif's heretical corpse, was surely worth a little honest lying in an age when forgery was a fine art, by the help of which Monasteries, Universities, and Corporations of all sorts built up their privileges. Contemporary chroniclers who knew John's character too well to believe in this edifying end might sneer, Pope Alexander V. in 1409 might proclaim that John XXII. was a heretic, but then they were not present at his death and Alexander was only an antipope; we who were there have taken care not to leave behind us one single letter or scrap of writing on the subject one way or another. Our new Pope Benedict alone shall tell the tale,—he is a doctor of the Cistercian College at Paris, a good man, though somewhat of an 'ass,' to use his own description of himself. Our business, like Brer Rabbit's, is to lie low and say nuffink. What a pity honest Thomas Poncy went back to his comfortable quarters at Canterbury! That doughty Englishman who would not change his mind in spite of all the Pope's library might have told us the truth.

HERBERT B. WORKMAN.

¹ January 29, 1336.

EUDÆMONISM.

A STUDY IN ETHICS.

1. *Zur Genealogie der Moral. Eine Streitschrift.* Von FRIEDERICH NIETZSCHE. Vierte Auflage. (Leipzig.)
2. *Wesen und Entstehung des Gewissens. Psychologie der Ethik.* Von TH. ELSENHANS. 8°.
3. *Allgemeine Ethik pragmatisch bearbeitet.* Von J. W. NAHLOWSKY. Zweite Auflage. 8°. (Leipzig.)
4. *System der Ethik.* Von F. PAULSEN. Dritte Auflage. 2 Be. 8°. (Berlin.)
5. *Allgemeine Ethik.* Von H. STEINTHAL. 8°. (Berlin.)
6. *Geschichte der Christlichen Ethik.* Von TH. ZIEGLER. Zweite Auflage. 8°. (Strassburg.)

THE great poet, looking for once at the exterior side of human life, divided its sum into the seven ages. A glance at the interior side, however, would seem to show that both for the individual and the race there are but three divisionary states—the instinctive, the selfish, and the moral.

As regards individuals, some, like the primitive man and the savage, remain all their lives in the first stage; others never get beyond the second; most, perhaps, fluctuate between all three; whilst a few seem to attain wholly to the final state, in so far at least that it appears to be the uppermost or subordinating disposition of their nature.

As regards the race one might say that, allowing for back eddies and reaches where the tide has not yet fully turned, the general state is that of movement from the instinctive into the selfish, with a marked tendency towards the moral.

In order to trace the development and define the nature of

these differing stages of consciousness it is better to watch them as they succeed one another under normal conditions in the life course of a single individual ; and with the view of assisting such an attempt the following descriptive analysis is now offered.

1. *The Instinctive Period.* In this state, which is proper to childhood, the subject expresses its personality spontaneously and directly through the passions and appetites, being altogether governed and impelled by them as the active principles of its nature which know no law except their own gratification.

A creature thus situated can no more be called selfish for following its inclinations than a stone can be called selfish for rolling down hill. For in such a being the self properly speaking has not yet come to light ; only the bundle of propensities inherent in the self which at that stage rule rampant over it. This is why we so often laugh at the freaks of children and their general way of acting ; for we realise that, like the catcher at blind man's buff, they have a faculty wanting that is present in ourselves—namely, that of making an immediate self-reference. The child only asks, *Is this good ?* the man, in so far as he be not still a child, asks, *Is this good for me ?* With a child the ultimate value of a thing is its capacity to gratify one of his felt needs ; with the man, its tendency to benefit himself. Naturally, if the man be a moral being, other considerations enter and shove the ultimate criterion farther off ; but apart from this the difference between him and the child is as described.

2. *The Selfish Period.* As we have already seen, the earliest mode of action is instinctive, and during that state the particular desires and affections find expression without conscious reference to the personality of their subject. In time, however, identity is found by comparing the various experiences and recognising through the continuity of sensation that one and the same being has undergone them all ; later comes the perception that for the sentient unit thus discovered the indulgence of its propensities is desirable because of the elementary feeling called pleasure

occasioned thereby ; then, soon after this insight, and as a result of tentative efforts based thereon, is gained the knowledge that it does not do to gratify all the several propensities or indiscriminately indulge any, but that care should be used, since some, although pleasurable, need to be avoided because followed by feelings so disagreeable as to make the foregoing enjoyment not worth having at such a cost, whilst others have the same disadvantage if injudiciously pursued ; immediately, as a natural effect of the above discovery, arises the habit of instituting a selective process with a view to gratifying such propensities as are at once the safest and the most enjoyable, together with the attempt to fence off favourite gratifications so as to exclude, if possible, unpleasant consequences. Here self boldly steps forth. Animated by the glory of newly found consciousness and relying on the strength of practically acquired knowledge, it proudly assumes the right of setting up its own wellbeing as an ultimate standard of reference, in doing which it first gets into antithesis with and overmasters the particular passions, duly subordinating their gratification to its supposed general interests ; and then, without further ado, proceeds to assert its powers and pretensions by taking up a militant or dominant attitude towards the alterative selves occupying spheres of contact.

For on finding that many instinctive propensities which might be safely and enjoyably gratified so far as its own interests go cannot always be indulged without doing harm to the interests of others, self, utterly regardless of this fact, boldly chooses for its own advantage, and either ignores or opposes whatever conflicts therewith.

Such is the story of how the ego comes into consciousness, and how it behaves when its conduct is unmodified by any moral restraints. It is a sad exhibition this of the self in the day of its apotheosis, fully fledged, rampant, working solely for its pet ends, acting as its own idol, regarding all public and private wellbeing as indifferent unless capable of contributing to its individual happiness,—the state of the debauchee who, in seeking his personal enjoyment, ruins

the reputation and demoralises the character of a modest, industrious lass, and exposes her to the danger of having to seek a precarious livelihood upon the streets ; or of the gambler who beggars his own or other families in the pursuit of an exciting pastime. For the self thus enthroned and predominant is verily the antichrist in the heart, the lawless one, the man of sin, the evil principle, the object that all laws, whether human or divine, naturally desire to crush.

3. The Period of Morality. This begins on it being realised that self is no more fit to be accepted as an ultimate standard of reference than the instinctive desires are to be allowed as ultimate ends ; but that just as the gratification of the latter has to be regulated in accordance with the wellbeing of the former, even so likewise must its own interests be made subordinate to something that lies beyond their sphere.

The discovery thus made reveals to us our nature as moral agents, and in the form of conscience remains more or less an influence in the lives of all who have once experienced it ; whilst the practical obedience of the truth then discovered is the measure of the extent to which any given individual has advanced from the egoistical into the moral period, and of course the same applies to nations and races.

Although the three states above described represent what actually goes on within human nature, a very contrary view of affairs is offered by a time-worn doctrine that crops up over and over again, from age to age, in the most varied forms and manifold disguises. This is the so-called Eudæmonian theory, according to which one single principle governs man and is ever present in his conduct and experience, namely the pursuit of happiness, which keeps him going with the same persistence as did the curse of Christ the wandering Jew. As applied to ethics, the end it was specially designed for, the doctrine referred to runs thus :

Observation shows that at all times and under all circumstances man seeks his own happiness, having this constantly

before him in whatever he does as the ultimate object ; and therefore on finding him to act in the manner termed moral one must conclude it is only because he knows or believes that by so acting he is protecting or increasing his personal wellbeing. This theory curiously enough draws its adherents from two classes which in other respects are as widely opposed in their views as Guelphs and Ghibelines.

For it is espoused on the one hand by cynics and profligates, for the purpose of excusing their own bad conduct and of denying the existence of anything noble and unselfish ; and on the other by decent moral teachers and divines, whose benevolent object it is to persuade men to be virtuous, though, as their conduct in this matter plainly shows, they themselves do not even know what the word really means. Acting on the principle stated by Brown¹ that "the only motive by which individuals can be induced to the practice of virtue must be the feeling or the prospect of private happiness," such moralists misunderstand their business so completely as to try to make the individual good through exciting his cupidity by enlarging upon virtue as desirable on account of its apparent likelihood to increase his personal wellbeing ; and even as to declare it obligatory solely because of the certainty of its ultimately having a beneficial effect with regard to his interests here or hereafter.

Now, in view of the fact that Eudæmonism is supported from the different quarters just referred to, an attack thereupon in order to be complete should be made, first, with general objections against the doctrine as a theory ; and, second, with specific objections against it as a theory alleged to provide moral conduct with a real and irresistible incentive.

I. General Objections to the Eudæmonian Theory.

It is evident that the doctrine before us is strictly not a theory, but an alleged statement of fact, one general fact,

¹ *Essays on the Characteristics of Shaftesbury*, 1752.

namely the motive of human action, being set forth in order to deduce therefrom the general character of a specific fact belonging to the same category, namely the motive of moral action. If, therefore, this general fact can be proved incorrect, its value respectively to the purpose for which it is stated will be effectually destroyed. If, however, it can be disproved by an examination of the very same specific fact to which it was alleged to give a generic character, the victory will be complete; for the disproof of the general fact by the specific fact will prove irrefragably that the character claimed for the former is not a trait of the latter. In order to do this our first objections shall be directed immediately against the doctrine that the pursuit of happiness is the universal motive of human action; whilst subsequent ones will attack the general position indirectly, by showing that precisely in the case of moral action there is an exception to the motive claimed as universal, and hence that the particular fact contradicts the general fact which was alleged to explain it.

1. The Eudæmonian doctrine leaves undefined the happiness which it assumes to be the aim of man, and which according to it he seeks to obtain in part at any rate through virtuous conduct. This is a fatal defect, for it leads to a perpetual confusion of happiness and pleasure, two things in many respects noticeably different. To draw the distinction between the sensations thus confused is of the first importance in attempting to refute the doctrine, since otherwise, as arguments used with respect to happiness would not always apply to pleasure and *vice versa*, scope for successful evasions might be afforded by such ambiguities.

Now a subject may be said to be happy when it has a free field for the exercise of its faculties, *i.e.* when its self realisation is not impeded from within or from without.

Hence happiness consists more in the freedom from disturbing elements than in anything else, and one of its leading characteristics is that the subject is often unconscious of its existence; *e.g.* the artist, the poet, the thinker, in moments of creative energy, are more alive to what they

are doing than to the happy state in which they are doing it. Pleasure, on the other hand, though impossible apart from the state we have defined as happiness, goes a long way beyond it, and in some respects radically differs from it. Pleasure, indeed, transpires when the consciousness of a subject is agreeably intensified either by the influence of *stimuli ab extra* or through an immanent modification.

Hence pleasure is pre-eminently a self-conscious state, for the attention of the subject is drawn away from what he is doing and fixed upon what he is feeling. Now, since happiness is essentially nothing more than the condition experienced by a being when in a state of genial activity, and since the impulse to use the faculties and not the consideration of the state of feeling attendant on the use thereof is, as everybody knows, the ordinary motive impelling man to action, it plainly follows that the desire of happiness is not the principle universally directing human conduct. This, again, is shown by the fact that happiness comes naturally and unsought as a result of the normal and unrestrained use of faculties employed in their specific spheres without any view to the production of agreeable sensation by their exercise. To invert the process would be to forestall the happiness and cripple the faculties by introducing an artificial motive, like the case in Hunter's *Memoirs*, where a gentleman is so anxious to obtain an heir to his estate that he is rendered unable to do so. Upon the other hand, pleasure as a given state of consciousness attainable by given means and desirable in itself, may be made a definite object of pursuit. Such being the case, we must conclude that the Eudæmonian theory, though it speaks of happiness, really means pleasure, and this conclusion regarding the doctrine is fully borne out by the exegesis of its adherents, especially those who use it as a moral incentive.

Having thus cleared the ground and seen that by happiness is meant pleasure, we may now proceed to bring out other objections.

2. The contention of Eudæmonism that pleasure is and

should be the only goal of human endeavour is amply disproved by the fact that the constant pursuit of enjoyment tends to stultify its end, which always happens more or less to those who make pleasure the business of their lives, and whose circumstances permit them to devote themselves entirely thereunto. For the susceptibility of man to any kind of pleasurable stimulus is limited, and owing to a natural law becomes deadened by indulgence, so that to produce the same agreeable effect the stimulus has to be increased or exchanged for another. Hence, those who have the will and the means to procure every kind of enjoyment in every possible succession or combination become finally too apathetic to respond to their pleasures; whilst at the same time the latter, joyless though they be, hold them as slaves. For just as the sensibility to pleasure is diminished by indulgence therein, so the sensibility to pain is increased by the habitual enjoyment or possession of pleasures and comforts; whence the epicure, who perhaps from the richest fare derives less satisfaction than does the ploughman from a homely meal, is painfully perceptive of the slightest defect in the cooking or serving of the feast.

From like causes those who have lost all relish for wholesome enjoyments by prodigally indulging in them, often seek pleasure by unnatural means of excitation, just as a pampered stomach needs to be tickled by sauces and condiments.

3. The happiness or, strictly speaking, pleasure assumed as the motive of human conduct by the theory is a mere figment of the schools. What leads a man to act is not the prospect of experiencing a pleasurable state of consciousness, abstractly conceived and proposed, but the prompting of some particular impulse or appetite, the gratification of which naturally gives satisfaction. This satisfaction when once felt increases [the impulse or appetite, the gratification of which first occasioned it, and in this way a habit of seeking that satisfaction is formed. This applies to all human desires, whether natural or factitious. They are propensities which aim straight at their objects, and it is

only by an act of reflection long subsequent to the original gratification of these propensities that the subject in whom they exist regards the total sum of the gratifications thus derived as happiness. Now, as many of these propensities are either *per se* or by reason of excess destructive of the subject gratifying them, it cannot rationally be said of a subject thus deleteriously acting that he pursues his own happiness. For before a man can be said to do this he must have selected from these various propensities those the gratification of which he knows or believes when properly indulged will be really conducive to his permanent wellbeing. Thus self-love, the principle which leads man to make this selection, is a secondary and acquired instinct, the result of experience and generalisation.

These facts, which are really the commonplaces of psychology, show at once the defectiveness of the Eudæmonian doctrine. For they prove that the gratification of impulses, and not the abstract pursuit of happiness, is the ordinary and original procedure of human conduct, and hence that the man who risks his life to save a drowning stranger may be obeying an impulse with as little regard to his own happiness as the man who in a fury has flung the stranger in.

In accordance with the line of attack previously sketched out, the foregoing objections have been aimed against the general theory that pleasure is the motive of human conduct, whilst those immediately to follow will assail the doctrine as directly applied to morals. Bearing this in mind, they may be taken in natural order, thus :

4. As man often performs what are called moral acts, even though in so doing he knowingly prejudices his own interest, it is evident that in such cases the motive impelling him is not a foresight of the beneficial consequences of the act respectively to his own welfare. The only way for the Eudæmonian to escape the crushing force of this objection is to affirm that in these cases the agent, for some reason or other, finds a pleasure in the act and does it because, although he knows it to be injurious to his ordinary

interests, he values the pleasure it gives more than the interests it prejudices.

Such in fact is the Eudæmonian explanation of the altruistic impulses. But it is altogether inadequate. For to say that we act benevolently because of the pleasure we derive therefrom is to make a statement destructive and not supportive of the Eudæmonian theory, since we must first love our fellow-creatures before we can take a pleasure in seeking to promote their happiness, which proves the originality and priority of our altruistic impulses.

Again, we commiserate and relieve the sufferings of others, and Hobbes' assertion that we only do this in order to get a disagreeable object out of our sight, appears plainly incorrect as soon as we consider that thousands go out of their way to relieve suffering, sometimes, as in the case of Damien, that of the most loathsome description. Besides, why on earth should the suffering of our fellow-creatures be a disagreeable sight to us if we have no affection for them, and therefore no concern for their welfare ?

Lastly, as pleasure cannot be pursued till it has once been experienced, it follows that, even supposing man now to act morally from the pleasure which he derives from moral conduct, nevertheless some other impulse must have impelled his moral action in the first instance.

5. In the preceding objection we assumed, for the sake of argument, that the pleasure felt by the agent in acting virtuously surpassed the pleasure he might have expected to experience from pursuing the interests sacrificed by thus acting. That assumption, however, is untenable in so many cases that it ought to be withdrawn.

Can the man who gives his life to save others really believe that this act affords him more pleasure than would the enjoyment of a prolonged existence ? Is it not a bitter irony to pretend that he who submits to torture rather than betray his country, though he would receive a rich reward for so doing, is happier on the rack than amidst the affluence he might have thus procured ? Are there not thousands of cases where dishonesty and wrong-doing in

general could be safely carried out and bring to the agent a total sum of happiness far greater than that resulting from the approval of his own conscience on refusing to pursue such conduct?

Man is, indeed, a moral being, but he is something else besides—he is a human creature; with all the varied needs and feelings appertaining to that nature as a whole, and these may be so violated through obedience to conscience that the misery entailed by the violation is greater than the happiness resulting from the obedience. In fact, it is just this possibility and nothing else that manifests so remarkably the supremacy of the moral instinct; a supremacy which neither the Eudæmonian nor the Utilitarian will ever be able to explain.

The consideration of these facts enable us to give from experience a direct and emphatic denial to the assertion of a Eudæmonian of our own time, to the effect that, "Every individual acts so as to avoid a pain and cultivate a pleasure," and "that the ultimate criterion of an action is its tendency to produce pleasurable states of consciousness."

For, waiving the fact that in the second of these propositions there is a hopeless confusion of the standard of moral action respectively to the agent with the standard of utility to others by which the agent must direct a part of his moral conduct, it is evident that the first, taken as a universal law of action, is not true, since, as was shown, man often acts morally, though by acting immorally he might reasonably expect to derive a greater amount of pleasure from his conduct; and as regards the avoiding of pain, it is equally certain that there are innumerable cases where, in consequence of acting virtuously, the agent experiences and knows that he will experience a pain greater than that of the accusing voice of conscience. Heine truly says that, constituted as man *now* is, physical pain afflicts him more than mental; surely, then, physical and mental suffering attacking a man in combination as a result of his uprightness, which so frequently happens, must hurt him more than the pain which, on pursuing the contrary course, he

might have expected to receive from that particular part of his mental constitution represented by the moral feelings.

6. To say, as has been lately said, that a man cannot act without a regard to his private interest, because he, as an individual being, is capable only of postulating his own ego, is to contradict not merely experience but also reason. For man is more than an individual being. He belongs, in the deepest sense of the words, to humanity as a whole. In common with that humanity and as a part thereof, he shares not only feelings and sympathies, the result of conscious intercourse with his fellow-men, but ties and instincts born with him and resembling theirs, since they and he are the offspring of a nature one alike in its origin and its essential qualities and tendencies, however these may, as regards accidentals, have been modified through the agency of the conditions shaping their development. Hence it is that man, through many of his impulses, and above all the so-called selfless impulses, expresses or represents the universal character of the race.

Millenniums have passed since the knowledge of this truth led the profound Oriental mind to believe that by individual acts of virtue a man contributes, not to the salvation of his own soul alone, but to the redemption of the entire humanity of which he individually forms a part; and *per contra*, that by wickedness a man injures his fellows, not merely or mainly in so far as he thus prejudices their worldly interests, but also and especially because, through so acting, he helps to weaken and deprave the spiritual nature which they and he possess in common—even as the disease of a single member tends to lessen the vitality of the organism as a whole—and hence does them an injury, the essence and extent of which the understanding can neither fathom nor divine.¹ Again, it is a fact that nothing

¹ The same idea occurs in the doctrine of the Incarnation as developed by the Nicene Fathers. For according to their exposition the Logos became not *a* man but man, thus ineffably raising the human nature in its solidarity and totality up to the divine. So Athanasius: "For it was the very purpose and end of our Lord's incarnation that He should join

in nature exists for self alone, for things are so interwoven that each in a measure contributes to all, the only difference is that inanimate objects do this by force, whereas conscious beings possessed of freedom are allowed the honour of doing it voluntarily. Hence, in the moral world alone can exist the anomaly of an individual setting up for self in direct infraction of the wellbeing of the economy of which he forms a part.

To prevent this, however, nature and human wisdom combine to knock the egoism out of man. From the earliest lessons of infancy to the ripest experience of age it is constantly enforced upon us that other people have to be regarded as well as ourselves ; that ours is not the only will in the world ; and that besides pleasures to be enjoyed there are duties to be done. The only difference is that some take the instruction kindly, and become noble and good ; whilst many kick and scuffle, and remain slaves their life long, always trying to evade their responsibilities, and having to be kept going by the whips and scorpions of public opinion, the penalties of the Old Bailey, and the pains of hell.

Of such it may be truly said that they miss the unique opportunity of human life, the one thing elevating it above that of the beasts, namely the exercise of the moral faculty, with the chance thereby afforded of acquiring a free, noble character ; and whosoever loses this, no matter what he may gain or what position he may occupy, is in the truest sense of the word a failure, whilst the right use of it ennobles and dignifies the lowliest child of man.

7. The contention of modern Eudæmonism that righteousness tendeth to life only, in so far as it is identical with happiness, this having a beneficial effect upon the vital functions which misery on the other tends to destroy, is a trailed herring and nothing more.

what is in man by nature to Him who is by nature God, that so man might enjoy his salvation and his union with God without any fear of it failing or decrease."

For, although a certain suitability of conditions is absolutely necessary to man's existence upon this planet, and therefore virtue, if it is to be practised at all by him, must not begin by killing him off, or be of such a nature as to conduce necessarily to his physical injury, since in either case, supposing there to be a moral economy, the arrangement of that economy would thus frustrate the purpose thereof; yet, granting all this, and admitting what no one has ever thought of denying, that virtuous conduct, generally speaking, holds the promise of the life that now is, to say nothing of that which is to come, still it by no means follows that the perception of this tendency either is or ought to be the main reason why we approve such conduct. The value that we feel for a thing itself need not be the same in kind as that we feel for the conditions of the possibility of the thing, nor even what we feel for the general effects proceeding from the thing.

Especially clear does this become when, as in the case of virtue, we find ourselves valuing the exceptions to the general tendency even more highly than the tendency itself. Fidelity to pledged troth is a virtue effecting much outward benefit, but it seems to possess a higher worth in the case of him who sweareth to his own hurt and changeth not. Virtuous conduct commonly makes for happiness; but it is just the possibility that in any particular instance it may have the opposite tendency, and yet must still be practised, that gives it its unique character, and proves it to have a worth other than the happiness which is more or less necessary as the condition of its existence, and which forms, generally speaking, one of the most striking of its effects.

8. As happiness is inseparably connected with the exercise of the faculties, and these, as far as they are moral faculties, can only be exercised on the condition of sometimes exposing the agent to pain and inconvenience as regards his general interests, it follows that happiness *per se* is not the motive impelling him to act virtuously in cases subject to these disadvantageous circumstances. For were

the desire of happiness his ruling principle, he would try so to order his conduct as not to bring into activity any faculty when the exercise thereof would be likely to prejudice the happiness of another part of his economy. Hence we should only find him acting morally when he could do so without loss or pain ; which, indeed, is just the danger that forms the worst practical consequence of the theory we are now discussing.

II. Special Objections to the Theory when used as a Moral Incentive.

Having discussed the essential nature of Eudæmonism, it now remains for us to consider it in the character of an alleged incentive to virtuous conduct. "Virtue alone gives real pleasure" ; "If you wish to be happy be good," such are the exhortations so freely made use of by not a few who pose as moral and religious teachers. The same principle far too often holds sway in the education of the young. For these, through the discipline to which they are subjected, naturally acquire the notion that the authority of the law consists in the exterior punishments used to enforce it, and that the value of goodness is merely the value of the prizes offered for being good. Against all who think that the seeds of virtue can be sown or developed best by such means, the following serious objections may be urged :

1. The Eudæmonian theory, when espoused by the friends of morality and religion, leads them to take an untenable position. They are wont to exhort to virtue by representing it as the source of the greatest possible happiness to its possessor. But this doctrine is altogether incorrect. For pleasure is essentially a subjective thing, and is dependent for its existence, nature, and degree upon the constitution of the being experiencing it. Now, owing to the fact that constitutions vary, and that consequently the susceptibility to different kinds and degrees of pleasure vary accordingly, it is absolute folly to say that all men will receive the greatest possible pleasure from any one given

thing ; because some are so constituted as to be titillated easily and deliciously by one kind of stimulus, and others by differing and perhaps contrary stimuli ; and again, the same kind of enjoyments yield different men different degrees of pleasure.

Thus, things cannot be compared as sources of pleasure, because the real source of this is the nature and particular susceptibility of those to whom the things are presented ; whence the farmer's boy, whose ideal was to swing on a gate and eat fat bacon, may have been as happy as, or happier than, a Newton soaring amid sublime heights of knowledge, or a St. Francis melting in acts of beneficence.

Owing to this circumstance the friends of morality and religion are, by attempting to recommend the same on Eudæmonian considerations, liable to injure the cause of the objects they have at heart. For they excite expectations which the subsequent experience does not fulfil, and thereby arouse a disgust at themselves and their doctrines.

Besides, if the pleasure of virtue outweighed in kind and degree every other pleasure, there would be no merit whatever in choosing it as a life course, and morality would be identical with prudence. For it is just the antithesis between the sense of duty forbidding us to accept a given pleasure or advantage on the one hand, and the desire of this pleasure or advantage on the other, that affords us the possibility of displaying moral activity, by preferring the claims of conscience to our personal profit and inclinations.

In overlooking this vital point the pious supporters of Eudæmonism are more to blame than the atheists who employ the theory to destroy the reality of disinterested goodness, for the former ought by mere experience to have known better.

Nor do the causes above alleged exhaust this particular objection to the use of Eudæmonism as a moral incentive, for another and even stronger reason may be adduced in point, namely that the gratification of immoral impulses must inevitably afford just as much pleasure to a bad person as the performance of duty or the practice of virtue

affords to a good one, for each of these parties derives the satisfaction resulting from the indulgence of his specific nature, and therefore both enjoy themselves as much in their respective ways as the bird does in the air or the fish in the water. History contains many striking instances of the above fact. During the Peninsular War the garrison of Badajos resisted with great bravery and determination the attack of the British forces. At last, however, after suffering a prodigious slaughter, the besiegers took the place, and at once gave reign to their passions by indulging in massacre, rape, plunder, revelry, and arson.¹ Now, can anyone deny that these savages who thus, with sharpened appetites, gratified simultaneously the impulses of revenge, anger, lust, greed, drunkenness, gluttony, and wanton mischief must have experienced a delight as rapturous as that of the saints in glory? and yet this delight was the outcome of conduct perhaps unworthy of fiends.

2. Ethical teachers, by perpetually directing the attention of their disciples to the happiness procured through being virtuous, cause them to regard virtue as a means rather than an end, and thus place a stumbling-block in their path by inculcating notions which, as experience and the history of moral phenomena show, are rejected by such as have advanced in goodness, and must, if previously acquired, be unlearned or ignored by all who would follow them.

For, though nothing is more natural than to expect to find happiness and virtue go hand in hand, yet so far is this fact from necessarily inducing us to believe that we should pursue the one because it brings the other, that I suppose there never was a loyal-hearted man, a Marcus Aurelius for example, who, if asked which he preferred most, the being virtuous or the pleasure in being virtuous, would not have replied that it was with virtue as with love, none seeks for aught in it save it alone. Indeed, so strong has been

¹ An eyewitness, Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Smith, called it "a scene of horror I would willingly bury in oblivion. The atrocities committed by our soldiers on the poor, innocent, and defenceless inhabitants of the city no words suffice to depict" (*Autobiography*. London. 1901).

their sense of the inherent beauty of virtue, that not a few great and good men have wished some afflictive condition were annexed to it, so that by still pursuing it they might demonstrate the disinterestedness of their regard. This wish though extravagant, and almost amounting to a contradiction in terms, yet arises from a sound conviction that the worth of virtue consists in virtue itself, and that the happiness that accompanies virtue is really indifferent as regards virtue, since the same sensation is experienced in acts destitute of and sometimes contrary to it. Though had they reflected a little more deeply they would have perceived that the connexion of happiness with virtue is a natural and proper one, since it arises from the harmony between what a man is and what he was designed to be ; in other words, that it is the sense of having found one's place, of being in one's element, of realising one's nature, that makes one happy in being virtuous.

That such happiness, as hitherto experienced, has never in any case been absolute and complete, arises from the circumstances under which virtue has to be practised, and the fact that, possibly for the purpose of probation, other elements besides moral activities enter into human life and influence it, according as they are gratified or otherwise, for pleasure or for pain. Nor is it any slight testimony to the intrinsic worth of virtue that, even under such circumstances, the hunger and thirst after righteousness has led many of the wisest and noblest of mankind to renounce the allurements of the fleeting hour and follow, with the love that seeks and still pursues, the illusive glory of an ideal to which, through the accidents and thousandfold changes and chances of life, no reality could ever correspond.¹

¹ Tuesday, June 1, 1736.—After praying with him, I was surprised to find one of the most controverted questions in divinity, disinterested love, decided at once by a poor old man, without education or learning, or any instructor but the Spirit of God. I asked him what he thought of paradise (to which he had said he was going). He said, "To be sure, it is a fine place. But I don't mind that ; I don't care what place I am in. Let God put me where He will, . . . so I may but set forth His honour and glory."—*John Wesley's Journal*.

Again, a study of the history of religion shows that, although in the lower states of religious consciousness a regard to self-interest, respectively to the penalties and rewards of the unknown hereafter, plays an important part, yet this consciousness as it advances sheds more and more the husk of selfishness; and the love of the Supreme Being, together with obedience of what are conceived as His commands, become at last ultimate motives. The pages of the great mystical writers of the Middle Ages glow with the intensity of self-surrender, and evince a disposition fully prepared to suffer personal pain and even extinction, whensoever such might increase the glory of the object thus adored. For in the words of the sober-minded and thoughtful Hartley,

with self-interest man must begin. He may end in self-annihilation. Theopathy or piety, although the last result of the purified and exalted sentiments, may at length swallow up every other principle and absorb the whole man.

3, and finally. Not only is the Eudæmonian doctrine opposed to advancement in the higher realms of virtue, but it is a very unsafe principle to rely on even for the faithful performance of everyday duties. He who has learned the sacredness of duty only from the punishments enforcing it will show a shameless disregard if this exterior sanction be withdrawn; and once make a man believe that happiness is the sole aim of virtue, and he will soon begin to doubt the utility of being virtuous in cases where the only crown that virtue has to offer is a crown of thorns; and besides, the habit of always proposing and looking out for happiness unqualifies the mind for enduring that hardness which, in the storm and stress of life, the soldier of virtue must be prepared to experience.

In conclusion, it may be said that the virtuous man, when he happens to be directly conscious of the gratification arising in his mind from the pursuit of virtue, values that gratification not so much for its own sake as for the evidence it affords of his being in a morally healthy condi-

tion, and that the happiness he desires or proposes is not a state valued as independent of virtue, but such a harmony of his faculties and circumstances as shall enable him to realise more and more fully the aims of a virtuous life. And if for this, the noblest of his aspirations, he fain would have a voice other and seemlier than the measured accents of the understanding can afford, he may find it in the lofty chaunt of him who sang, in numbers tender as the blush of dawn, the mystic chivalries of Camelot :

Glory of warrior, glory of orator, glory of song,
Paid with a voice flying by, to be lost in an endless sea—
Glory of Virtue to fight, to struggle, to right the wrong—
Nay, but she aimed not at glory, no lover of glory she:
Give her the glory of going on and still to be.
The wages of sin is death : if the wages of Virtue be dust,
Would she have heart to endure for the life of the worm
and the fly ?
She desires no isles of the blest, no quiet seats of the just,
To rest in a golden grove, or bask in a summer's sky :
Give her the wages of going on and not to die.

CHRISTOPHER C. DOVE.

THE EVOLUTION OF A SLUM.

I.

FAR back in the dim regions of history there arose on the south side of the Thames, over against the Tower of London, a great religious house, the Abbey of Bermondsey. It came into existence as a priory, founded by the Benedictines of Cluny, during the closing years of William the Conqueror, and was erected into an abbey by Pope Boniface IX. at the earnest solicitation of Richard II. At the time of the foundation of the priory, Bermondsey had the distinction of being a royal manor, an eminence it had carried down with it from Saxon times, when a royal palace stood on or near the spot where the Benedictine abbey subsequently raised its head. That abbey, from the time of its erection until its suppression under Henry VIII., had a distinguished career. There parliaments sat, princes were born, and within its walls Crusaders met together in great companies to make preparation for their long and perilous journey to the Holy Land. Sir Walter Besant has described it as the "Westminster of South London, second only in rank and importance to the great fane on the north bank of the river"; and its abbot stood on an equal footing with the great Abbot of Westminster itself.

In the palmy days of the abbey, kings and queens were among its constant visitors. Henry IV., afflicted with leprosy, took up his abode in an old stone mansion on the borders of Rotherhithe, in order that he might have the attention of the prior, who was skilled in medicine. Elizabeth Woodville, the Queen Dowager, on being deprived of her jointure lands by her son-in-law, Henry VII., found a retreat in the abbey, where she had a right to claim apartments as the widow of King Edward IV. Many people of rank were buried in the conventual church, including

William, Earl of Mortain and Cornwall, nephew to the Conqueror ; Mary, daughter of Malcolm III. of Scotland, sister to the Consort of Henry I. and mother to Stephen's Queen ; Adeliza de Grantmesnil, wife of Hugh, Seneschal of England ; Lady Audley, mother of the leader of the Cornish rebels ; Margaret de la Pole, Countess of Suffolk ; and others.

"The charters of the ancient kings," says a local historian, "had conferred great privileges on the heads of the Bermondsey monastery, and invested them with high authority. They were empowered to hold their own court, and to do justice on those who committed offences within their domain. These charters had been confirmed by Richard II. and Henry IV., who had expressly renounced all authority, and left the abbots free to exercise their independent jurisdiction. They are said to have had the power of life and death. The abbot had now no great competitor in his immediate neighbourhood ; he was no longer overshadowed by the majesty of the king, in his adjacent palace, or by the martial pomp of a great feudal baron, like the Earl of Mortain and Cornwall. Lordly neighbours in adjoining districts were many. There was the Abbot of Battle, at his stately 'Inn' in Tooley Street ; the Prior of Lewes, opposite St. Olave's Church ; the Abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, at his town residence in the Borough ; the great Cardinal Beaufort himself, at Winchester House, near the Priory of St. Mary Overy's. Last, though not least, the famous general of the French wars, Sir John Fastolfe, frequently abode at his spacious mansion of Fastolfe House, on the north side of Tooley Street, from whence, looking southward half a mile, over fields and meadows, he could see the towers and walls of St. Saviour's Abbey."

What a fair scene it was upon which those old abbots of Bermondsey looked !—to the north the shining waters of the Thames ; to the south the abbey lands with their woods of oak and elm, rising gradually into the downs of Surrey and Kent ; while on every hand smiling orchards, well tilled fields, fruitful gardens, and rich meadows made the scene at once prosperous and beautiful. The bees from the covent apiary had no lack of flowers, from which to draw their

store of honey, in the Bermondsey of the twelfth century, which, according to one chronicler, was "a pastoral village of a character decidedly Flemish." The abbey itself was built upon the bank of a small stream which flowed along its eastern wall. The abbey mill stood at the mouth of such a stream, and was worked by the flux and reflux of the tide, as mills have been worked in the neighbourhood down to the present day. Such a pleasing admixture of woodland and river, ploughed land and pasture, orchard and garden, could not fail to be alluring, and it is no wonder that in time substantial houses, nestling among the trees, sprang up about the abbey domain, and became the resort of wealthy citizens of London, who found this delightfully rural retreat a pleasant change from the crooked streets and narrow lanes of old London.

In course of time there arose Henry, eighth of that name, he of bluff demeanour and many wives, and with him his henchman, Thomas Pope, subordinate of the great abbey smasher. After a distinguished history of nearly five hundred years, this great and wealthy religious house was surrendered into their hands, the last abbot received a pension from the king, and the abbey as such disappeared. But the place itself did not immediately drop out of existence. To-day all that remains of it is a pair of large iron hinges, let into the outer wall of a house in Bermondsey, upon which the great gates are said to have swung. From being the home of a monastic brotherhood, the abbey, after its suppression, became the property of a single individual, or more probably was divided among several, for the site of the abbey was granted to Sir Thomas Southwell, Master of the Rolls, three years after the surrender, at a yearly reserved rent of ten shillings, while Sir Thomas Pope became the tenant of that part of it afterwards known as Bermondsey House.

For a brief period, when Mary occupied the throne, there may have been those of the old religion who looked for the former ecclesiastical glories of Bermondsey to be restored. That hope could not have existed long, for with the coming of the "Maiden Queen" we find the Earl of Sussex installed

in the abbey domain, and there, about the middle of 1553, Elizabeth paid him a farewell visit as he lay dying. With the death of the earl the period of Bermondsey's political and ecclesiastical greatness came to an end. From that time kings and queens, princes and prelates, lords spiritual and lords temporal, cease to figure in its history. The pastoral village of a "decidedly Flemish character" had begun to put on a different aspect, and henceforth its reputation was to be not pastoral, political, or ecclesiastical, but commercial. Its early splendours had departed. Even the name of its abbey—St. Saviour's—was transferred to a neighbouring shrine, which in these later days aspires to the dignity of a cathedral church, if not to becoming "the Westminster of South London."

II.

Early in its career Bermondsey was marked out as a business centre. Away back in the thirteenth century Henry III. granted to the convent the right to hold a weekly market and an annual fair on the eve and morrow of Holy Trinity. By 1625 the parish was sufficiently populous to be able to bear the loss of 1,117 inhabitants by the plague. From the beginning wool-stapling was carried on; but leather, rather than wool, was destined to be the principal local industry.

How the leather trade first came to Bermondsey is a matter upon which historians disagree. Some authorities assert that for this, as for many other industries, we are indebted to Huguenots fleeing into exile on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. A colony of leather-workers so formed is said to have settled at Rye in Sussex, but to have felt themselves so open to attack from their countrymen across the Channel, who made one descent and burned the town, that they came to London and found a resting-place on the south bank of the Thames. Be that as it may, the leather trade was firmly established in Bermondsey by the middle of the seventeenth century, and in the time of the Great Plague people fled to the tan-pits, hoping to find there

medicinal virtues able to protect them from the scourge. In all likelihood leather-making found its home in Bermondsey because the conditions were favourable. From the neighbouring oak woods came a plentiful supply of bark for tanning, and once every twelve hours there was an abundant supply of fresh water poured into the many tidal rivers from the Thames. What with leather and wool, Bermondsey Street became at an early date an important business thoroughfare, and had within its length an unusual number of public houses.

That was not all. The river, which had probably served to attract the palace, the abbey, and the leather trade, had a still further effect upon the development of Bermondsey and its neighbour Rotherhithe. As time drew on, shipping found its way increasingly into the Thames; ship-masters looked out for suitable house accommodation for their wives and families, and for themselves when home from sea; pilotage thrived, and what between ships' captains and pilots a considerable addition of prosperous people was made to the population. For them, for the London tradesmen here settled, for the wool and leather merchants, entertainment had to be provided. Jamaica House, an old mansion, said to have been inhabited by the great Lord Protector, and converted into a tavern at the Restoration, with the Cherry Garden attached to it, became a place of popular resort. Pepys, in his diary, says :

June 15, 1664.—To Greenwich, and to the Cherry Garden, singing finely, to the bridge, and there landed.

Sunday, April 14, 1667.—Over the water to Jamaica House, where I never was before, and there the girls did run wagers on the bowling green, and then, with much pleasure, spent little, and so home.

Shipping brought ship-building, ship-repairing, and a demand for warehouses, with docks and wharves. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the whole Bermondsey and Rotherhithe waterside was alive with work of this kind, and dry docks were to be found all the way from Deptford to London Bridge. The calkers' mallets made music from

dawn to dusk, work was plentiful and well paid. The bowsprits and great wooden figureheads of the sailing-ships of those days thrust themselves across Bermondsey Wall and Rotherhithe Street, the main thoroughfare skirting the river-side, while their sternposts were in contact with the river.

But the time came when iron superseded wood. The ship-building trade went north, where iron was to be found ; the ships grew in size until they could no longer accommodate themselves to the dry docks on the south side of the river, and except for a little occasional repairing the ship-building industry disappeared. Leather, too, showed a disposition to depart to the provinces. City merchants found Bermondsey and Rotherhithe too circumscribed for them when the pastoral village of a character decidedly Flemish faded away, and moved farther out. By the middle of the nineteenth century stage two of the evolution was completed, and the third stage had begun.

III.

In the year of grace 1900 there came into existence the Metropolitan Borough of Bermondsey, consisting of the parishes of St. Mary Magdalene, Bermondsey ; St. Mary, Rotherhithe ; St. Olave, St. Thomas, and St. John, Southwark. Roughly speaking, it is bounded on the north by the river, on the south by the Old Kent Road, on the west by the Borough, and on the east by Deptford. Its population numbers 130,000, about 10,000 more than the population of Brighton, squeezed into an area of 1,500 acres, a good part of which, thanks to railways, factories, and warehouses, is not available for habitation. It would be unfair to characterise the whole of this as a slum area. There are streets still possessing an outward appearance of prosperity. It is, however, throughout a very poor neighbourhood, and gets poorer. The quality of the worst poverty may not be so bad as it was thirty years ago, but the quantity is greater. When Mr. Charles Booth drew his poverty map of London in the eighties, he coloured a large part of this district blue and dark blue, for poor and very poor ; but there was a fair

sprinkling of mauve and red, indicating the well-to-do and comfortable classes. Now there would be a trifle less dark blue, standing for very poor ; but the light blue of poverty would be much more general.

Thirty years ago the last remnants of those fields and gardens upon which the abbots of Bermondsey had gazed with pardonable pride, and among which London citizens, from the seventeenth century onward, had found a comfortable retreat, disappeared. Men still living can remember the time when, as graceless urchins, they filched apples from the orchards where mean streets and densely packed houses now stand. Rural and sylvan beauties in this part of London exist now only as a rapidly dying tradition and a name ; and the stranger visiting Bermondsey might be pardoned the belief that neither orchard nor garden could ever have flourished here. Still, streets with such names as Cherry Garden Street, Clark's Orchard, and Lavender Lane speak for themselves. In like manner there are survivals of old political and ecclesiastical glories. At the end of Crucifix Lane the ancient Rood of Grace belonging to the abbey was set up when its former home was destroyed. John's Court is not a reminiscence of some plebeian John whose other name was not striking enough to be remembered, but of that ill-starred monarch, Lackland, who formerly held his court there. The Grange, Abbey Street, and Pages' Walk carry their own interpretation ; and Battle Bridge Lane marks the spot where the Abbot of Battle's stately mansion on Tooley Street once stood, known in those days as the Abbot of Battle's Inn.

The transformation thus effected holds good not only as concerns rural and monastic glories, but also in the matter of trade. Leather still has a prominent place in the commerce of the district, and there are leather-houses in Bermondsey second to none in the kingdom ; but it cannot any longer be reckoned as the principal industry. With modern processes of manufacture the tan-pit has gone out ; the supply of fresh water and the oak woods, which are said to have attracted the leather trade to Bermondsey in the first

instance, antedated the tan-pits in their disappearance. Ship-building has also gone, but the river remains ; and, in the place of well paid and regularly employed shipwrights, docks, wharves, and warehouses, with their tale of unskilled, ill-paid, and irregularly employed workers, have come to augment and stereotype the poverty of the district. The deal porter and the "tow rag," or corn porter, now hold the field along the water-side, and engage in a hard and grinding struggle for bare existence. Every year a new warehouse goes up in some crowded corner, and two or three streets of small cottages come down to make room for it. The labour it provides is not extensive nor the pay princely, so that the neighbourhood is the worse rather than the better for its advent.

Attracted by the abundant supply of cheap labour, general factories have settled down in Bermondsey in large numbers—jam, biscuits, pickles, spice, confectionery. Sir Charles Southwell, Master of the Rolls, was granted the site of Bermondsey Abbey in the sixteenth century, three days after its surrender, as we have said, at a yearly reserved rent of ten shillings. The name Southwell still survives in the neighbourhood, but it is in connexion with a large jam factory. In the old days the Bermondsey housewife grew her own fruit and made her own jam in a roomy, comfortable, old-fashioned kitchen. To-day the fruit comes hundreds of miles, often from over the sea, and the mothers, wives, and daughters of the Bermondsey docker or carman crowd in the morning to the factory door in the hope of being taken on "for the fruit," and homes go to rack and ruin while they thus seek to augment the family income. Docks, wharves, warehouses, and railways have largely developed another calling, that of carman—the man who sits in the driver's seat of a great van the better part of the day, skilfully piloting a pair of powerful horses through the tortuous sea of traffic which fills London streets. For this he gains a matter of from twenty to twenty-five shillings a week, and works long hours.

Where old, substantially built houses still exist they are,

as a rule, divided and sub-divided among several families, and their air of comfort and respectability has given way to one of poverty and squalor. Even the slightly built cottages, run up by the speculative builder twenty or thirty years ago, and intended for single families, have been sub-divided, with disastrous results. The sea of poverty creeps slowly outwards. Fields and gardens a generation ago gave place to long, monotonous rows of six-roomed houses, and these in late years have become "mean streets." Bermondsey has still its great buildings, larger probably than the ancient palace or the abbey; but they are the block dwellings wherein are crowded eight hundred people to the acre, instead of the eighty which, according to sanitary science, is the largest number able to live healthily on such an area. In no other way has it been possible to meet the demand for houses, the perpetual and increasing cry of "No room to live!" Population could not expand laterally so it has gone above, until every year more people are crowded into huge barrack buildings of six or seven stories. This has become necessary not only through growth of population, but on account of increased site values. Small cottage property cannot compete, from the point of view of remuneration, with warehouses and factories. Therefore it has become necessary to build dwellings capable of housing a great many people on a very small space. Such dwellings pay. If an old abbot of Bermondsey, or a prosperous London citizen of the seventeenth century, could descend upon the Bermondsey of to-day, he would be appalled at a population so numerous having to live together under such trying conditions. Religious repose would strike him as the one thing conspicuously lacking. In its place is a life of stress and strain, from which religion itself has been almost obliterated.

The change, since the far-away days when the Benedictines of Cluny descended upon the royal manor of Bermondsey and found a home there, is complete; and ever and always the history, development, and degeneration of Bermondsey have been bound up with the river. At first the changes were

gradual. There could have been little difference between the Saxon Bermondsey with its palace and woodlands and the Norman Bermondsey with its abbey and mill. Even down to Stuart times the change had not been a sweeping one, and Pepys, when he spent Sunday at Jamaica House and watched the girls running wagers on the bowling green, did not look upon a prospect very different to that which had gladdened the eyes of the monks of the abbey, albeit somewhat less rural. Or later, even as far down as the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was a considerable admixture of town and country, and the leather merchant or shipbuilder could stroll about his lawns and gardens, or take a ramble amid the fields and orchards lying immediately beyond. At that time Bermondsey was already a great commercial centre, and its commerce was its life ; but it was a full, vigorous, and well-fed life. Only within the last half-century has the great change come. During that time churches which had previously boasted a carriage congregation have been left high and dry, struggling not so much for the regeneration of the locality as for bare existence. The leisured and the well-to-do have departed elsewhere. Merchants and tradesmen live far afield. This great reservoir of poverty has been and is being left very largely to itself, so that with greater problems to face there is an ever-increasing inability to face them. Aristocracy, plutocracy have disappeared, and democracy has not yet come. It is there, but not operative. The present conditions of its existence are such that it cannot do much more than fight for its daily bread—and beer.

It is sad to contemplate what has been and to contrast it with what is. It is hard to conceive how a district now so low can go lower ; it is even more difficult to realise the means by which it may be lifted up. How and when will another change come is the problem that perplexes the social reformer ; and when it comes, what will it be ?

WILLIAM H. HUNT.

The World of Books.

I. THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS.

Reason and Revelation : An Essay in Christian Apology.

By J. R. Illingworth, M.A., D.D. (London : Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d.)

THIS book is a supplement to the author's previous essays on Personality and on Divine Immanence, and shares their good qualities and their defects. The defects are few and rare, confined chiefly to doubtful points of view concerning the relations of doctrine and the functions of Christian society, and to an occasional instance of special pleading where the manipulation of phrases is made to do the work of logic. The good qualities are many and conspicuous. Not the least is the clear and simple English, which adds an unusual value as literature to pages that are full of substantial matter. But it is to the subject of the volume and by its treatment that most readers will be attracted. The evidences of Christianity are not discussed except incidentally, but rather the presuppositions and the temper, ethical and spiritual, in which those evidences should be approached. Such preliminary considerations are partly moral and partly philosophical. Almost every controversy within the Christian arena may be traced back to original differences in point of view, and the exhibition and vindication of the right mental attitude, in which the demands of religion should be contemplated, are indispensable to any sound apology, and form the task to which Dr. Illingworth principally addresses himself.

Beginning with a temperate and well reasoned defence of a theistic view of the world, Dr. Illingworth pleads that according to such a view a revelation becomes antecedently probable, and proceeds to examine its credentials. Miracles are explained as unusual effects, designed to arrest attention by One who possesses a perfect knowledge of the laws of nature. Prophecy is held to point, not in separate predictions so much as in its general

course and flow, to a Messiah. But the main stress is laid upon the self-evidence of Christianity, which is taken to mean the changes wrought in personal character and life, with certain obvious influences upon the progress of civilisation. On physical science, and even on general history, the Bible is not regarded as a final authority. A distinction is pressed between the essentials of Christianity and the phases that error or party spirit makes prominent for a time, between obsolete modes of presentation and the central and abiding truths. The great creeds are once more rightly described as the negations of speculation in the terms of a current philosophy, and as positively only emphatic re-statements without exhaustive definition of important articles of belief. Various difficulties are discussed, such as the alleged incompatibility of Christian doctrine with prevalent forms of thought, and the practical success of Christianity is shown to confirm its claims, on the ground that the testing of a coherent system in a crucial point is enough to establish its validity as a whole.

In so strong and persuasive a book, dealing with matters of supreme interest, agreement with the writer in all particulars is not to be expected. His theory of miracle will seem to some an undue concession, an occasional hint at the disciplinary value of pain an inadequate relief to others. The problem of moral evil, on the other hand, loses much of its darkness and ceases to look insoluble when it is perceived that neither good nor evil would be possible without freedom, and that real freedom of will without overpowering constraint makes evil practically certain. In regard to future punishment, the author confuses the issue by something like a play upon words. He wishes apparently to retain the conception of punishment whilst avoiding that of the perpetuity of a rebellious will. Accordingly, the impenitent are supposed to wake in a future life "to recognise that, by their earthly conduct, they have brought themselves for ever to a lower state than might have been, and are to that extent everlastingly punished, while yet they accept their condition as divinely just, and are at peace." But surely the consciousness of the perfected will not be entirely free from the remembrance of the consequences on their own condition of their own sins ; and the peace of acquiescence in the will of God is not punishment, but bliss. The theory is clearly a disguised universalism, in which the logical blunder is made of confusing a difference of phrase with a difference in fact. Such errors, because of their

patency, do but slightly detract from the value of a book which the expert and the lay alike may read with advantage. The reconstruction of theology without the loss of any essential part is now rapidly proceeding, and to that great work Dr. Illingworth's contributions in this and his previous essays are loyal in spirit, philosophical in argument, reassuring in effect.

R. W. M.

The Revelation of the Holy Spirit. By J. E. C. Welldon, D.D., lately Bishop of Calcutta. (London : Macmillan & Co. 6s.)

Dr. Welldon writes for "men and women who, without having received a theological education, yet are or may be interested in the results and processes of theology," and his book is well designed to interest them. It is a scholarly and helpful putting of old arguments, with some fine exegetical paragraphs; and any educated man will find all the pages readable, and many of them full of encouragement to devoutness and hope. But he will not agree with everything, or pronounce the book a substitute for the great theological treatise for which the Church has looked so long. The contents of the chapters are tabulated on a single page; and though the passages of Scripture examined are numerous, and incidental allusion is made to names and topics almost beyond number, there is no index. The treatment begins with the revelation of the Spirit in the Old Testament, and proceeds in order to the revelation in the Gospels, in the rest of the New Testament, in the Fathers, in the creeds, and in history. In the first section a few of the passages cited are of doubtful relevance, and more allowance should be made for the Oriental and poetical character of some of the expressions. The narrative of the temptation of Christ is represented as "a figurative allegorical presentment of a spiritual experience." John xx. 23 is interpreted as meaning that "the gift of the Holy Spirit does convey to the Church a body, and to her priests as her representatives, the power of pronouncing, or refusing to pronounce, the forgiveness of sins," and some inconsequent statements follow. There is no attempt to correlate the teaching of Scripture with that of the non-Christian religions, though belief in a supreme deity everywhere carries with it theories of divine influence, and in the Old Testament the Holy Spirit is confessedly represented as an energy rather than as a person. There is a sentence in the preface which throws some light upon these

defects and omissions. The book was written in the course of the frequent journeyings of the author through his Indian diocese, when he was away from his library and in command of but scanty leisure. Whoever reads for practical benefit and immediate need will be charmed with the grace and fluency and with the varied learning of the writer. But the great doctrine of the Holy Spirit still awaits adequate treatment. R. W. M.

The Fatherhood of God. By J. Scott Lidgett, M.A. (Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 8s. net.)

The doctrine of the Divine Fatherhood has attained so strong a hold upon the thoughtful minds of this generation that we are not surprised at the appearance of a treatise setting forth its basis, its real meaning, and its far-reaching applications. It is, however, a matter for satisfaction that the subject has been handled by one so competent and broadminded as Mr. Scott Lidgett, whose previous work on the *Spiritual Principle of the Atonement* revealed a theologian of more than ordinary acumen and power. His own reputation will be enhanced by this notable contribution to the theological literature of the day, while at the same time a reflected lustre falls on the Church in which he holds an honoured position. Indirectly, the book is a protest against that vague sentimentalism which results from a superficial conception of God's Fatherhood. Theologically, also, it marks a parting of the ways, in that it disputes, and, as we consider, with success, the supremacy of the doctrine of the Divine Sovereignty—a supremacy which has continued from Augustine in the dogmas of Christendom, and which, while undermined by Reformed and Protestant thought, experienced a brilliant but ransient revival in the Oxford Movement. To Mr. Lidgett the Divine Fatherhood is fundamental and essential: it at once includes and explains the Divine Sovereignty; it is the all-determinative principle by which alone the Incarnation and the Atonement are capable of adequate interpretation; it is, moreover, in the realisation of this great truth that Christian experience finds its most sacred and abiding possession.

So far as the Old Testament is concerned, the ruling conception of man's relationship to God is shown to be that of the Covenant, while the prevailing doctrine of God is that of Kingship. The latter truth, presented by the later prophets with the added elements of graciousness and "fatherliness," paved

the way for the New Testament revelation, in which "the sovereignty of God is transfigured by but is present in His Fatherhood, and His righteousness sets forth the nature of His love and is the grandest manifestation of it." Mr. Lidgett has no difficulty in proving from an exhaustive survey of the New Testament that the universality of God's Fatherhood is everywhere set forth; but he rightly insists that an array of proof texts is by itself insufficient to place the doctrine on a permanent foundation. The Fatherhood must be shown to be the clue to all God's action alike in creation and redemption, and, in fact, in all His relations with the universe. This is the crucial test. What place does the doctrine hold in the theology of the New Testament writers? Is it primary or subordinate? The teaching of our Lord, of St. John and St. Paul, and other apostolic writers is discussed, and the conclusion reached that in all the New Testament writings, with the exception of the Apocalypse, where the idea of kingship is necessarily prominent, the dominant conception of God's relationship to man is that of Fatherhood and Sonship.

The way is thus opened for a consideration of the history of the doctrine in the Christian Church. It is a bold thing to attempt a survey of theological thought from Clement of Rome to Frederick Denison Maurice, and to compress within the limits of a chapter a study which might easily be expanded into volumes. The author, however, has achieved a distinct success, steering deftly through the perils of diffuseness, inequality, and meagreness of treatment. We cannot imagine a more illuminating study for an intelligent layman who desires to acquaint himself with the phases of Christian doctrine in its course from the post-apostolic age to modern times. In view of the conclusion to which the author works up, such a survey could not well have been omitted. It was essential to describe the influences which contributed to dethrone the doctrine of the Divine Fatherhood from its original and legitimate position in Christian theology; essential also to set forth the causes which led to its recovery.

The remainder of the book is constructive, and therefore, from the theological point of view, is of the utmost importance. In these four chapters Mr. Lidgett discusses successively the Validity and Content of the Fatherhood of God, the Spiritual Constitution of the World, the Redemption of Mankind, and the Consummation of all Things. He thus seeks to establish the

Divine Fatherhood as the determining principle of a living Christian theology. Within the limits of what is a brief notice rather than a critical study we can only note that he discusses the effect of this supreme principle upon almost every problem of truth and life—for example, upon the inner relations of the Trinity, upon the fact of sin, upon the validity of such time-honoured distinctions as nature and grace, natural and supernatural, and upon some of the important ethical problems of modern existence. The result is a valuable argument, admirable alike in the method and in the spirit with which it is conducted. It will appeal more especially to the trained intellect, which demands scientific definiteness and logical consistency, loves restraint of expression, and distrusts emotionalism. It is, indeed, doubtful whether Mr. Lidgett does not too diligently keep in check the warmth and passion of his convictions. There is a prevailing and unbroken calm, a philosophic regularity of style. This is, however, a matter of small moment. It is as an intellectual achievement that this volume will be estimated, and, for the moment, in his own field of inquiry there is no rival to Mr. Lidgett. His masterly treatment of a profound and far-reaching truth fills a distinct gap in the theological literature of the day.

R. M. P.

The Cross and the Kingdom, as Viewed by Christ Himself and in the Light of Evolution. By W. L. Walker. (Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 9s.)

This is another of the recent books in which an effort is made to focus Christian thought on the Atonement. Mr. Walker's method is to confine himself chiefly to the Synoptic Gospels, and to elicit from Christ's own sayings as recorded therein His own view of His death. The sayings themselves have first to be proved authentic against the subjective criticism to which they have been exposed—a necessary though dreary task, owing to the ineffective weapons that have to be used. Then follows a section in which the Cross is interpreted ; whilst in two other sections it is argued that history, apart from Scripture, is a witness to the specific value of Christ's death, and that evolution as a modal interpretation of nature may easily be harmonized with the evangelical truths concerned. The whole book is stimulating and reverent, occasionally homiletical in form, the product of earnest study, and itself full of earnest appeal. As a treatise it

is polemical rather than philosophical or complete, valuable in view of recent attempts to construct Scripture and doctrine in contempt of the science of textual criticism, but in virtue, perhaps, of the author's self-denial with respect to materials lacking somewhat in comprehension. In connexion with the penal element in Christ's sufferings, Mr. Walker does not seem quite to understand the view which he rejects; and in regard to evolution it is not easy for the reader to understand in what precise sense that word of many meanings is used. But the book merits and will well repay a careful study. It is devout, reasonable, and vigorous, likely to prove especially helpful to any who are beginning to imagine that conjectural emendations of the Gospels are either of worth in themselves or of fatal bearing on the great evangelical truths.

R. W. M.

Strength for the Way, and other Sermons and Addresses.

By W. T. Davison, M.A., D.D. (London: Charles H. Kelly. 3s. 6d.)

Dr. Davison has been well advised to publish these sermons and addresses. They represent the finest scholarship and the loftiest Christian temper of Methodism; they are models of graceful style, they are rich in matured thought on the most important questions of the time, and they are so persuasive, so gracious, so manifestly the outcome of personal training and experience, that one finds food and stimulus for mind and heart in every paragraph. The volume opens with the noble sermon, "Strength for the Way," which Dr. Davison delivered as President of the Wesleyan Conference in Newcastle-on-Tyne. It is followed by his sermon as ex-president in Manchester, his discourse before the Foreign Missionary Society, and that on behalf of the Bible Society delivered at City Road. His Charge to the newly ordained ministers is heartsearching. Those who heard it will renew the gracious impression of that solemn hour, whilst many more will be stirred up to make full proof of their ministry. The description of Arnold and his work given to the day-school teachers has been recognised by members of Arnold's own family as one of the truest and most beautiful accounts ever given of England's greatest schoolmaster. The two articles reprinted from the LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW are as timely as they are able and reasonable. We are thankful that such a record of Dr. Davison's presidency has been published. It will

stimulate young preachers to make the best use of their unique opportunities, and we wish that a copy of it could be put into the hands of every minister, not only of Methodism, but of all the Churches. The man who would thus distribute such a book would reap a golden harvest.

Justification by Faith, and other Sacred Trusts in Harmony and Correlation. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. By H. W. Holden, Vicar of North Grimston, York. (London : Skeffington & Son. 3s. 6d.)

In the enlarged edition of Mr. Holden's book we search in vain for a revised statement of Methodist teaching on this fundamental truth. The sentence, "Salvation that as such rests in man being his own saviour, by his own act of faith only," more fairly represents the author's style than the doctrine he sets himself to refute. Of the distinction between justification and sanctification he says : "It is in the books, yet it is not in the Bible. . . . It owes its present wide acceptance and its firm footing to that one form of English Dissent which has everywhere a place and a holding." But, strange to say, "even there (in Methodism) what is disavowed and frowned upon crops up and mocks at that which is in the books"; and, strangest of all, it is in a hymn (343) which Evangelical Christendom recognises as the devout aspiration of "believers seeking for full redemption" that proof is found of an identifying of justification and sanctification which is inconsistent with our standards : "'A clean heart' and 'a heart in every thought renewed' is what is professed in the moment of justification (or of conversion)" !

A protest must be entered against Mr. Holden's statement in his chapter on "The Marks of 'the Law' of Set or Sect." It purports to be a present-day application of the teaching of the Epistle to the Galatians : "here is the old foe with the new face." On one page, "a low standard, especially as respects charity," is said to be one of these marks ; on the next page, the "laxity, even licence," which is another mark, is exemplified in these words : "Slander, backbiting, breach of faith, suppression of truth, over-reaching in sale or purchase, taking an unjust advantage of youth or inexperience, profiting by the necessity of the widow and the orphan—scarcely are these deemed offences, so lightly are they regarded." By what standard the author

would justify such licence of expression it is impossible to say. It is long since we read words which so conspicuously fail to show unto us "a still more excellent way." J. G. T.

The Called of God. By the late A. B. Davidson, D.D. (Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 6s.)

As a Hebrew scholar of the first order, Dr. Davidson exercised a far-reaching influence on his contemporaries. Perhaps this influence is not to be measured by his achievements in literature, although his articles in the *Hastings' Bible Dictionary* confer a lasting value on that production ; while his *Hebrew Grammar* is a standard work, and his little *Commentary on the Hebrews* reveals on every page his mastery of Old Testament modes of thought, and is probably the best on the English text available for the student. It is, however, as a great teacher and a winsome personality that he will long be remembered, especially in Scottish Presbyterianism. Even a certain reserve and reticence of disposition rather attracted than alienated his students and friends : it was part of the man, whose judgments were always to be relied upon and pre-eminently sane. On the Old Testament his opinions commanded universal respect, because they were the opinions of a master of his subject, and were never tentative or fragmentary. The interest of this volume of sermons is largely enhanced by the introductory sketch of his life contributed by Mr. A. Taylor Innes. A rather remarkable statement with regard to Dr. Davidson's sermons occurs to the effect that they "were all written under the influence of that traditional depreciation of popular preaching, in imaginary rivalry with thinking and theology and scholarship, which has blighted the output for the pulpit of the New College of Edinburgh as compared with that of other academical centres in Scotland, and which his own influence helped to continue." Whether Dr. Davidson depreciated popular preaching or not we have no means, beyond this judgment, of knowing. The discourses published in this volume are, perhaps, not popular in style ; but we demur to the biographer's verdict that they are "straggling, shapeless, and inartistic" as being produced from the point of view described in the above quotation. Eight sermons deal with Old Testament characters, such as Jacob, Moses, Saul, Elijah, and Isaiah, the remaining five with New Testament characters. They are well arranged, and there is a distinct

method to be discovered in all, even when this is not indicated by special divisions. They are simple and devout in spirit, robust in thought, strong in characterisation of quality and motive. They are lit up with flashes of poetic beauty and imagination, as, for example, when he conceives Isaiah gazing on the form of the dead Uzziah and finding reflected in the king's face "the eternal, changeless sights, the grandeur, the unchanging flow of eternity, the awful face of God." The delineation of the inner consciousness of Thomas is carried out with rare sympathy and penetrating power. The discourses, as a whole, have an individuality and charm of their own.

R. M. P.

Sojourning with God, and other Sermons. By Principal Rainy. (London : Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

These sermons manifest, both in their strength and their weakness, the characteristics which we should expect to find in the preaching of one whose lifework has been achieved in the particular field of activity which Dr. Rainy has made his own. He has been beyond all things an ecclesiastical administrator and statesman of a very high order ; consequently, the practical has taken precedence of the poetic, and insight has developed with greater fulness than facility and grace of expression. These qualities and corresponding deficiencies have made him the great leader of men that he is, and at the same time they have debarred him from being a correspondingly great preacher. His sermons are sound rather than attractive ; they are well ordered, and exhibit much keen insight ; but they never carry you on with an irresistible power, nor are they calculated to generate emotion or enthusiasm. And yet in some of them—notably the two on the Samaritan woman—there is much sound exposition, lit up often with genuine evangelical passion. It is in this type of treatment that Dr. Rainy feels himself to be most at home, but even his exposition would be rendered more effective by the gift of illustration—a side upon which he is palpably deficient.

W. F. M.

The Theology of Christ's Teaching. By John M. King, D.D. With Introduction by James Orr, D.D. (London : Hodder & Stoughton. 10s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Orr introduces the author as a Scotchman who, after a collegiate training in Scotland and Germany, emigrated to

Canada, and there did yeoman service to Presbyterianism as preacher, professor, and organiser. Taking hold of Manitoba College, when it was verging on extinction, he raised it to a high pitch of prosperity. The volume contains the substance of his theological teaching there. The theology expounded, while it covers the entire field of doctrine, is drawn simply from Christ's teaching. The arrangement of topics is not clearly indicated, but it follows the usual course, beginning with the doctrine of God, omitting none of the essential constituents, and closing with eschatology. While there is little originality of matter or treatment, the exposition is everywhere marked by thoroughness, sobriety, and strong sense. Modern views are everywhere noticed, though they are not accepted. Dr. Orr says truly, "the treatment is full and painstaking, and results in bringing out the harmony of Christ's teaching with the main doctrines of the Apostolic Gospel." And again, "the book will be valuable to not a few as a revelation of the manysidedness of the Saviour's teaching, and will be specially acceptable to former students of Dr. King, whose memories of a revered instructor will by its means be revived." B.

The Supernatural Element in our Lord's Earthly Life in Relation to Historical Methods of Study. By F. H. Chase, D.D. (London : Macmillan. 1s.)

This paper, read at Sion College, indicates clearly and briefly the bearings on the new methods of study on faith in the miraculous narratives of the Gospels. The change in method is great, in result small. The evidential force of the miracles is, it is argued, less to us than to the original eye witnesses, the didactic value as great or greater. The evidence for the Resurrection of Christ and the Miraculous Birth is considered at length, especially in reference to recent attacks. Here also it is shown that the difficulties are exaggerated and the demands unreasonable. No historical fact could stand if judged by the rigid canons applied to the Gospels. The pamphlet will be found suggestive and helpful. B.

Religion for all Mankind. By C. Voysey, B.A. (London : Longmans. 2s. 6d. net.)

The author says, "I keep absolutely clear of all so-called divine revelation as an authority." Yet most of the sermons

are based on Scripture texts, and Scripture is often quoted. There must be some reason for assigning such distinction to Scripture. The position taken in relation to God, sin, death, forgiveness, and similar questions is very much the same as that taken by Theodore Parker and other theists, although the exposition is less eloquent and impressive. The ambitious title is not justified by the contents. The dedication begins, "In all humility I dedicate this book to my God." B.

The Journal of Theological Studies. January, 1903.
(London : Macmillan. Annual Subscription, 12s. net.)

The leading articles include an acute metaphysical sermon on the relation of human to divine personality by Dr. Moberly, an account of the new Babylonian code as illustrating the Mosaic, and a criticism of Wendt's work on the Fourth Gospel by Dr. Lock. The apparatus of Notes and Studies is as learned as ever. Dr. Fairbairn's *Philosophy of the Christian Religion* and Rainy's *Church History* are subjected to severe criticism. B.

The Hibbert Journal. A Quarterly Review of Religion, Theology, and Philosophy. January, 1903. (London : Williams & Norgate. 2s. 6d. net.)

The second number of the *Hibbert Journal* is, in our judgment quite equal and in some respects superior to the first. A new and welcome feature is the section entitled "Discussions," and containing criticisms of articles which appeared in No. 1 ; Mr. Conybeare's Textual Theories are powerfully attacked by the Rev. J. R. Wilkinson, M.A. Professor Adeney shows that the new edition of *Supernatural Religion* retains arguments which have been discredited, and contends that it is "not a scientific dissertation ; it represents the special pleading of a debater." The editors have found a supporter of Van Manen's hypotheses in Professor W. B. Smith of New Orleans ; he answers the question, "Did St. Paul write Romans ?" in the negative. Professor Schmiedel's reply in the next issue will be awaited with interest.

Sir Oliver Lodge, in his stirring article on "The Reconciliation between Science and Faith," holds that science teaches theology "to look for the action of the Deity, if at all, then always." One weighty argument he uses, but not, we think, in its highest significance. The fact that we can influence each

other "by non-corporeal methods" suggests the questions: "May we not be open to influence from beings in another region?" and "How do we know that in the mental sphere they cannot answer prayer?" But may we not also be open to the influences of the Spirit of God? May not the Father of our spirits Himself answer our prayers and give us the "power to do and to will," which Dr. Lodge believes He may impart through intermediate agencies? It is, however, for all Christians to lay to heart the words of this distinguished scientist: "Religious people seem to be losing some of their faith in prayer: they think it scientific not to pray in the sense of simple petition; . . . but, so far as ordinary science has anything to say to the contrary, a more childlike attitude might turn out truer, more in accordance with the total scheme." J. G. T.

The Wisdom of James the Just. By the Right Rev. W. Boyd Carpenter, D.D., Lord Bishop of Ripon. (London: Isbister & Co. 5s.)

The Epistle of St. James is evidently a congenial theme for Dr. Boyd Carpenter, and his comments upon it are both suggestive and stimulating. He sets himself to study the man as revealed in the letter, and then expounds the letter in its bearings on Christian life and conduct. The bishop never loses sight of practical issues, and is always temperate and sagacious. His book will be an invaluable groundwork for teachers and preachers who wish to use the epistle for a course of sermons or lessons. "Keep the highest ideal before you: it will raise you, and it will humble you." That is the spirit and tone of this volume.

Things Concerning the Kingdom: Studies Expository and Devotional. By John J. Ingram. (London: C. H. Kelly. 2s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Ingram is a clear thinker, and he has a good style and knows how to map out his subject. We can understand the influence a ministry such as his must exert on devout and thoughtful people. There is no straining after effect, but a quiet intensity runs through the whole book, and makes it impressive and helpful. The man who could write such sermons has a well trained mind and heart. He has learned many of the great lessons of life, and knows how to make his knowledge and experience fruitful in the lives of others.

Messrs. Williams & Norgate send us the *Critical Review* for January. It is a wise guide for students to all branches of Biblical literature, and those who wish to follow the developments of German theology could not find their needs better met than in this review. The Rev. George Fletcher's *Chapters on Preaching*, the Rev. John Edwards' *Nineteenth Century Preachers and their Methods*, and Dr. Rigg's *Scenes and Studies in the Ministry of our Lord* receive favourable notice. Professor Salmond says that Dr. Rigg handles such subjects as "Peter's Fall and Restoration" "in a telling, instructive, unpretentious manner."

New Testament Holiness, by Thomas Cook (C. H. Kelly, 1s. 6d.), is a sensible and suggestive book, which lovers of true holiness will know how to profit by. We are somewhat in the position of the tutor to whom Mr. Cook refers in his preface, and his exposition of Acts xv. 8, 9, on page 83, does not give us confidence. The purifying of the heart by faith there mentioned came at the stage we describe as conversion, and is not a synonym for entire sanctification. Mr. Cook writes with much force, and his book will stir up his readers to new faith and devotion.

The Master and His Method, by E. Griffith-Jones (Hodder & Stoughton, 1s. net), is one of the "Christian Study Manuals," and is full of matter, fresh, spiritual, helpful. Every teacher ought to master the book, and to share its treasures with all whom he can reach and influence.

Christ's Cure for Care, by Mark Guy Pearse (Hodder & Stoughton, 2s. 6d.), has a message for all fretful and overburdened workers. Mr. Pearse's illustrations are very happy, and it would not be easy to read these homilies on the words of our Lord and His apostles without rising above the clouds. The hymns added to each section are aptly chosen, and the dainty title-page and binding make the volume very attractive. We should like to see it in every sick-room, and in the hands of all who are weary with life's burdens. Mr. Pearse has never brought us a more timely or welcome message.

The Meaning of Quakerism (4d.) and *Education and Religion* (3d.) are suggestive addresses by J. W. Graham, M.A., published by Headley Brothers. The attitude of the Quakers to the Higher Criticism and other subjects is explained in a way that will interest many.

II. FOR BIBLE STUDENTS.

The Religion of the Teutons. By P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, D.D., Professor in the University of Leiden. Translated from the Dutch by B. J. Vos, Ph.D., Associate Professor of German in the Johns Hopkins University. "Handbooks on the History of Religions." (Boston and London : Ginn & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

THERE is considerable responsibility attaching to writers who are called to follow in the series inaugurated by Professors Hopkins and Jastrow, with their standard works on the religions of India and of Babylonia and Assyria. But the name of Professor Chantepie de la Saussaye, the highest authority now left us in the field of Comparative Religion, will settle in advance any question whether the third volume of Jastrow's series will reach the level of its predecessors. The history of Germanic paganism is profoundly interesting to us as members of the great Germanic family. That paganism, the imperfect fragments of which are so carefully gathered together in this book, has slept for a thousand years its last sleep. But even the country Methodists who in their perplexity made Wesley responsible for

"Less guilty if, with those of old,
We worshipped *through a wooden stool*,"

were yet accustomed to speak of "Woden's Day" and "Thor's Day" every week, and to enjoy the festivity of "Yuletide" and the sacred associations of "Easter" with little thought that they were lapsing into heathen phraseology. The study of the present book will show that we have more of our ancestors about us than perhaps we thought, and the picture of those ancestors' religion, from which they were in general so easily led into the Christian faith, will explain much in the later religious history of the German races. Just as so much in modern Latin Christianity is understood when we see the old Roman punctually performing his ritual, on the exact fulfilment of which in every detail depends the divine answer, even so we can read the secret of the German Reformation and of English Puritanism when we look at the character of our ancestors in Tacitus or other old authorities—sturdy and truth-loving and free, always able and willing to keep priests and kings in their proper place when dis-

posed to usurp privileges which weaker races yielded without a struggle.

It is impossible in a short review to give any adequate account of the contents of this learned and eminently judicious book. Dr. de la Saussaye holds a very even keel between the bold theories which open out on either side in the numerous places where scanty and ambiguous evidence produces wide varieties of opinion. In the extremely difficult problem of disentangling the Christian and the purely pagan elements in the sagas he takes an eminently sensible and moderate line, perfectly ready to allow Christian admixture where proved, but declining to dig about the roots of stories which would never suggest any such admixture to unprepossessed minds. It is very clear, in fact, that the old mythology lived on in the people's memory, almost unaltered, mainly because it was divorced so entirely from religion and from morals. As the author shows, the German religion practically left the sphere of morals alone. The virtues of the race were not in the least due to the example or authority of their gods. There was no personal link between the gods and their worshippers, nothing to prompt love, and little to suggest fear. The mythology, therefore, having become no real religion but only a collection of stories, yielded such rights as it had very easily, but it was allowed to live on as folklore very little disturbed. As nursery tales retain popularity, though many of them were born in a primeval pagan atmosphere, so did the deeds of the gods continue to be told in the North. It was not necessary, as among the Mediterranean folk, to add even the thin veneer of Christianity, which, by substituting the names of Mary and other saints for those of the most dubious old divinities, enabled the Church to accept the legends as pious fact. In the North, apparently, the Church did not think the old sagas formidable enough to be worth tabooing, and they continued to inspire the poetry of Christian ages in much the same way as the old Persian folklore and Aryan mythology inspired the orthodox Mahomedan Firdausi in the *Shahnamah*.

To those who have studied Professor Ridgeway's fascinating theory of the Northern origin of Homer's Achæans (sketched in this REVIEW, October, 1901, pp. 373 ff.) one of the first things looked for will be the points of contact between the Germans and the heroes of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. To judge from the title of a work I have not yet seen, the great Keltic scholar, D'Arbois de Jubainville, has recently been collecting some points of con-

tact between the Achæans and the Kelts, who in those early times must have been almost indistinguishable from the Germans, except in dialect. The persistent stories of Ulysses and his appearances in Germany, found as early as Tacitus, are, I venture to think, not "learned inventions" (p. 83), but genuine footprints of a hero as German as Achilles in his birth. And when we read of "princesses washing clothes on the seashore" (p. 176), like Nausicaa, or of the three Norns and Nornagestr (p. 315), the Northern doublet of the Greek Moirai and Meleager,¹ or of the ship that bore the dead to the western isle, we seem to see what is very nearly allied to the familiar lore of early Greece.² Professor Ridgeway's key will indeed unlock other mysteries as well as those found in Homer. The Northern rovers were not content with forcing an imperial race on Greece and Rome. They left their traces in the Persia of Cyrus, and their blood is perhaps still recognisable among the highest races of India. All along the line of this vast migration we may pick up the relics of the mighty race which at least four thousand years ago overran two continents as their descendants overrun the world to-day.

Our excuse for thus digressing must be that only a Germanic specialist could criticise this book, and only a reviewer with more pages to spare than I have lines could give an account of it. If I venture a criticism, it would be by way of doubting whether nature myths are not sought somewhat too freely. In any case, surely neither Ares nor Mars can be "sky gods originally" ? (p. 244). In the exhaustive bibliography at the end I miss H. M. Chadwick's careful monograph, "The Cult of Othin," which does something to redeem the poverty of English work in this field. Nor should the translator have failed to note that English students need not learn German in order to read Mommsen. In mentioning Otto Schrader's *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte* (which also, by the way, is translated) the author should have added the much more recent and reliable *magnum opus* of the same writer, the *Reallexikon*, a dictionary of "culture-words" that are evidence for primeval Indo-Germanic life.

¹ See the Norse story finely told in English verse by Mr. E. E. Kellett in his *Passing of Söylð*, p. 50. The same book has a version of the Weird Ship of the Dead (p. 115).

² See also pp. 192, 337, 369 (Division of the Sacrifice), where Greek parallels are fairly obvious.

One or two miscellaneous points may be mentioned in closing. Professor de la Saussaye unhesitatingly sets aside the evidence of Julius Cæsar when he conflicts with Tacitus. I cannot help feeling that some solution of this well known problem may yet be found which will save us from thus dismissing the evidence of the acutest observer in antiquity. Can it be that Cæsar speaks of Northern Germans or their kin, while Tacitus describes a different stock? It is known that there was a blond, broad-headed race in mid-Europe, distinct from the blond longheads of the North; and from this book we may learn (p. 366) that among the Scandinavians the priests had so small a place that we might well imagine Cæsar (*Bell. Gall.* vi. 21) saying of them that "they neither have Druids to superintend their worship, nor do they pay great attention to sacrifices." Tacitus's very different account may have been drawn from observations among other tribes than those which Cæsar saw. Cæsar's statement that the German gods were Sun, Fire, and Moon is one we are equally loth to give up, because of its close resemblance to the account of Persian popular religion in Herodotus. Is it too fanciful to find in Cæsar's easily recognisable picture of the reindeer (vi. 26) evidence that his Germans hailed from the northern stock?

One other point of interest might be mentioned—the author's explanation of the popularity of the *hemings* or poetical (?) circumlocutions (p. 195). He would connect them partly with the curious superstition which produced a language of paraphrase when on the high seas, for fear of spirits who would understand direct language. Dr. Frazer has a full account of this practice, which still survives in the Shetlands and on the north-east coast of Scotland (*Golden Bough*, i. 451 ff.). The connexion seems a very possible element in the rise of a feature which evidently makes Norse poetry highly irritating to read.

With these scraps of comment we must perforce let our author go, but we can confidently abstain from any attempt to make bush for such altogether excellent wine. Next to Tacitus's *Germania* (read in Church and Brodribb's translation, if necessary), there can hardly be a book which will give us a more vivid picture of Germanic antiquity. JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

Joseph and Moses, the Founders of Israel. By Buchanan Blake. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 4s.)

With the principle laid down on the opening pages of this volume few will be disposed to quarrel, *vis.* that the earlier

portions of the Old Testament, commonly called historical narratives, are essentially prophetic, in that prophecy consists in the declaration and interpretation of the mind of God to men for their salvation. But opinions will differ as to the efficacy of the theory here put forward for the elucidation of the prophecy. Mr. Blake not only sees two distinct narratives concerning the founders of Israel, but he traces their origin to the antagonisms of the two kingdoms after the death of Solomon. To him it appears "almost of necessity that a prophet speaking or writing for the kingdom of the Ten Tribes would have to consult their local feeling and adapt himself to their view-point. Hence a prophetic narrative for each kingdom became a necessity." So it is that in different parts of this volume Mr. Blake gives us "The Story of Joseph according to the Judah narrative," "The Story of Joseph as told in the Northern Kingdom." Take, for instance, Gen. xxxvii., containing the record of the betrayal of Joseph, and the restraining influence exercised in different ways and at different stages by Judah and Reuben (ver. 21-32), a narrative which is, we submit, perfectly coherent as it stands, and true to human nature. Mr. Blake, however, would have us to believe that it is the writer who tells the story for "southern consumption" who gives the credit—doubtful and meagre credit at best—for milder measures to Judah. "How gladly does our prophet avail himself of this trait in the character of their great ancestor! Thus he gains access to their heart. It was their founder who acted thus!" And so on in the same strain. Now this is, we venture to say, perfectly unnecessary and intolerably subjective. But directly we leave this field of speculative criticism, and come to what may be called the evangelical side of his book, we have nothing but praise for it. The episodes are made to live before our eyes with wonderful distinctness, and their significance as witnessing to a controlling Providence is expounded with great power. To this critic, at any rate, these men are real, historic persons, no mythical heroes. W. F. M.

Biblical and Literary Essays. By the late A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D. Edited by his successor, Professor J. A. Paterson, D.D. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

The praise of Dr. Davidson as a learned, open-minded, and reverent student of the Old Testament is in all the Churches. Scholars are eagerly looking forward to the publication of his

Commentary on Isaiah, and of his works on Old Testament Theology and Old Testament Prophecy. But this volume of essays will "interest a much wider circle of readers." It is a restful book, as free from fanciful hypotheses as it is full of helpful exposition ; in the discussions of difficult problems profound philosophical insight is combined with minute critical study. Calmly the author shows that historical and scientific investigations have discredited—not the Bible as the word of God, but—some of the theoretical opinions of the Church about the Bible, and the "*a priori* judgments regarding what must be found in it, or what must certainly be absent from it." A glance at the Contents will reveal the varied gifts of Professor Davidson, and be a powerful inducement to the study of this choice book.

J. G. T.

Horæ Semiticæ. No. 1 : "The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac," edited from a Mesopotamian Manuscript with various Readings and Collations of other MSS. By Margaret Dunlop Gibson. 15s. net. No. 2 : "The Didascalia Apostolorum in English." Translated by Margaret Dunlop Gibson. 4s. net. (London : Clay & Sons.)

The "Didascalia Apostolorum" is a work of considerable importance for early Christian history and practice, but has not hitherto been available in English. The Greek original is entirely unknown, and the attempt by Lagarde to restore it from the versions was not entirely successful. Translations into Arabic, Ethiopic, Syriac, were made at an early date. Two years ago Hauler published fragments of a Latin translation from a palimpsest of the fourth century, and last year Professor Nau issued a French translation, of which the accuracy is almost beyond praise. To Mrs. Gibson is due the credit of preparing this admirable edition of the Syriac text, and of supplying it with all necessary apparatus in the form of a careful translation, of an index of quotations from Scripture, and of adequate prolegomena. The text is based upon an ancient manuscript found in Mesopotamia a few years ago ; all other Syriac manuscripts of any value have been collated, with the result that Mrs. Gibson's text at once becomes the standard upon which future students of the document will need to work. The translation is clear and sympathetic, and a comparison with the original reveals few cases where any real improvement could be effected.

Altogether the double task of extracting a trustworthy text from manuscripts not easy of decipherment, and of representing the contents in sound and readable English, has been admirably completed; and the work must have a place found for it in any good collection of materials for the history of early Christian thought or practice.

In date the original of the Didascalia must be assigned to the third century. Lagarde's suggestion that it originated amongst the heretical sect of the Audians is little more than conjecture; and with greater probability it may be supposed to have arisen in an earlier community that was strongly marked by anthropomorphic tendencies. The main contents are ethical directions, interspersed with ecclesiastical regulations, all of which are unblushingly attributed to the "twelve apostles . . . assembled with one accord in Jerusalem." Two salient features are the exaltation of the authority of bishops, and the testimony to the canonicity of the Fourth Gospel. "Let the layman love the bishop, and honour him, and reverence him as father and lord and god after God Almighty," is but one of many counsels that would be pleasing to the episcopal ear. At the same time, there is no mention whatever of the bishop of Rome as superior over his brethren; the local Church is a law to itself, and the local bishop is responsible to none but God. The quotations from the New Testament are mostly from the authorised version of the Syriac Church, though several are more closely allied to the Old Syriac, and several again are best explained on the assumption that the author used a Gospel Harmony. Professor Nau was disposed to think that the writer was not acquainted with the Gospel of St. John; but there are four or five quotations that can have been taken only from that book, and more could hardly have been expected in a little work concerned almost exclusively with details of practice. In the Johannine controversy and in regard to the theory of a rapid evolution of dioceses under central control the Didascalia is likely to prove of unexpected value.

R. W. M.

An Eastern Exposition of the Gospel of Jesus according to St. John. Being an Interpretation thereof by Sri Paránanda by the light of Jnána Yoga. Edited by R. L. Harrison. (London: W. Hutchinson & Co.)

Jnána Yoga is said to mean "the most intimate union of the sanctified spirit in man with the illumining Spirit of the L.Q.R., APRIL, 1903.

universe," and this commentary to be "based not on theory or speculation, but on the actual experiences of those who are in constant fellowship with God." Such an assurance is not encouraging, as also is not Miss Harrison's opening statement in her preface to the effect that only those who are qualified to hear the doctrine are likely to profit, the qualification consisting apparently in the possession of virtues corresponding with those commended in seven of the eight beatitudes. The book is really a commentary on the Fourth Gospel by an Indian sage, who seems to profess a kind of Buddhism of his own. He interprets "the beginning" as implying a previous "state of absoluteness or non-differentiation," and the Logos as the Spirit, or the "inaudible voice or sound which, preparatory to evolution, arose in the Being of God." A similar style of exposition characterises the entire volume, surrounding a few of the simple words with a charming mystic haze; but it cannot be said that light is thrown upon any of the difficulties in the gospel. As a curiosity, the book has its value; but the point of view is obviously wrong, and the contents are an admirable illustration of the wisdom and the nonsense that combine to make one species of modern theosophy. The East is evidently beginning to study the Bible of the West; and as soon as speculation has learnt to keep within even modest bounds, the effects will be welcome to Christians everywhere.

R. W. M.

The Scene of Our Lord's Life. By R. Waddy Moss, D.D.
(London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1s. net.)

All the "Christian Study Manuals" are of high merit, but there is none of the set that will better repay study than this. It opens with a sketch of Palestine—its extent, its geological features, its mountains and rivers, its flora and fauna—which gives a better general idea of the country than many a big volume. Then follow chapters on Palestine under the Herods and under the Roman procurators; on the administration of the country; on "Parties and Classes," on the "Condition of the People," "Family Life," and "Religious Worship." Professor Moss never wastes a word; he is never obscure, and he never fails to interest and instruct his readers. We know no handbook for the student of Palestine to match this, and we hope that Christian Endeavour Societies, Wesley Guilds, and Bible-classes all over the country will use it as a text-book. It throws light on almost every page of the Bible.

III. CHURCH HISTORY.

A History of the Church of Christ. By Herbert Kelly, Director of the Sacred Mission. Two Volumes. (London : Longmans. 6s. net.)

The Age of the Fathers. By the late Professor William Bright, D.D. Two Volumes. (London : Longmans. 28s. net.)

WE have grouped the two books together, though they do not exactly cover the same period. Mr. Kelly ranges from A.D. 29-430; Dr. Bright confines himself to the fourth and fifth centuries. Nor have the two works the same character. The first is a text-book designed "to provide a general introduction to Church history which may be used as a basis, to be criticised, verified, filled up from what is fuller and more authoritative"; the second is intended to be as complete a survey of the period as the non-technical reader will care to read or consult. Both works are of considerable value, especially the second.

Mr. Kelly's position may be gathered from his early remark that "at the meaning of Bishop Lightfoot's *Essay on the Christian Ministry* it is in fact impossible to guess," though he urges the student to make himself acquainted with it "on account of the continual appeals made to it by anti-Church writers." On the whole, however, with occasional lapses, his work is fair and judicious, and shows wide range of reading; while the lists of books, authorities, and sources with which the chapters open are well chosen and helpful. We quite agree with his remark on page 128 that the words "believe" and "true" are most misleading, or rather meaningless, when applied to the relation of the old Greek culture to its polytheistic hierarchy. A better question would be "did it fit?" The work, in fact, is full of shrewd observations on character and things which some may regard as irrelevant, but which in our opinion give flesh to what might otherwise, in so small a treatise, become dry bones. Here and there the author runs the risk of being counted narrow, as when he points out, rightly enough, that Marcus Aurelius was in no sense "a seeker after Christ": "He had deliberately refused to seek after anything outside himself" (p. 147). It all

depends upon what you mean by "yourself"—far too deep a problem in philosophy to be discussed in a Church History Manual. Is it fair also to call Gibbon an "infidel"? The weakness of the book lies in its inadequate grasp of Greek philosophy and its relation to the development of the Church, together with a certain theological cocksureness which at times degenerates into writing unworthy of an historian, as, for instance, when we are told (ii. 68), speaking of the death of Arius, that "the hand of God smote him." No man is big enough to write in this strain. Mr. Kelly forgets Christ's warning over the tower of Siloam.

Dr. Bright's large volumes are, of course, of a different order. The ground covered is almost exactly the same as that of his earliest work, *The History of the Church from A.D. 313 to A.D. 451*. This is, however, a more popular presentation. There is not from first to last a single note, or even guide to further reading or indication of the nature of the sources; while the plan is adopted, always the best in popular works, of making the history as far as possible centre round great personalities. As regards the age in question nothing is easier, or rather nothing is more difficult. There were giants in those days, Constantine, Athanasius, Arius, Julian, Basil, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, Cyril. What pen is sufficient to unfold the mighty story? Who is able to bring out all the work of the Holy Spirit in and through these men? Gibbon perhaps might have done it, if he had not left his first love; and his treatment of Athanasius shows how well he would have done it if only —. What the Church needs is the Gibbon who is in the Kingdom. No wonder that historian after historian is attracted to the deathless theme. But unfortunately the result of their labours does not seem to reach beyond a limited circle. Dr. Bright's volumes are splendidly adapted for their purpose. We can only hope that they will succeed in their object—though alas! their author is no longer with us to rejoice therein. The fact of their size is no objection, except from the point of view of price. It is always best to read history on a large scale.

The volumes as they appear are not altogether from Dr. Bright's pen. His literary executors, on looking over the work—part of which was already printed, and the whole typed—discovered many evidences "that it had been with a rather failing eye and hand that Dr. Bright had worked at the end." The whole was therefore carefully revised by that eminent scholar

Mr. C. H. Turner, whose name will be a pledge of accuracy. Nor must we overlook the capital *Index* which another of his friends prepared out of love to their teacher. The two volumes form a worthy monument to and legacy from one who has passed from the conflicts of the Church Militant—upon which he shed a light, always clear, oftentimes searching, but never other than the white light of charity—into the Church Triumphant, where there is neither Paul nor Cephas, but God is all and in all.

One last remark. It is a little matter, but why will Mr. Kelly and others of his school contract saint into "S."? Dr. Bright rightly gives us the English and not the Continental form. For "S," we hold, is not English at all, as the literature of the past shows.

H. B. WORKMAN.

Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. The Fifth Book. By Richard Hooker. A New Edition, with Prolegomena and Appendices by Ronald Bayne, M.A. (London: Macmillan & Co. 15s. net.)

Mr. Bayne has done his work as editor with rare insight and sympathy. In a masterly study of "Disciplinarian Puritanism" he throws light on the circumstances under which Hooker's work was born. Whitgift's was the task of organising loyalty among the clergy of the Church of England; Hooker stated with consummate dignity and charm the claims of that Church upon the regard of her sons. "The two men together by their spiritual energy gave the Reformed English Church a soul and a body." That is a great claim, but Mr. Bayne knows how to make it good. He describes *The Ecclesiastical Polity* as the first prose classic in our language which still remains the most representative and original example of great and high-sounding English prose. Hooker does not appeal to our restless age. "He cannot be read in a hurry. He must be lived with and used regularly for his full power to be felt. But as soon as we are accustomed to the massiveness, ampleness, and dignity of Hooker's manner we shall quickly become aware of other qualities, which do not obtrude themselves as they do in more modern writers, but which cannot be missed by a sensitive reader. He has the great writer's instinct for the just and beautiful use of words, and he has a scholar's ear for all their secondary meanings and associations." No more absolute gentleman than Hooker ever conducted a controversy, and his noble toleration is the more

striking as we watch the angry tumults of the times. Mr. Bayne's verdict on Hooker's home life differs from that of Izaak Walton. In his will Hooker speaks of "my well beloved wife," and his reference to matrimony shows that the great writer had a vein of sentiment which Walton's story of his courtship altogether ignores. The notes of this edition are a revision of those in Keble's edition of 1841, but all quotations from the Greek and Latin have been translated, and the Biblical references have been cited in full. It is a monumental edition, for which lovers of English theology and English prose will alike be grateful.

Christian Worship: its Origin and Evolution. A Study of the Latin Liturgy up to the Time of Charlemagne. By Mgr. L. Duchesne. Translated from the Third French Edition by M. L. McClure. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 10s.)

This volume contains "a description and explanation of the chief forms of Catholic worship in the Latin Churches of the West" from the fourth to the ninth century. It is based on the author's lectures at the *Institut Catholique* in Paris, and is intended for those who wish for a general view of the subject and have no time to master the tomes of the great liturgiologists. The style of the book is singularly clear, and Mrs. McClure has rendered it into English with much skill and felicity. She has been allowed to consult Canon Warren whenever a difficulty arose as to the English equivalent of technical terms, and Mgr. Duchesne has himself contributed some additional notes to this edition. After an instructive study of "Ecclesiastical Areas," we have chapters on the Mass in the East, on the Roman and Gallican Mass, on Christian Festivals and Ceremonies, Ordination, and Liturgical Vestments. Mgr. Duchesne is master of the literature of the subject, and his account of the origin of the Gallican Use is of special importance. He thinks that Milan, not Lyons, was the principal centre from which that Use spread over the West. The section on "The Fraction" of the Host is a singular study of the materialistic practices which found their way into the Gallican Mass. The particles of the Host were arranged upon the paten in such a manner as to represent the human form. The Council of Tours (567 A.D.) denounced this practice, and decreed that the portions should be arranged in the form of a cross.

IV. HISTORY.

Ave Roma Immortalis. Studies from the Chronicles of Rome. By Francis Marion Crawford. Illustrated. (London : Macmillan & Co. 8s. 6d. net.)

MR. CRAWFORD'S history is as fascinating as his romance. He is one of the great masters of style, and he is so full of knowledge and so free from affectation, so genuinely interested in his subject, that he weaves a spell around his readers with his first sentences, and never allows them to escape till his tale is told. Rome and its history is a theme to inspire the most prosaic. Mr. Crawford spent his boyhood in the great old Villa Negroni, where his uncle had his sculptor's studio. He knows Rome in all her moods ; he has grown familiar with her stately ceremonials and her carnivals ; he has lived over again the chief scenes of her history right down from Pagan times, and as we follow him from one "region" of the city to another, visiting its buildings and tracing its historic scenes, we seem to see all that Mr. Crawford has seen with our own eyes as well as his. We know no book that makes a reader feel so much at home in the Imperial City as this. It gives the atmosphere of the place ; it explains a hundred difficulties ; it shows us the home life of the old nobles, and throws light upon their endless feuds. With its map and its wealth of pictures we can find our way from one end of the city to the other. The story often makes one shudder. "Blood, blood, and more blood—that was the history of old Rome,—the blood of brothers, the blood of foes, the blood of martyrs without end." This cheap edition is a boon for which every lover of Rome will be grateful.

The Part of Rheims in the Making of the English Bible. By J. G. Carleton, D.D. (Oxford : Clarendon Press. 9s. 6d.)

This patient and thorough piece of work will prove of real value to those who desire to critically examine the genealogy of our English Bible. The translators or editors of the Rhemish version have only themselves to thank if their work has been somewhat discounted as being a Romish counterblast to Protestant translations, for they admit the fact, and are proud of it. There is, however, very little that is distinctly Roman Catholic in the text, though the notes issued with it abound in such teaching. Where the Rhemish version differs from others is in

the fact that it is based upon Latin and not Greek manuscripts, though the translators had the latter beside them as well. The object of the present treatise has been to set forth in detail the influence of this version upon the Authorised version ; and Dr. Carleton comes to the conclusion that "while the translation of 1611 in its general framework and language is essentially the daughter of the Bishop's Bible, which in its turn had inherited the nature and lineaments of the noble line of English versions issuing from the parent stock of Tyndale's, yet with respect to the distinctive touches which the Authorised New Testament has derived from the earlier translations, her debt to Roman Catholic Rheims is hardly inferior to her debt to Puritan Geneva." Elaborate tables are given, in which the various readings are classified, and it is from these that the above conclusion is arrived at.

W. F. M.

Paris in 1789-1794. Farewell Letters of Victims of the Guillotine. By John Goldworth Alger. With Plan. (London : George Allen. 10s. 6d. net.)

A great Frenchman revisiting Paris after the Revolution is said to have felt as though he had descended into hell. We understand what he meant as we turn these pages. The fierce passions that were unchained, the horrors that were wrought seem like a nightmare. Mr. Alger knows Paris, and knows in minutest detail the scenes and personages of the Revolution. His first chapter on "The Paris of the Revolution and what remains of it" is a notable piece of work which will be of the greatest service to students and visitors ; the sketches of "The Paris Sections" and of "Paris Day by Day" are intensely interesting. "The Prison Documents" are voices from the past, some of which are intensely pathetic. The letter from the Marquis d'Arcy to his wife is "by far the most striking and harrowing of these farewell letters," and one cannot read it without emotion. The corrections of Carlyle's history will be of service to students. The book is one of real value and profound interest.

Colonel A. K. McClure's Recollections of Half a Century. (Salem Press, Mass.)

Colonel McClure's position as editor of an influential American journal has brought him into personal relations with no less than thirteen presidents of the United States. He has watched the rise and fall of politicians, seen soldiers and lawyers carve their way to fame, and has followed with eager interest the marvellous

development of his country during the last half-century. He saw "Lincoln under all conditions and circumstances, heard his inimitable witticisms, and saw him many times depressed to what seemed the very verge of despair. He possessed one of the most kindly and sympathetic natures, and there was not a sorrow felt by his people that did not shadow his life." The Colonel heard Ingersoll nominate Blaine as a candidate for the Presidency in 1876, and regards that speech as the greatest he has heard in any national convention during the last fifty years. Colonel McClure had no sympathy with Ingersoll's infidelity, and took care to let his feeling be known. His book is never dull. It is pleasant and good-natured, and English readers could scarcely find a volume that throws more light on America and its leading citizens during the last half-century. They will learn more from it as to public life in the United States than they could learn from any other book, and they will learn it in the most pleasant fashion.

Priests and People in Ireland. By Michael J. McCarthy, B.A. (Dublin : Hodges, Figgis, & Co. 7s. 6d.)

This is a book that ought to make Roman Catholic laymen think. Mr. McCarthy is an Irishman and a Romanist. He has reached the settled conviction that Ireland is ruined by its priesthood. Their luxury and laziness, their selfish endeavour to strip their people for their own profit and the enriching of their churches, is brought out by a set of facts and figures which are almost startling. If the money given to the Church of Rome were devoted to commerce and agriculture, to the improvement of the homes, and the wellbeing of the people, Ireland might be as prosperous as any part of our empire. Mr. McCarthy writes with conviction and with the force of truth, and the eagerness with which his book has been read shows that he has made a deep impression. It ought to prove a real contribution to the bettering of Ireland.

Sir George Newnes has added *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* to his thin-paper editions. Bound in limp lambskin, and printed on extremely thin but opaque paper, with a striking photogravure frontispiece, it is a volume that will slip into a small pocket, and we pity the man who can feel dull with the old gossip of the Restoration era to turn to in a leisure hour. The type is bold and clear. It is a welcome addition to a very attractive little library.

V. BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs and Letters of Sir James Paget. Edited by Stephen Paget. Third Edition. (London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 6s. net.)

THE cheap edition of this book will be hailed with delight by the profession of which Sir James Paget was one of the chief ornaments, and by all who can appreciate a life of singular fulness and intensity. Its course is traced from the home at Yarmouth and the apprenticeship to a local surgeon, to the days when young Paget swept away the prizes at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and as professor, warden, and surgeon built up the prosperity of its medical school. He left the hospital in 1851 to begin practice at the West End, where his fees steadily rose till they exceeded £10,000 a year. However eminent Sir James Paget was as a surgeon, he was still more eminent as a medical philosopher, and his early researches as a pathologist were of great service to English medical science in an era of transition. He was one of the best speakers of his day, and his strong sense and devotion to his profession are well brought out in quotations from his addresses and lectures. Every medical man ought to prize his own opportunities more highly from reading this memoir. From the first page to the last its interest is absorbing, and the sketch of the great surgeon's old age, brightened by love and faith, is very tender and pathetic. Mr. Stephen Paget has supplemented his father's brief memoir with much skill, and has laid all his readers under deep obligation by this picture of a noble life.

The Household of Faith: Portraits and Essays. By George W. E. Russell. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 7s. 6d.)

We regard this as one of the most frank and fearless, the most suggestive and instructive studies of the religious leaders and religious questions of the past generation. We are separated widely enough from the writer on many subjects, and find ourselves utterly out of sympathy with him when he is belabouring Dr. Tait for his attempt to restrain the extreme Ritualists, but

our hearts warm to Mr. Russell when he speaks of the vital and essential unity between all who believe that "the Lord Jesus Christ is very and eternal God." Mr. Russell was brought up in the bosom of the Clapham sect, but has found his ideal leaders in Dr. Pusey, Alexander H. Mackonochie, and Arthur H. Stanton. His sketch of Mr. Gladstone's religious development is illuminating, and his studies of Dr. Pusey, Dean Burgon, Cardinal Manning, and Archbishop Benson are distinct helps to the better understanding of the men and the times. The shorter papers are not the least fresh and various. Those dealing with the Plymouth Brethren and the Irvingites are specially valuable. Mr. Russell is a clear thinker and a trenchant critic, and all who wish to understand the innermost thought of the advanced Sacramentarian school will find this book one of extraordinary interest. They may marvel at its teaching, but they cannot fail to respect and admire the writer.

Nelson and his Captains. By W. H. Fitchett, B.A., LL.D.
With Portraits and a Facsimile Letter. (London :
Smith, Elder, & Co. 6s.)

Dr. Fitchett's new book is as full of life and fire as anything he has written. The character study of Nelson, with which he opens his gallery of portraits, is very fine. We seem to see "the keen, clear, heroic spirit that burnt like a flame within the shattered, fragile, pain-tormented body" of the great naval hero. Not less vigorous is the chapter on "The Men of Nelson's School," which paints so vividly the rough life of danger and discomfort amid which the sailors of the day were trained. Nelson's captains are a noble band. He was sometimes fretful, and in one or two cases was unjust to them ; but such a naval brotherhood the world has never seen, and the stories of courage and bull-dog determination make these pages fascinating beyond any tales of fiction.

The Memoirs of Benvenuto Cellini have just been added to "The Unit Library." The book has 530 pages, but it can be had for a shilling in paper covers, for fourpence more in cloth, and for two shillings and a penny in leather. Roscoe's translation has been chosen, revised by Mr. Luigi Ricci. An appendix and some notes are added. Mr. Simmonds said that "from the pages of this book the Genius of the Renaissance, incarnate in a single personality, leans forth and speaks to us." It is all alive, full of exciting adventures, and such an edition is a great boon.

My Life Work. By Samuel Smith, M.P. With Portrait and Illustrations. (London : Hodder & Stoughton. 5s. net.)

This is the story of a strenuous and high-souled life. Mr. Smith has never swerved from his early ideal of whole-hearted devotion to truth and to wise reform. His opposition to Henry George's wild scheme of confiscation does honour to his sound sense, and his opposition to "lawlessness" in the Anglican Church has earned him the sincere regard of all true Protestants. His home life has been singularly happy, though the loss of his wife and only son has darkened its last days. The record of visits to India and America are both pleasant and instructive, and the book introduces us to many of the chief figures in the Parliamentary and philanthropic world during the last fifty years. The pictures are good, and add much to the interest of the book. Mr. Smith frequently attended the evening services at St. James's Hall. He says : "I always found the large hall crammed with 2,500 people, to whom Mr. Hughes gave deeply interesting and appropriate addresses, not at all on the conventional mission lines, but with a variety of teaching that kept up constant freshness."

George Meredith : An Essay towards Appreciation. By Walter Jerrold. (London : Greening & Co. 3s. 6d.)

"I see more and more," said Robert Louis Stevenson, when he had read *The Egoist* for the fourth time, "that Meredith is built for immortality." His style repels. He is no novelist for those who wish to "toy away time," but for thinkers and students of human nature he holds the keys of worlds that they are never weary of exploring. His wit and irony, his subtle analysis of character, his appreciation of all the depths of human motive, make him a true master in poetry and in romance. Mr. Jerrold is an enthusiast, and his enthusiasm is contagious. His four chapters are headed "The Man," "The Poet," "The Earlier Novels," "The Later Novels." His descriptions will guide those who wish to make acquaintance with Meredith in their choice of books, and will quicken their interest both in the man and his work. No more honest literary artist is among us than George Meredith, and, many would add with his eulogist, none more truly Shakesperian in his interpretation of human character and conduct.

VI. TOPOGRAPHY, ART, AND NATURAL HISTORY.

London in the Eighteenth Century. By Sir Walter Besant.
(London : A. & C. Black. 30s. net.)

SIR WALTER BESANT regarded his projected "Survey of London" as his *magnam opus*, by which he hoped to be remembered by posterity. It is matter for sincere congratulation to all lovers of London that the larger part of his work was completed before his death. Lady Besant says that he gave to it five years of continuous labour, and the active research of half a lifetime. His studies as a novelist had made him familiar with the subject. He extracted many a gem of information from "the forgotten, the thrice and four times tedious novel of the eighteenth century." Books that even a professor of literature never heard of accumulated on Sir Walter's shelves, and all were marked and noted. His stately quarto is splendidly illustrated by full-page engravings of Hogarth's pictures, and by representations of the dress and social life, the famous places, and the characteristic scenes of the time. The volume opens with a set of "Historical Notes," which deal with such events as the Great Storm of 1703, the Accession of George I., the South Sea Bubble, the French Refugees, John Wilkes and the City. These give colour and flavour to the work. Then we set out to perambulate the city, noting its extent and aspect, the condition of the streets, the modes of communication and postal arrangements, and finally getting some idea of the slums and lodging-houses of the period. The wealth of Sir Walter's knowledge comes out in the thousand details of his chapter on the Streets. It seems to reconstruct the city before one's eyes. Everyone who reads it will feel that the metropolis of the eighteenth century becomes almost familiar ground. The section "Church and Chapel" is even more fresh and suggestive. Forty-four London churches had daily services in 1732, as is shown by a wonderful set of tables. In almost all cases services were held both morning and evening. In some churches there was a daily sermon, or one, two, or three sermons in the week. An immense body of theological literature issued from the press. Sir Walter says : "In a word, the great mass of the

respectable and responsible classes of London, all through the eighteenth century, remained profoundly and deeply religious. It was not the religion of Wesley and Whitefield. The merchant of London looked askance upon enthusiasm; he dreaded enthusiasm above all things; he had heard tales of the wild fanatics of the last century; all these people were canting hypocrites in his eyes; but he remained in his way religious." As to Wesley, Sir Walter's knowledge seems somewhat slight. The Foundery was not *built* by Wesley, nor did he acquire it in 1734. But Sir Walter's tread is firmer when he is dealing with the Dissenters of the time. His chapters on Superstitions and Libraries are good, though somewhat thin. The writer's special gift and power comes out in his treatment of "Manners and Customs." With every side of that subject he was familiar, and his accounts of the dress of the times, the weddings and funerals, the position of women, the food and drink of the people, are very full and deeply interesting. "Society and Amusements" is another section that brings a reader into intimate touch with the life of the people. The account of fairs is of unusual interest. Between the beginning of May and the end of October a Londoner might spend eighty-two days in fairs. The natural results of the looseness of morals is seen in the grim section on Crime, Police, Justice, Debtors' Prisons. No one can understand the London of the eighteenth century who does not watch this human wreckage and see how it was swept out of the way. It is a subject that Sir Walter Besant had studied profoundly, and we only wish that he had known more about the Evangelical Revival and understood how it helped to cleanse the speech and empty the prisons and relieve the misery of London. The eighteenth century was the century of Methodism, and that will always be regarded as its salvation and its glory.

Highways and Byways in London. (London: Macmillan & Co. 6s.)

Mrs. E. T. Cook has written a book that Londoners will love. We make a progress through the city, tracing its history and steeping ourselves in the myriad charm of one of the world's great hives of life and art and fashion. The opening chapters on the highways and byways of London is the best account of those narrow, crooked streets which link the modern city to the days of the Romans. It does one good to have such a hearty defence of the dignity and beauty of the city; of the charm of

its quiet courts and squares. Mrs. Cook has mingled with the crowd and knows their habits on Bank holidays, and at museums and picture galleries, and one listens to her story with unabated pleasure to the last sentence. Her illustrators, Hugh Thompson and F. L. Griggs, are as much in love with the subject as their author, and we consider this to be one of the most delightful books on London ever produced.

Italian Life in Town and Country. By L. Villari. With Twenty-three Illustrations. (London: Newnes. 3s. 6d. net.)

This is a book that really helps us to understand Italy. There are great differences of life, habits, and character in the Peninsula, but the main line of division is between the north and the south. The north is industrial, prosperous, active, and progressive. The south is almost exclusively agricultural, and miserably poor. In the north political education is beginning to develop, and the keenest interest is felt in social and political questions, while the south is apathetic, and its ignorance is proverbial. The proportion of illiterates among the recruits in Piedmont was 14.98 per cent., in Lombardy 18.42, in the Province of Naples 51.37, in Sicily 55.04. We have not seen so clear an account of the taxation of the country, and it calls aloud for a reformer. The taxes are collected in the most vexatious and extravagant way. The middle class practically governs the country. "They almost monopolise the bar, the bench, the medical profession, trade and industry, the civil service, and educational appointments." The book is a real addition to an excellent series.

Cornwall. By Arthur L. Salmon. Illustrated by C. Boulter. (London: Methuen & Co. 3s.)

This is a welcome addition to "The Little Guides." The size is no small recommendation for cyclist or pedestrian, and the alphabetical arrangement of the places is very convenient. The opening chapters give ample information as to General Physical Features, Fauna and Flora, Mining, Language and Dialect, etc. Half a dozen pages on Methodism would have been a real addition. There are some references to Wesley, but a visitor to the Methodist county needs to know more than Mr. Salmon tells him. The glorious daffodils make the flower shows of the spring unrivalled. Fuchsias, rhododendrons, and

hydrangeas flourish out of doors ; ferns and mosses are wonderfully plentiful ; the varieties of seaweed reach nearly three hundred and sixty. The black rat survives in the county, and there is a great variety of sea-birds, with numbers of sand-pipers, plovers, woodcocks, herons, and sometimes bitterns. A large map, a railway map, and Mr. Boulter's attractive illustrations make this a very tempting little volume.

Lincolnshire in History, and Lincolnshire Worthies. By J. Medcalf. Illustrated from Photographs, etc. (London : Ward, Lock, & Co. 3s. 6d.)

These sketches will not only please Lincolnshire people, but will appeal to all who wish to know anything about a county which has given England such men as Sir Isaac Newton, John and Charles Wesley, Lord Tennyson, and Sir John Franklin. Mr. Medcalf writes in a homely fashion, sometimes too homely ; but he is full of matter, and he puts his facts in a way that cannot fail to attract his readers. The chapters on Newton and Wesley are pleasant to read, though it is not correct to say that every President of the Wesleyan Conference has to sit in Wesley's chair on his inauguration. "A Soul's Shipwreck" tells the pitiful story of Dr. Dodd. The illustrations are very distinctly printed and well selected. The book ought to be in great demand for school prizes in Lincolnshire.

Baedeker's *Southern Italy and Sicily* (Dulau & Co., 5s.) has now reached its fourteenth edition, and no guide-book could be more complete or reliable. It takes the traveller under its wing, teaches him where to go, what to pay, what to see, and acts generally as his counsellor in every perplexity and difficulty. It is wonderful how every want is anticipated. Professor Kekule's notes on "Ancient Art" will be very helpful to a visitor, whilst the plans and maps, the hints about money and health, have been tested by long experience, and will be of real service to travellers.

Sea-Girt Yezo (Church Missionary Society, 2s. 6d.) gives some pleasant glimpses of missionary work in North Japan. The writer is the Rev. John Batchelor, and his account of mosquitoes and gadflies, of blizzards and winter storms, will be eagerly read by young people. He describes the methods of work among the people in a way that will give English children a new interest in mission work. The illustrations are very attractive.

1. *Watteau and his School.* By Edgcumbe Staley, B.A. (5s. net.)
 2. *Murillo.* By George C. Williamson, Litt.D. (1s. net.)
 3. *Millais.* By. A. L. Baldry. (1s. net.)
- (London : G. Bell & Sons.)

Mr. Staley is an enthusiastic admirer of Watteau and his school, and he has given us a delightful sketch of the painter and his work. Watteau was born in Valenciennes in 1684, and the sights of the market-place in his native city coloured all his art. He found his way to Paris, and after a hard struggle became the popular painter of the city. The contrast between the gay life which he depicts on his canvas and his own restless and morbid temper is pathetic. He died of consumption at the age of thirty-seven. Watteau was the most brilliant and original draughtsman of the eighteenth century, his lightness of touch was phenomenal, and his colouring has a strange iridescence and brilliancy. This is one of the best books in a charming series.

The *Murillo* and *Millais* belong to the "Miniature Series of Painters," and are excellent introductions to two great masters. Murillo stands out as one of the painters who are friends of fortune, and he certainly deserved his prosperity. The reproductions of his works in this little volume are very effective, and the story of his life and art is skilfully told. The *Millais* ought to be very popular. It is brightly written, and gives a very good account of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and of Millais' bright and strenuous life.

Millet. By Romain Rolland. (London : Duckworth & Co. 2s. net.)

This is an admirable little study. M. Rolland is in keen sympathy with the great painter of peasant life, though he is not blind to the harshness and melancholy of his work. But beneath his "scenes of humble realism we feel a spirit that is inwardly sublime and that radiates sublimity." The earth and home were the two passions of Millet's life. He mingled the poetry and imagination of his heart with everything he saw. The account of his early struggles, of his long fight with poverty, and of his slow rise to fame and comparative comfort are told very impressively in this beautiful little book, and Miss Black

has been very happy in her translation. Thirty-one full-page reproductions add greatly to the charm of the volume.

The Natural History of Selborne. By Gilbert White. With Notes and Illustrations by R. and C. Kearton. (London : Cassell & Co. 6s.)

Gilbert White would have been repaid for his life-work by a sight of this edition. Its one hundred and twenty-three illustrations set the village and its surroundings before one's eyes, and the birds which the old naturalist loved have never been so delightfully shown as in these pictures. What the Keartons have endured to win them is known only to themselves and a few intimate friends, but their happy arts have borne fruit in a set of pictures unrivalled for truth and beauty. Mr. Richard Kearton's notes are just what one needs for the enjoyment of the Hampshire classic. We call this edition a treasure indeed.

The Birds in our Wood. By George A. B. Dewar. Illustrated by Edward Neale. (London : Lawrence & Bullen. 7s. 6d.)

Mr. Dewar's book will give lasting pleasure not only to young people for whom it is specially intended, but to every lover of the country. He has used his eyes and ears well ever since he was a small boy living near a big wood full of birds and flowers and butterflies. He writes of his pets with an enthusiasm which is infectious, and he has some stories to tell that one would not like to miss. From an old shed with a roof of dried reeds he once pulled out thirty wrens which had huddled together under the thatch for warmth. Mr. Dewar describes the goldcrest as the bird midget of our wood, and one of the choicest of all little things. He has never seen any humming-bird that looked better. He does not believe that there is a more wonderful bird's nest in the world than that of the bottle-tit.

A Book of Beasts and Birds. By Gambier Bolton, F.Z.S. (London : George Newnes. 5s.)

Mr. Bolton has travelled far and wide to get his pictures. Some are from Africa, others from India ; all are true to life, and some are very effective. The papers also cover a wide area. The quieter studies include shire-horses and Queen Victoria's animals ; but lions and tigers, hippos, crocodiles and monkeys are all here, and about the habits of all Mr. Bolton has much authentic information to give. His book will delight everyone with a taste for natural history.

VII. BELLES LETTRES.

Evelina; or, The History of a Young Lady's Entrance into the World. By Frances Burney. Two Volumes. (London : J. M. Dent & Co. 3s. net.)

THIS tasteful and cheap edition of *Evelina* will be welcome to many. The story has not only its own merits to recommend it, but it is the precursor of that brilliant series of works by lady novelists which have enriched English literature during the last century. The chief interest of the book lies in its description of English manners in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The picture is far from flattering. A greater boor than Captain Mirvan we have never met, and the impertinence both of high society and of the business circles represented by the Branghtons is almost incredible. Miss Burney's heroine is a charming creation, but her shyness and ignorance of the world involve her in endless embarrassments. There is wit and good nature, besides abundant satire and irony, in the story, and Lord Orville is a striking contrast to the gay society in which he moves. The hysterics of Lady Louisa furnish a good subject for satire, and the emptiness of gay life, with its foppish ways and its senseless gambling, is painted with realistic force. It is a story which one still reads with relish, and it is a wonderful production when we consider it as the first work of a shy English girl in the eighteenth century.

1. *Cecilia. A Story of Modern Rome.* By F. Marion Crawford.
2. *Lavinia.* By Rhoda Broughton.
(London : Macmillan & Co. 6s. each.)

1. Mr. Crawford's story turns on the mystery of dreams. Cecilia Palladio, daughter of the Countess Fortiguerra, becomes engaged to Guido d'Este, but in the dream world his friend Lamberti has already asserted his rights over her centuries before, when she was a vestal virgin. When first introduced to Lamberti Cecilia recognises the hero of her dreams, and is afraid of his influence ; but the pair seem irresistibly drawn towards each other, till the girl realises that she loves another man, and is compelled to break off her engagement with Guido.

Mr. Crawford describes Cecilia's struggle with her awakening passion with more than his usual skill, and the scene in which she visits Guido is a masterpiece. The story labours under a suspicion of improbability which even Mr. Crawford's art cannot altogether allay; but it is brilliantly written, and it is altogether out of the common run of fiction.

2. Miss Broughton's story is absorbing. We think Lavinia treated her lover shamefully; worse, indeed, than his grim old father treated him. She is an attractive and noble girl till that blight falls on her; but our hearts are with Rupert, and we think that his soldier brother was much less of a hero than the brave, uncomplaining fellow who saw his world fall to pieces, and died without a murmur. Lavinia talks of her punishment, but she consoles herself at last. We think she should have worn sack-cloth all her days.

In Clarissa's Day, by Sarah Tytler (Chatto & Windus, 6s.), is a tale of George I.'s reign. Its girl heroines have many adventures in their visit to London, where they stay with Pope's friends, the Blounts, visit the poet at Twickenham, submit to be vaccinated, and run the gauntlet of highway robbers and Mohawks. We question whether even Miss Tytler has given us a sweeter or fresher tale, and it is a life-like picture of the age.

The Disentanglers, by Andrew Lang (Longmans, 6s.), is admirable nonsense, spiced with playful satire and adventure. It is very clever, very amusing, very improbable. The feats of the society in unravelling family difficulties are extraordinary, and there is many a sly hit at the foibles of the present day. The book is a parlour edition of *Sherlock Holmes*, and if it is not so exciting it is quite as interesting. The last story is as wildly improbable as a clever man could make it.

The Woman in White has been added by Messrs. Chatto & Windus to their "St. Martin's Library" (2s. net). It runs to six hundred and fifty pages, but by the use of thin paper it is compressed into a light volume which is a marvel of beauty and cheapness. The story is full of excitement and of mystery, and it still retains its popularity as one of the best books of its class.

The Astolat Press at Guildford is making a reputation for its dainty reprints. *The Prioresses Tale*, printed on Japanese vellum and bound in parchment covers, is a piece of beautiful printing. Its capital letters are works of art, and the Burne-Jones frontispiece is very attractive. It is cheap at seven shillings and

sixpence. The edition is small, and there will be no reprint. *The Pilgrim's Progress* (5s. net) has a cover which would have delighted John Bunyan, and its eight pictures by Victor W. Burnand are very fine. "The Fight with Apollyon," "Vanity Fair," and "The Passage of the Dark River" have rare dramatic force. Gray's *English Poems* and Keats' *Sonnets* (3s. net each) are little books of special beauty, which will appeal to all who wish to have editions really worth giving to a lover of the best poetry.

Medieval French Literature, by the late Gaston Paris, belongs to Messrs. Dent & Co.'s "Cyclopædic Primers" (1s. net). It brings out the significant features of the intellectual and artistic production of the French Middle Ages, so far as it was written in the vulgar tongue. The little book is packed with information, and gives a wonderful picture of the way in which the new society found expression in poetry of every kind—moral, humorous, satirical, and lyrical. We wish the book had had a table of contents to serve as a clue to its treasures. It is the work of a master whom Europe could ill afford to lose.

Messrs. Dent & Co. have added a new translation of Goethe's *Faust* to their "Temple Classics" (1s. 6d. net). It has been prepared with great skill by Mr. Albert G. Latham, and we are inclined to rank it as the best rendering of Goethe's masterpiece into English. It is pleasant to read, and the appendices and notes are excellent. Everyone who wants to form a true estimate of *Faust* should get this little volume.

Select Essays of John Henry Cardinal Newman. With an Introduction by George Sampson. (London: Walter Scott Publishing Company. 1s. 6d.)

Mr. Sampson is an ardent admirer of Cardinal Newman, whom he regards as "the truest saint that Christianity of our day has to offer us." This does not prevent him from describing Tract XC. as a "laboured piece of 'begging the question'; the least admirable and least characteristic of all Newman's productions." The sketch of Newman's course is well done, and the essays are chosen with due regard to their historic interest. The volume is one which affords much food for thought.

Poor Sons of a Day, by Allan McAulay (Nisbet & Co., 6s.), is a story of the rising of 1745, which shows the wreck brought into many a Scotch household. Mally Ogilvie is a sweet heroine, as fresh as a cowalip, and with a clear head and a brave heart.

The young Highlander who wins her love is condemned to death for his share in the rising ; but Mally manages to rescue him from prison on the night before his execution, and they have a happy life in Holland. The story gives a true picture of the times.

Little Mother Meg, by Ethel Turner (Ward, Lock, & Co., 3s. 6d.). Meg is the wife of a young Australian doctor. She and her baby, with Meg's brothers and sisters, are a lovable set, full of high spirits, and devoted to each other. There are some exciting pages in the book, and it is as bright and sweet a story as any Mrs. Curlew has written.

The Little Colonel, by Mina Doyle (Sands & Co., 6s.), is not without literary merit, but its moral tone is deplorable, and we cannot conceive an English lady behaving herself in so mad and wicked a fashion as Dorothy Spencer does. She is warm-hearted and lovable, but her story is pitiful.

The Mangle House (C. H. Kelly, 3s. 6d.) is in John Ackworth's happiest vein. Courtship and preaching are mixed up in the oddest style, and the humours and sorrows of life jostle one another in pages that are full of incident and of keen study of character. The dialect is strong meat for a southerner, but it will open his eyes to the possibilities of our mother tongue.

The Bible Punchers, by E. C. Rundle Woodcock (Religious Tract Society, 2s.), is a story of work among soldiers which warms one's heart. The men who are changing quarters are saved from temptation in the public-houses by their friend Miss Darrell, who provides tea and entertainment at the various towns on their route. Mrs. Woodcock writes with force and spirit.

Bubble and Squeak : Some Calamitous Stories, by Phil Robinson (Isbister & Co., 5s.), are short tales about pups and elephants, lions and hedgehogs, in Mr. Robinson's happiest vein. They will cause rare fun in the nursery. There is a great deal to be learnt from the tales, and the pictures are most amusing.

Feringhi, by Rev. A. Dumbarton (C. H. Kelly, 2s.), is a volume of stories of Indian gypsy life which show how the gospel is reaching these outcasts. The writer knows India, and the book has a force and beauty which will make it very welcome as a missionary prize.

Hymns of the Holy Eastern Church. Translated from the Service Books. By John Brownlie. (Paisley : Gardner. 3s. 6d. net.)

We are glad that Mr. Brownlie is working in this much

neglected and most promising field. His sketch of the history, the services, and the hymnology of the Eastern Church is the best account in small compass that we know, and ought to excite an intelligent interest in such studies. His renderings are happy, and several of them ought to find a place in collections of hymns. They are simple and musical. Such a set of translations will do much to awaken interest in a subject that will repay study.

Famous Hymns and their Authors. By Francis Arthur Jones. With Portraits and Facsimiles. (London : Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

Such a book as this will enrich the Church's service of praise for all its readers. Mr. Jones has spent ten years in collecting material. He has corresponded with hymn writers, sought to get hold of original manuscripts, and has gleaned information from all quarters. The result is a mass of information about hymns and their authors. Old stories are well told, new ones are added, and the portraits and facsimiles are very interesting. Every lover of hymns will delight in the volume.

The Vita Nuova ; or, New Life of Dante Aligheri. Translated by Frances de Mey. (London : Bell & Sons.)

The spell of Dante fell upon his latest translator among the pinewoods of Ashdown Forest, where she was studying the *Vita Nuova* after a long visit to Italy. She felt impelled to translate the sonnets into her mother tongue, and then to share her pleasure with her own friends, and now with a wider circle. It is a pleasure to read a translation which flows so gracefully, and has so well caught the spirit of Dante's great Book of Love.

Res Relictæ. Being the remains of the late John Cunningham. Edited by Shaw Maclaren. (London : George Allen. 3s. 6d. net.)

This book purports to be the meditations of a young soldier invalided from the Transvaal who died at Ardbouie. There is less of "Cunningham" than of his editor, and the "Triadic theory of human knowledge" that there are three powers which may be employed by man to obtain truth—the faculty of sense, the rational faculty, and the ethical faculty—is rather scanty material on which to frame a book, though it does contain some happy phrases.

VIII. MISCELLANEOUS.

The New Volumes of the Encyclopædia Britannica. Vols. VII. and VIII., being Vols. XXXI. and XXXII. of the Complete Work. (London : "The Times" Office.)

THERE is food for every mind in these volumes, and it is so skilfully prepared that it is a pleasure to sit down once more to the literary banquet. Medicine and Science have never had such justice done to them as in these new volumes of the Encyclopædia. Anyone who turns to the article on "Pathology," discussed in all its ramifications by eleven experts, will gain some idea of the wealth of knowledge represented in that department. Its plates will be of great service to a student. Another article of more general interest is that on "Railways." Two pages of illustrations set the locomotives of England and America side by side, and the pictures of mountain railways show how modern invention has triumphed over obstacles which our fathers regarded as insurmountable. Navies, Ships, Shipbuilding, Steamship Lines are discussed with extraordinary fulness and care. The articles form compact treatises which may be commended to all who wish to have a complete view of questions of vital present interest. The "Post Office" article abounds in facts and figures, not the least interesting section being devoted to Postage Stamps. This gives a unique description of all the issues since 1840. Collectors will especially prize it. The treatment of such subjects as "Physiology" and "Psychology" is worthy of the Encyclopædia. Anyone who masters these articles will gain a clear grasp of the whole subject. Lighter reading is provided in the valuable account of "Newspapers." It is full of facts as to the London dailies, the provincial and foreign press. The section on "The Halfpenny Press" is excellent, but so is the whole article. The descriptive and historical articles on "Paris," "New York City," and on "Persia" and other foreign countries are as good as the chief experts of the world can make them. Such articles would of themselves render the *Encyclopedia Britannica* indispensable

for every well equipped library. Art is represented by many notices of painters past and present, with full-page reproductions of famous pictures. "Schools of Painting" takes us in succession to all the European centres and the United States; such a bird's-eye view can be found nowhere else. The Prefatory Essay to Volume VII. is by Mr. Frederick Greenwood, who writes on "The Influence of Commerce on International Conflict." He shows the vices of commerce in the "incessantly reckless cry for new markets," and has much to say about "The Business Conscience" and "The Shrinkage of the World." In the eighth volume Professor Karl Pearson writes on "The Function of Science in the Modern State." He thinks we have yet to learn the national importance of science; "to realise that science in the broadest sense, as educator and discoverer, is the mainspring of modern national life; that the future is to the scientifically trained nation which reproduces itself, maintains its health, develops its institutions, controls its production, organises its distribution, extends its territory, governs its subject races, and prepares its offensive and defensive services with scientific foresight and insight." We have given no conception of the varied interest of these volumes. The account of "Motor Vehicles" must not be allowed to pass without a word of praise. It is freely illustrated and packed with information.

Sun-Dials and Roses of Yesterday. By Alice Morse Earle.
(London: Macmillan & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

Mrs. Earle has written many charming books, but this is the most charming of all. She has come across the Atlantic for most of her material, as a glance at her pictures will prove; but she has much to tell us of American sun-dials and roses. The roses are added to give a garden atmosphere to the dials, and the chapters on the "Emblem of the Rose in English History," on "Our Grandmothers' Roses," and on "The Rosicrucians" are full of pleasant information which one is glad to have in such a form. As to sun-dials, there is a wealth of matter not only on famous mottoes, but on the construction of dials and on famous masters in that craft. Wolsey's portable dial, now in the possession of Mr. Evans of Watford, is the only existing dial made by the famous Nicholas Kratzer. It has nine dials arranged on a hollow block of gilt brass, and is adorned with Wolsey's arms and those of York Cathedral. The chapter on

"Portable Sun-Dials" is very attractive, and so is the whole book. Its pictures are as delightful as its text.

The Force of Mind ; or, The Mental Factor in Medicine. By Alfred T. Schofield, M.D. (London : J. & A. Churchill. 5s. net.)

Dr. Schofield's book is concerned with two questions : "What part does mind play in causing disease?" and "How can it be made to assist in its cure?" He shows that psycho-therapy is the bread of life to all quacks, and adds, "It is outrageous that a power that is putting tens of thousands of pounds every year into unprofessional pockets should be treated by medical men with such scant courtesy." The facts given from his own practice and from the experience of others prove that the subject is of vital importance. We have found ourselves in close agreement with Dr. Schofield, and have been intensely interested in his book. It appeals not merely to medical men, but to all classes of readers. Every minister ought to study it carefully. He will see that true religion is in the fullest sense a fountain of life.

A new French and English Dictionary. Compiled from the best Authorities in both Languages. Revised and considerably Enlarged. By James Boiëlle, B.A. (London : Cassell & Co. 7s. 6d.)

M. Boiëlle has spent four and a half years in the revision of Cassell's French Dictionary. Six hundred thousand copies of earlier editions have been sold, and the work is now the best thing of its price in the market. It has more than 1,200 pages, and is printed in very clear type, which makes it a pleasure to consult it. Many thousands of new words and phrases, idioms, and idiomatic expressions have been selected and included ; the latest technical terms in all branches of knowledge are incorporated ; the pronunciation of words is carefully noted in cases of difficulty ; and the list of geographical names has been made much more complete. Two facsimile pages showing the corrections in the proof sheets help one to understand the toil and cost involved by this great work. It is practically a new Dictionary, and it is without doubt as perfect as skill and money can make it.

Industrial Conciliation. (London : G. P. Putnam's Sons.)

This volume gives a Report of the Proceedings of a Conference held in New York in December, 1901, under the auspices of The National Civic Federation. The aim of the Federation is to secure the settlement of labour disputes by voluntary conciliation rather than by compulsory arbitration. The discussion of industrial questions by the leading American experts is sure to attract attention, and we are glad to find such a body organised for such ends.

Roads from Rome, compiled by the Rev. C. S. Isaacson, M.A. (Religious Tract Society, 2s. 6d.) These testimonies from our own country and various parts of Europe as to the reasons why the writers left the Roman Church are very impressive. They furnish ample evidence that light is shining amid Romish darkness, and will give new hope and courage to Protestant readers. They are brief, but full of facts of the deepest interest.

The Imperial Protestant Federation is publishing a series of *Popular Protestant Papers* by Walter Walsh. They contain nearly thirty pages, and are sold at a penny each. Mr. Walsh knows his subject as very few men know it, and is a master controversialist. There is much to learn from the papers, and we feel them to be timely. We wish Mr. Walsh had restrained himself a little more at some points.

Who's Who? for 1903 (A. & C. Black, 5s. net) is a wonderful summary of the lives of the men and women of the day. Nobody who wishes to keep in touch with the times can afford to be without it, and the labour spent on its production is immense. Editor and publishers have done their work splendidly

The Englishwoman's Year Book (A. & C. Black, 2s. 6d.) is full of information on all subjects that affect women. It is arranged under such headings as Education, Medicine, Science, Music, Sports, Religious Work, and has been brought up to date with great pains and skill. It will be highly prized by all ladies who are concerned in public affairs, and will help them at every turn.

Report of a Conference on the Training of Teachers in Secondary Schools for Boys. (Cambridge University Press. 1s. net.)

This report will be carefully studied by teachers. It deals with a subject of pressing importance, and the University of

Cambridge has done valuable service in showing hospitality to the representatives of the teaching profession and securing such an interchange of thought and experience.

Pears' Shilling Cyclopædia (Bryce & Son, Glasgow) is one of the most handy books of reference on the market. It is dictionary, gazetteer, atlas, and cyclopædia of general information, and in each of these departments it is wonderfully full and exact. But it is also a medical guide, a cookery book, a ready reckoner, a gardener's manual, and much besides. A shilling spent on this volume will be one of the best investments of the year.

The New Zealand Official Year Book for 1902 adds to all the usual stores of information short descriptions of the South Pacific Islands lying within the boundaries of annexation, which will be of much service. The illustrations are excellent.

The Official Year Book of the Church of England for 1903 (S.P.C.K., 3s.) gives a mass of information as to every side of the Church's work in the United Kingdom, Ireland, the Colonies, and the Mission Field. The volume is indispensable for every Churchman, and it shows how truly the Church of England is alive to its great opportunities. The provision for the education of the clergy, the statistics as to building and extension work of all kinds, are very impressive, and members of all Churches will find them worthy of careful study.

IX. SUMMARY OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

METHODIST REVIEW (January—February).—Professor Stuart's appreciation of Bishop Nide is a fitting tribute to a true Christian gentleman. He had an exceptional graciousness of manner, joined to a modest dignity. It seemed that pulpit celebrity was in his reach, but he would never aim at oratorical effect, or select his topics with a view to mere popularity rather than usefulness. The distinguishing feature of his ministry was its pastoral quality. In Book Notices an extended extract is given from Dr. Davison's Ordination Charge. Bishop Vincent was "profoundly impressed by the force, the wisdom, the tenderness, and the rhetorical excellence of the address," and procured its publication by the Book Concern of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY (January) sets itself to promote theological science, not to advocate any party. Its opening article, by the Rev. H. A. Redpath, is on "The Present Position of the Study of the Septuagint." Mr. Redpath's own labour on the *Oxford Concordance* to the Septuagint has led him to form a very high opinion on the whole of the unpointed Hebrew text—even the mistakes of the Septuagint very often help to corroborate this—while at the same time the Septuagint in many places shows how capable of emendation it is. The leading critical note in this number is on Dr. Fairbairn's *Philosophy of the Christian Religion*. It holds that the metaphysic of the book is unworkable. "With all its plausibility, it is satisfactory neither to science, to morality, nor to religion."