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# The London Quarterly Review.

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THE  
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JULY 1906

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THE PAPAL CONDEMNATION OF  
'IL SANTO'

*Il Santo.* Romance by ANTONIO FOGAZZARO. (Milan : Baldini, Castoldi, & Co. 1906.)

*Piccolo Mondo Antico.* By A. FOGAZZARO. (Milan : Baldini, Castoldi, & Co. 1896.)

*Piccolo Mondo Moderno.* By A. FOGAZZARO. (Milan : Ulrico Hoepli. 1901.)

*Conferenza sul 'Santo.'* By PROF. LUIGI VISCONTI. (Paravia & Co. Turin, Rome, Milan, Florence, Naples. 1906.)

*La Rivista Cristiana.* (Florence : April 1906.)

*Il Mattino.* (Naples : Feb. 24 ; May 10, 1906.)

ON the 30th of last March the following curious paragraph appeared in *Roma*, a widely-read Neapolitan newspaper :

'In Rome Monsignor Jella has just been "cashiered," on account of his participation in the banquet given at Subiaco in honour of Fogazzaro, author of *Il Santo*. Monsignor Jella was not only present as an invited guest,

he even proposed a toast. It is said that his name has consequently been erased from the list of the Pope's "camerieri segreti" (private chamberlains), also that he stands on his defence, pleading that he had received express permission to attend the banquet from his ecclesiastical superior, Cardinal Macchi.'

That the Vatican should visit so severely an act of kindly homage rendered by one of its officials to Italy's most illustrious romance-writer—to one who is known as a convinced Catholic and an unduly hostile critic of Protestantism—would by itself be a noticeable sign of the times. But the disgrace of Monsignor Jella was only the first blow; it was shortly followed up by the appearance of *Il Santo* in the Papal Index Expurgatorius. What this means will be shown by the terms of the Decree of the 'Congregation of the Index' dated April 5, 1906, which is thus reproduced in that ultra-clerical journal, the *Osservatore Romano*, of April 7 :

'The Sacred Congregation of the Cardinals, officers and delegates of the Holy Father, Pius X, and of the Holy Apostolic See for the proscribing, purging, and permitting in the whole Catholic world of books upholding perverse doctrines, has condemned and condemns, has proscribed and proscribes, has ordained and ordains that there shall be placed on the index of forbidden books the forbidden works which follow :—

'By *Paul Viollet*: The Infallibility of the Pope and the Syllabus; an Historical and Theological Study. Besançon; Paris, 1904.

'By *L. Laberthonnière*: Essays on Religious Philosophy; Christian Realism and Greek Idealism. Paris.

'By *Antonio Fogazzaro*: *Il Santo*, romance. Milan, 1905.

'*Nicolaus Jozzelli*: To the Decree of the Holy Congregation, put forth Dec. 12, 1905, by which a book he had composed is blamed and is inserted in the Index of Forbidden Books, has laudably submitted himself.'—(Book not specified.)

'Therefore,' goes on the Decree, 'let no one, of whatever rank and condition, dare to reprint the above-mentioned works (which are condemned or proscribed), in any place or in any language; nor, if they be printed, dare to read them or keep them, at peril of the penalties indicated in the Index of Forbidden Books. The above-mentioned things having been submitted to the Holy Father Pius X by me the undersigned secretary, His Holiness has approved the Decree and commanded me to promulgate it, according to which,' &c.

'Given in Rome, the 5th day of April, 1906,

'Card. Steinhuber, prefect.

'Tommaso Esser, of the Order of Preachers,  
secretary.

'To-day, April 6, 1906, I, the undersigned capo-cursore (chief messenger), attest that the above decree has been affixed and published in the city.

'Enrico Bengalia, capo-cursore.'

So thunders the Vatican to-day, as it thundered of old; nor is it a mere *brutum fulmen* that rolls and reverberates in these formidable utterances among the Seven Hills; where the spiritual power of Rome is acknowledged, she can still crush and overwhelm the objects of her displeasure.

The attitude of the Vatican can only surprise those imperfectly informed persons who have imagined that the high personal character and simple integrity of the new Pope could work any change in its traditional policy—who have dreamed that Pius X, Supreme Pontiff, could have the same freedom of action as Giuseppe Sarto, Patriarch of Venice. *Semper Eadem* is still the haughty motto of Rome; her scornful critics may whisper that there is too much truth in the Irish mistranslation of that motto—'getting worse and worse'—but she will not turn back on her darkening way; and she still moves, as the *Rivista Cristiana* mockingly points out, with that snail-like slowness which might befit pre-Reformation days, not attempt-

ing to keep step with the swift diffusion of ideas through the press. 'The *Santo* has been five months before the public; one of Viollet's condemned books appeared in 1904; Laberthonnière's two works in 1903—and the Index overtakes them to-day!'

'But,' continues Colani in the *Rivista*, 'the verdict of the Index will have a certain practical result. The sale of the books which it condemns had slackened a little; be sure it will quicken now, thanks to the advertisement kindly given by the Vatican. Why did not the Sacred Congregation entertain the "happy thought" of demanding from these well-advertised authors a royalty of 40 per cent. on all copies sold or to be sold from the day of the condemnation onward? But no one is always wise!'

So laughs a critic of definite Protestant leanings. Others, who occupy a different position—not fervent Catholics, but, though cold and critical, Catholics still—speak in another tone. The *Giornale d'Italia* lost no time in ascertaining from Fogazzaro himself what action he, who professed himself a dutiful son of the Church, proposed to take. The great writer answered in a single word: *Silentium*. But he was promptly required to say what his 'silence' meant. 'I shall render to the Decree,' replied Fogazzaro, 'the obedience due from a Catholic; I shall not discuss it, I shall not act in contravention of it; I shall authorize no new translations and no new editions of my book, *except* those which are matter of contracts made before the promulgation of the Decree. These I am not free to break.'

Such attitude will scarce please at Rome; it is too far from that abject, complete submission she expects from her children, which is expressed in the well-worn formula: *Laudabiliter se subiecit et opus reprobavit*. Fogazzaro bows his head in silence, but does not 'reprobate' his work; probably he could not do so with a clear conscience, since the *Santo* embodies his deep, deliberate conviction. But what business has a child of Holy Church with an individual conscience? More manly, much less Catholic,

is Fogazzaro than the Frenchman Lasserre, the very serviceable exponent of the wonders of Lourdes. He, perhaps presuming on past services, perhaps ignorantly hoping to render others more conspicuous, produced a superb translation of the Gospels, a magnificent *édition de luxe*, at an outlay of at least a hundred thousand francs; and it is said he had received full ecclesiastical sanction for his work. Alas, it fared with Lasserre's beautiful French version of the Four Evangelists as with Father Curci's noble Italian New Testament. For Curci's translation, also, the sanction of the proper ecclesiastical superiors had been secured; it was admirably printed and illustrated, and duly supplied with notes in the proper Catholic tone; not the less has it fallen under the Vatican ban, and its circulation been forbidden. Lasserre's fate was no less severe, his French version of the Gospels was too successful, its popularity quite alarming; and the dangerous beautiful book was placed on the Index.

Lasserre bent before the storm; *laudabiliter se subiecit et opus reprobavit*; he withdrew the whole edition from circulation, and so doing, sacrificed—says private information—the money destined for his daughter's dowry.

The Italian romance-writer is less supple-kneed. He can be silent; he will not push submission to the point of breaking contracts already made for the circulation of his offending book. It follows that his countrymen taunt him with inconsistency. 'This "good Catholic," as he vaunts himself,' say they, 'knew very well that in the *Santo* he was dealing with very delicate and difficult matters. Why, before publishing, did not he submit his work to some competent ecclesiastical expert, and secure due authorization for it? or else, why did he not procure the insertion, in every contract for its translation and reproduction, of such a clause as would enable him to withdraw the book *in toto*, should it wound delicate susceptibilities at the Vatican?'

These scoffing comments are instructive. They furnish the exact measure of the freedom of action which Rome

will concede to her most faithful adherents. The critics of Fogazzaro appeal to the memorable decision of the Council of Trent; a decision final and irrevocable for every 'good Catholic,' if he would remain in the bosom of the Church; the decision that it is not for a mere layman to initiate, or even suggest as desirable, a reform in the Church, be that reform what it may. And in the *Santo* the layman Fogazzaro has dared this unutterable thing! It is not enough that he submit in silence; he must 'reprobate' his work; nothing less can atone for his offence.

It is time we allowed this terrible *Santo* to speak for itself; and we shall find, on not a few of its pages, evidence that Fogazzaro very correctly divined what would be the judgement passed in certain high ecclesiastical regions on himself and his brethren, the 'Progressive Catholics.' There are certain passages which now wear the aspect of accomplished predictions.

The opening of the romance at once reveals it as a sequel; the personages first introduced talk mysteriously of half-revealed bygone matters. Mme. Jeanne Dessalle, 'one of those women,' says an admiring critic, 'whom one does not forget, and who will not allow themselves to be forgotten,' all compact of resolute passion and strange fascination, is 'hiding as best she can an incurable wound,' and her calmer friend Noemi d'Arxel tries vainly to minister consolation to the tormented spirit whose woes at first are dimly indicated to us. In fact, the *Santo* forms the concluding part of a trilogy, the second which Fogazzaro has given to his readers. We need only refer to the first trilogy—*Malombra*, *Daniele Cortis*, *The Poet's Mystery*—so far as to remark that all three romances give evidence of a courageous faith in spiritual truth as opposed to modern materialism, and that certain Italian critics regard the *Santo* as their legitimate sequel.

*Piccolo Mondo Antico* (A Little World of Other Days), the first instalment of the second trilogy, carried on the same argument, being a brilliant attempt to teach



psychological and moral truth in the guise of fiction. More boldly than before, the author arrayed over against each other the contending forces of divine faith and human reason battling in the homely sphere of everyday life, and incarnated them in a wife, Luisa, and a husband, Franco. But Fogazzaro himself has said that the sceptic, Luisa, 'is profoundly religious without knowing it; more religious than her husband Franco Maironi, the devout Catholic, the perfect *osservante*' (a word without strict English equivalent, signifying one punctilious in observing every rite of the Church). 'There are,' he adds, 'many consciences, possessing an inward treasure of deep religion, who never cross the threshold of the temple—never are received into the Church.' Has this acute observer never divined *why* deeply religious spirits are thus repelled from the Romish Church—is it not time he solved the riddle *now*?

*Piccolo Mondo Antico* closed with the death of Franco, who had enlisted in the stirring times of 1859, 'while little Valsolda was ringing with battle-hymns.' *Piccolo Mondo Moderno* introduced us to Franco's son, Piero Maironi; and it is Piero's piteous story that is brought to its tragic close in the *Santo*.

Maironi's spiritual heritage from both parents prepares for him a life of storm and stress. Heir to his father's fervent Catholicism, he comes on the scene as *sindaco* (mayor) of the city which is the 'little modern world' of the story; he is also counsellor of the clerical party; but there is a wild eerie strain in his mind, which his anomalous position, as the husband of a wife who for three years has been insane, threatens to develop perilously. While travelling, he meets Jeanne Dessalle, herself an unhappy wife living apart from a brutish husband, whose vices have driven her to seek legal separation; and for their mutual misfortune, these two ill-fated beings, Piero and Jeanne, are strongly attracted to each other. Fogazzaro has not made Jeanne Dessalle of Italian race; yet her character suggests a child of Italy. The fateful passionate

'love at first sight,' enduring till death, the startling frankness of avowal, attributed to Jeanne, are all in the vein of Juliet—a mature and much less innocent Juliet than the simple maiden of Verona, who never would admit the dream of a lawless love which Jeanne does not scruple to entertain—nay, to urge on the shrinking, conscience-stricken Maironi. For she is sceptical to the last degree. For her, God and Immortality are alike 'eternal delusions'; she will not let them stand between her and the feverish bliss she is resolute to attain. Those who have followed a recent Italian *cause célèbre*, at once scandalous and tragical, may remember that to its wretched heroine is attributed the saying, 'Had I retained my religious faith—had I continued to believe in the divine authority of the Ten Commandments—I should not have fallen!' So, in a still greater degree, is it with Fogazzaro's unfortunate heroine, who seems to inspire Italian critics with a curious admiration, which is sufficiently eloquent of the difference between the ideals of womanhood cherished by Northern Protestants and by Greek-Latins who still bow before Rome.

The hereditary piety of Maironi fails him in the hour of trial; but the snare is broken for him. A sudden summons calls him to the dying bed of his insane wife; reason has returned to her; the light of another, a heavenly, world illumines her last hours, and like a comforting angel-message her dying words strengthen her vacillating husband against his worsen self. Vision-led, he vanishes from the ken of his temptress into what Romanists know as 'the religious life'—a phrase implicitly containing the noxious error that true piety cannot thrive in the atmosphere of common secular existence. Maironi has sinned and must atone. He reappears in the *Santo* as 'Benedetto,' one practising monkish austerities and self-renunciation, yet bound by no monkish vows; and it is on this repentant sinner, who 'becomes too rapidly a saint; who, to punish himself for a "crime of sense," feeds on herbs, prays on the mountains, works in the fields, sleeps on

straw, and in a cavern does all that is expected of saints, even, as the peasants think, to the working of miracles; who has his visions and his ecstasies,' that a little group of enlightened, liberal, 'Progressive Catholics,' learn to hang their hopes of achieving much-needed reforms in the Church. Their hopes are destined to cruel disappointment. It is in vain that Maironi attains to a personal interview with the Supreme Pontiff, is received with benignity, and heard with patience; none the less are the generous-hearted dreamers visited severely with the displeasure of high ecclesiastical principalities and powers; their association scattered to the four winds, and their aims made utterly void; and Maironi-Benedetto, the too feeble instrument which they had hoped to see working mightily for good, is shattered into nothing—the 'Santo' dies, worn out by the long strain of spiritual conflict and bodily suffering; and, to all appearance, his fevered activity is barren of fruit, save for the dubious 'conversion' of the two friends, Jeanne Dessalle and Noemi d'Arxel; Jeanne becoming a very unsatisfactory Christian; for, as a Protestant critic has said with cruel acuteness, 'the burning kiss she presses on the crucifix offered to her lips by the dying Maironi is only one-quarter for Christ'; and Noemi abandoning the hereditary Protestantism to which she clung without real conviction, and becoming a slightly more serious Catholic.

The Saint's life-work is a failure. But, given his Romanist surroundings, could it be anything else?

Scenes of great power and beauty are not lacking to this romance, and some touching and sympathetic characters live and breathe in it. Too many of its 477 pages, to our thinking, are devoted to the unhappy Jeanne Dessalle and to her impassioned pursuit of Maironi, in the vain hope that, since his wife is dead and her wretched husband also has passed away, her life may now be blamelessly united to that of her beloved. He feels too deeply the sin of their former relations, seeking to expiate it by the renunciation of earthly joys, and only allows himself

to meet Jeanne since he trusts to win her acceptance of his gospel, a trust in which he is at last justified. Much more attractive are the passages where we meet the devout philosopher Giovanni Selva and his young bride Maria—a pair united by the tenderest love and confidence, despite the great gulf of years between the white-haired man of letters and the fair young girl who has embraced Catholicism for love of him, her heart having been won by one of his books on religious philosophy, when as yet she had not seen his face. 'They were wont to say that perhaps earth could not show another union peaceful as theirs, filled with the sweet, serious certainty that God, the Lord of the Life after death, would keep their souls united for ever in the Love of the Divine Will. . . In their unity there was also duality; as when a clear green-hued river flows into another that is blue and clear, you may discern in their waves broken gleams of emerald, broken gleams of sapphire, at their first junction. Giovanni was a mystic, seeing in all human loves some harmony with the Divine Love. His wife, athirst for Reason, infused as much practical good sense as she could into his mystical soul. She was rich, his circumstances were easy; both lived cheerfully in a humble way, that they might give more largely, both at Rome and in their modest country "Villetta" at Subiaco. They only spent freely on books and correspondence. Giovanni was preparing a work to prove the reasonableness of Christian ethics. His wife read for him, drew up abstracts, and made notes.'

This ideal couple move through the story doing good, loving, suffering; their presence sheds a tender light where they pass; not the less it is on them, Catholics proud of their Catholicism, that the storm of Catholic bigotry concentrates its thunders and lightnings. They find themselves under a ban.

Don Clemente, a sympathizing Benedictine, their friend and Maironi's, finds himself bound by his vow of obedience, to renounce intercourse with Selva, whose books are threatened with the Index. 'Our friendship,' sighs Don

Clemente, 'must remain buried for a season, like a treasure in war-time.' Another friend, 'Professor Dane,' had been imperatively summoned to Ireland by his Archbishop; and yet another, Don Paolo Faré, had been cut short in a course of religious instruction to young men at Pavia. Finally, it is his intimacy with Selva that is used as a cruel weapon against the ill-starred 'Saint,' Benedetto Maironi; he has openly maintained Selva's terrible opinion—most unfitting in a mere layman!—that the Church is grievously sick and in great need of healing; he, no ordained ecclesiastic, has openly preached Christ and Christ's Law of Love, with no reference to Madonna or to saint—he has preached thus, alike in the audience of the ignorant peasants who pressed about him, kneeling, weeping, and imploring 'a sign from Heaven,' in the miracles of healing he declares himself impotent to work; and in the presence of the courtly, cultivated, fashionable folk who throng about him in Rome, equally ignorant, alas! of spiritual things with the untaught *contadini*; and much more prone to the mockery which is 'the fume of little hearts.' One may say, *en passant*, that Fogazzaro's picture of high Roman society tends to recall Wesley's biting words, that it is 'very hard to be *shallow enough* for a genteel congregation.'

For Maironi, thus deeply compromised both by his friendship with that presumptuous lay critic of matters ecclesiastic, Giovanni Selva, and by his own highly 'irregular' methods of evangelization, his enemies call in the secular arm, and are preparing to strike at him by a penal action, based on his having 'failed to appear at the Court of Assize in Brescia when summoned to serve on the jury,' at the time when he 'escaped for his life' from the too well-beloved Mme. Dessalle!—he is threatened, in short, with a long imprisonment if he dare to tarry in Rome, where he has actually been received in private by the Pope, and has made a certain impression on the 'old man unstained by one impure thought, the old man all sweetness of charity,' in whom it is not hard to recognize

a tender portraiture of Pius X—Giuseppe Sarto, in his happier days.

The peril lurking in such interviews and such impressions, the peril for the lucrative *status quo*, must be averted; small scruple need be felt as to the weapon employed by Benedetto's clerical enemies; they feel none. What if the Vatican be outwardly at war with the Quirinal? the odious Government of new Italy can be serviceable to the Vatican all the same. 'There are no more cruel reactionaries,' says one of the subordinate characters of the tale, 'than those who wear cassocks; mere lay reactionaries, however ferocious, are lambs in comparison.' Their hate and rage would be very intelligible, had any of their spies overheard that midnight colloquy, by the dying glimmer of a lamp, amid the shadowy glooms of the Vatican library, which Fogazzaro's daring pen has pictured as taking place between his tragic hero and the Pope.

'Holiness,' says Maironi, to him who is officially styled 'God's vicegerent on earth,' no less, 'the Church is sick. Four evil spirits have entered into its body to make war on the Holy Spirit of God. One is the Spirit of Lies. . . Christ has said "I am the Truth"; but many in the Church, good and pious though they be, divide the Truth in their hearts. Worshippers of the letter, they seek to force on full-grown men the food of babes; they cause a fatal perversion of the Faith, which corrupts all religious life. . . Who bends himself to their will, imagines he has served God to the uttermost, while he has done less than nothing, not having *lived* that faith in the words of Christ, in the teaching of Christ—that submission to the Divine Will, which is everything! And those who do not divide the Truth in their hearts, those who supremely worship God the Truth, who burn with a fearless faith in Christ, in the Church, and in the Truth—I know such, Holy Father!—these are bitterly opposed, defamed as heretics, constrained to be silent—all through the Spirit of Lies, who for long ages has worked within the Church, making a tradition of lies; and those who obey this spirit dream

that they are doing God service—like the persecutors of the first Christians.

'The second evil spirit is the Spirit of Clerical Supremacy. Those priests who love to dominate are not pleased if the souls of the faithful communicate directly with God and ask of Him counsel and direction. . . This evil spirit requires submission not obligatory, retractations against conscience, it wishes to have religious obedience in matters which have nothing to do with religion. Holy Father, you know what Italy is! . . .

'The third evil spirit possessing the Church is the Spirit of Avarice. The Vicar of Christ lives in the Vatican as he used to live in his diocese, with the humble heart of the poor; so do many Pastors, worthy of reverence; but the lips of Christ's ministers too often are complaisant to the covetous. There are those who bow to the rich only because they are rich, who flatter the rich with their tongue, and think it lawful to enjoy the pomp and honour of wealth, to cleave in their soul to the pleasures of wealth, and these are preachers of the Word and Example of Christ! . . .

'The fourth evil spirit is the Spirit of Immobility. He transfigures himself into an Angel of Light. Catholic priests and laymen, under *his* influence, dream of pleasing God as did the Jews who crucified Christ. Holiness, all these clericals, who to-day oppose Progressive Catholicism, would have crucified Christ, quite honestly, in the name of Moses. They are idolaters of the past. They would have nothing changed, not even the peacock's feather fans which your Holiness does not love to see borne before him, not even the silly tradition which forbids a Cardinal to go forth on foot, or visit the poor in their homes. This spirit draws down on the Church the mockery of unbelievers—a heavy thing before God!

'And oh, Vicar of Christ, come forth from the Vatican! Lazarus suffers and dies every day—go forth and visit Lazarus! To the call of Christ, "Go, visit My sick and My poor," the Vatican answers, "I go, sir," and goes

not. What will Christ say, Holy Father, in the dreadful day? what will Christ say?

'I appeal to Christ!'

Assuredly there is nothing surprising in the fact that the writer of these words has lived to see his book put on the Index. Did he not foresee it?

Maironi, the 'Santo,' escapes his enemies by death. Fogazzaro, whom some critics scoffingly call '*the honourable Maironi*,'—since he sits in the Italian House of Parliament—lives, and makes no sign.

What will his ultimate course be? It is difficult for a Protestant not to call him—as Noemi calls Selva—'a hybrid Catholic'; difficult not to adapt to him the words he makes a State functionary address to Maironi: 'I am told you are a large-minded, a liberal Catholic. That means that you are *not* a Catholic.'

Such is the deliberate opinion of those who have known Italy for a lifetime. A liberal, large-minded, tolerant Catholic, is *not* a Catholic. The essential difference between the spirit of Rome and that of Protestantism is this: that Rome does not recognize the rights of the individual conscience, and interposes a human agent—the Priest—armed with preternatural powers, between Man and God. Fogazzaro refuses this mere human intermediary, denies his power, derides his pretensions. Can he, and those who think like him—they are many—remain in the Roman Catholic Church? The future of Christian Italy lies in the answer that they may give.

ANNE E. KEELING.



## THE APOSTLES' CREED IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT INVESTIGATIONS

*Das Apostolische Symbol.* Von FERDINAND KATTENBUSCH.  
(Leipzig : J. C. Hinrich, 1894—1901.)

*The Apostles' Creed.* By THEODOR ZAHN. English translation by C. S. BURN and A. E. BURN, B.D.  
(London : Hodder & Stoughton, 1899.)

*The Apostles' Creed.* By ADOLPH HARNACK. English translation from an article in the third edition of Herzog's *Real Encyclopädie*. (London : A. & C. Black, 1901.)

*The Apostles' Creed: Its Origin, Its Purpose, and Its Historical Interpretation.* By A. C. MCGIFFERT.  
(New York : Scribner's Sons, 1902.)

*Symbolik oder Konfessionskunde.* Von FRIEDRICH LOOFS.  
(Tubingen and Leipzig : J. C. B. Mohr, 1902.)

*The Apostles' Creed.* By H. C. BEECHING. (London : John Murray, 1906.)

THE piece of literature which goes by the name of the Apostles' Creed is, whether viewed from the standpoint of its origin or its history, or the widespread reputation it has enjoyed, next to the Bible itself, the most remarkable and even romantic document in the history of the Christian religion. Only in our own time, indeed, has its wonderful career been brought to light. It is true that many points are still disputed. Whether the form of the Creed as we now have it—'The Received Text'—is to be traced to Rome or to South Gaul; whether its oldest form, the 'Old Roman Symbol' as scholars name it, originated in Rome or was brought to Rome from the

East; what were the exact conditions amid which it was born—whether it sprang out of the missionary and catechizing function of the Church and was meant to explain to Jews and Gentiles the main elements of the Faith, or whether it was the product of an anti-heretical campaign and was intended to deny doctrines that threatened the integrity of the received tradition; why it was selected out of many similar creedal forms to become the Confession of the vast mass of Western Christians; whether and to what extent it reproduces the essential truths of Christianity,—all these and other points are still being discussed by theologians and historians of the first rank. And this variety of opinion is what we should expect. Dogma has its place in the life of the Church, in the sense of a reasoned statement of divine truth; but it is an irrelevance and may become an offensive intrusion in the sphere of history. Here we can ask and obtain only varying degrees of probability. Still, in a general way the probable evolution through which the Creed has passed can be made out; and a knowledge of its historic fortunes ought to save us from the extravagant and unwarrantable claims which at intervals have been set up in its behalf. It is not the oldest nor the highest authority for the Christian. The Holy Scriptures as interpreted by the growing Christian consciousness are the ultimate source and standard of belief. Nor can we say that it is an absolutely perfect Creed, omitting nothing that should be included in the faith of a Christian, and including nothing that should be omitted, a distillation, so to say, of the pure and unadulterated essence of the Christian religion for all time. How can we assert such a thing of a document which in its present shape is no older than the sixth century?—‘one of the younger confessions,’ as Zahn remarks, ‘brought forward by the old Church.’ The danger of all such high-flying notions about the Creed is that they are liable to create a sceptical reaction against any formulated statement of religious truth whatever. Instead of setting up in *a priori* dogmatic fashion a given interpretation of this

ancient symbol, and insisting that this interpretation is the only one permissible to a Christian, it would be more worthy of the truth to inquire patiently: 'How has the Creed come to be what it now is? What did the great Unknown, who first conceived its outline, mean by the words he used? What did later ages mean by their additions to or changes in his words? And what do we mean by it to-day?' Before trying to offer some answer to these questions, a few words ought to be said as to the use of creeds in the early Church. The modern custom in churches whose worship is liturgical is to recite the Creed as an expression of the Church's faith, a summary of those doctrines and facts to which she is committed. In the early centuries the Creed was not so used. Its recitation in public was solely in connexion with baptism. Some time near the close of the preliminary instruction before admission to the Church, the catechumen solemnly received the Creed, which he was to learn by heart and not commit to paper. Then at baptism he was examined as to his knowledge of what had thus been delivered to him, and was required to answer in the words he had learned.<sup>1</sup> 'We are immersed three times,' says Tertullian, 'answering somewhat more fully than the Lord prescribed in the Gospel.'<sup>2</sup> In the post-apostolic age a feeling grew up that the Lord's Supper, which became the culminating point of Christian worship, was a mystery to be observed only in the presence of the initiated, like the contemporary Pagan mysteries; and this feeling gradually extended until Baptism, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer came to be regarded as parts of the *disciplina arcani*—elements of secret knowledge not to be communicated to the unbaptized. Hence the frequent warnings in the early fathers against committing the Creed to paper. 'Nobody writes the Creed that it may be read, but for saying it over with yourselves, lest forgetfulness

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<sup>1</sup> These two ceremonies were known as *Traditio Symboli* and *Redditio Symboli* respectively.

<sup>2</sup> *De Corona Militis*, Chap. 3.

should obliterate what diligent instruction hath delivered unto you; *let your memory be your book.*<sup>1</sup> This is the explanation of the fact that we never find a verbatim quotation of the Creed in any of the second- or third-century writers, only paraphrastic and expository descriptions of it. Hence the obscurity which rests on the origins of the baptismal confession.

Let us now sketch rapidly the history of the Symbol so far as modern scholarship has been able to make it clear. During the early Middle Ages there was no particular fixed Creed throughout all the Churches of the West, but instead a multiplicity of forms. Professor Kattenbusch has reduced all these forms to three fundamental types: Italian, African, and West European, the last including Spanish, Gallican, and Irish creeds. When these types are studied and compared, it is found that there is an element common to all. This common basis is the germinal form out of which, by various additions and changes, these types developed, and is commonly called 'The Old Roman Symbol.' Now our present Apostles' Creed, according to the majority of scholars, belongs to the Western type, and Dr. Kattenbusch believes that Lyons or Vienne in the Province of Burgundy is probably its home. Its first appearance is in a sermon falsely ascribed to Augustine and now generally thought to be the work of Caesarius, bishop of Arles, in the first half of the sixth century.<sup>2</sup> From the ninth century onwards it gradually supplanted other forms throughout Europe, and, while not recognized by the Eastern Church, became the Creed of the Western world. Its victory over rival forms was, no doubt, owing to the fact that it found acceptance at Rome and went forth from that centre equipped with the legend (which had originally belonged to the Old Roman Symbol) that after our Lord's ascension

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<sup>1</sup> Augustine, *Sermon to Catechumens*.

<sup>2</sup> The manuscript authority is, however, not older than the eighth century, and the ascription of the sermon to Caesarius is now in question. Compare Loofs, *Konfessionskunde*, p. 37.

the Apostles met in solemn session and composed the Creed, each contributing an article. An early unknown mediaeval writer is the first to give our Creed with its legendary setting. 'On the tenth day after the Ascension, when the disciples were gathered for fear of the Jews, the Lord sent the promised Paraclete. And when He had come as a flaming fire, and they were filled with the knowledge of all tongues, they composed the symbol. Peter said: I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth. Andrew said: And in Jesus Christ His only Son, our Lord. James said: Who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of Mary the Virgin. John said: Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried. Thomas said: Descended into Hades, on the third day rose from the dead. James said: Ascended into Heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty. Philip said: Thence He is about to come to judge quick and dead. Bartholomew said: I believe in the Holy Spirit. Matthew said: Holy Catholic Church, Communion of Saints. Simon said: Remission of Sins. Thaddaeus said: Resurrection of the flesh. Matthias said: Life everlasting.'<sup>1</sup> This fable was devoutly believed all through the Middle Ages and received its death-blow only at the Reformation. Even the Roman Catholic Church has given it up, though she still teaches that the Creed can claim to be of apostolic origin. Now the fact that such a legend was attached in the Middle Ages to the Creed shows that it must have had a long history behind it. And that is what we actually find. About the beginning of the fifth century, Rufinus, to whose translations into Latin we are indebted for the preservation of some of the great creations of Greek theological genius, composed a commentary on the Creed of Aquileia in Italy, in which he points out its differences from the Roman Creed of his time. For example, he says that 'the clause "He descended into hell," is not added in the Creed of the

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Hahn's *Bibliothek der Symbole*, 42; Kattenbusch's *Das Apostol. Symbol*, Bd. II, p. 777.

Roman Church, neither is it in that of the Oriental Churches.' <sup>1</sup> And again: 'Our Church in teaching the faith, instead of "the resurrection of the flesh," as the Creed is delivered in other Churches, guardedly adds the pronoun "this"—"the resurrection of *this* flesh."' <sup>2</sup> Scholars have compared this witness to the Creed as it was received at Rome in the fourth century with four other authorities, the most important of which is a letter preserved by Epiphanius and written by Marcellus of Ancyra about 337 A.D., to Julius, bishop of Rome. <sup>3</sup> Now the Creed of Marcellus agrees with the Roman Creed very closely, except in omitting 'Father' in the first article, and adding the clause 'everlasting life.' This last, however, is probably an inadvertence on the part of a later scribe. We can now reconstruct the text of the Old Roman Symbol as it existed in the fourth century in Greek and Latin. It ran as follows:—

'I believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Christ Jesus His only-begotten (Latin, *only*) Son our Lord, who was born of the Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin, was crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried, on the third day rose from the dead, ascended into Heaven, sitteth on the right hand of the Father, from whence He is coming to judge quick and dead; and in Holy Spirit, holy church, remission of sins, resurrection of flesh.' <sup>4</sup>

It is obvious that this form underlies our present Creed. Can we trace it still farther back? When we enter the third century we find that some writers show signs of the existence of a fixed creed. Thus Hippolytus distinguishes between 'the rule of ancient faith' and the Scriptures; <sup>5</sup> Dionysius of Rome, writing against certain heresies of his time, says 'that it is necessary to believe in *God the*

<sup>1</sup> Chap. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. 43.

<sup>3</sup> The other three authorities are, 'the Psalter of Aethalstan,' 'the Codex Laudianus,' and 'the Codex Swainsonii. Compare Kattenbusch *op. cit.* I, pp. 64-76.

<sup>4</sup> Compare McGiffert, *Apostles' Creed*, pp. 42, 43.

<sup>5</sup> Eusebius, *H. E.*, V. 28.

*Father Almighty*, and in Christ Jesus His Son, and in the Holy Spirit';<sup>1</sup> Cyprian of Carthage mentions in his letters 'the law of the Creed' known at Rome as well as in his own city, and accepted by the schismatical Novatian.<sup>2</sup> When we pass to the second century our two witnesses are Tertullian of North Africa and Irenaeus of South Gaul. Neither writer gives a formal and complete statement of the Creed; but from their scattered reproductions of its articles, it can, with a fair degree of probability, be reconstructed. Thus, for example, Tertullian writes in his treatise, 'On the Veiling of Virgins': 'The rule of faith is altogether one, alone fixed and unchangeable, the rule, namely, of believing in one only God omnipotent, the Creator of the universe, and His Son Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, on the third day raised from the dead, received in the heavens, sitting now at the right hand of the Father, about to come to judge quick and dead through the resurrection even of the flesh.'<sup>3</sup> No such definite and compact formulation can be quoted from Irenaeus; but fragments are scattered here and there through his great work against heresies.<sup>4</sup> Now, up till recently it was the habit of scholars to identify off-hand the Creed of these second-century authors with that in use in the fourth century. But Professor McGiffert has shown that the later text is a slightly enlarged form of the earlier, and he reconstructs the text known to Tertullian and Irenaeus as follows: 'I believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Christ Jesus His Son, who was born of Mary the Virgin, who was crucified and buried under Pontius Pilate, on the third day rose from the dead, ascended into Heaven, sitteth on the right hand of the Father, whence He is coming to judge quick and dead; and in Holy Spirit, resurrection of flesh.'<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Athanasius in *De Decretis Syn. Nic.*, 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Epistle*, 69.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. I. Compare *De Praescriptione Haereticorum*, 13, 36.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Adv. Haereses*, Book I. 10; IV. 33, 7; V. 20, 1.

<sup>5</sup> *The Apostles' Creed*, &c., p. 100.

Here, then, is the earliest form out of which what we call the Apostles' Creed has been developed. As to date it cannot be traced farther back than the middle of the second century. 'We may regard it,' says Dr. Harnack, 'as an assured result of research that the Old Roman Creed came into existence about or shortly before the middle of the second century.' Kattenbusch, indeed, carries it back to the end of the first century, and suggests Alexander or Evarestus—both Roman bishops—as its author. Zahn thinks that 'a more or less stereotyped baptismal confession' existed in early apostolic times, and that at a somewhat later period, somewhere between 70 and 120, this confession, which had traces of the Jewish origin of Christianity, such as emphasis on the Davidic descent of Jesus, was recast and made better fitted for the needs of Gentile converts. Seeberg advocates the daring hypothesis that even before the year 35 A.D. there was a fixed confessional formula, which may be reconstructed from St. Paul's Epistles thus: 'The living God, who created all things, sent forth His Son Jesus Christ, born of the seed of David, who died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and was buried, who was raised on the third day according to the Scriptures, and appeared to Cephas and the twelve, who sat down on the right hand of God in the heavens, all authorities and principalities and power being made subject unto Him, and who cometh on the clouds of Heaven with power and great glory.'<sup>1</sup> Now it is true that there are in the New Testament summarizing statements of the main Christian facts, liturgical fragments and verbal combinations of a more or less fixed character, but there is not a shred of evidence to support the contention that in the apostolic age there was a crystallized expression of Christian truth. The verdict of modern critical scholarship is distinctly opposed to such a notion. Nor is there any trace of a formulated creed in the sub-apostolic period. Clement of Rome, Hermas, the *Didache*, are all silent as to its existence. When we

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<sup>1</sup> *Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit.*



examine the letters of Ignatius we find certain stereotyped phrases summing up the chief facts of Christ's history, which look as though taken from a creed. For example, in opposition to the Docetists, who explained away the humanity of the Saviour, he writes: 'Jesus Christ, who was of the race of David, who was son of Mary, who was truly born and ate and drank, was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, and was truly crucified and died in the sight of those in Heaven and on earth, who also was truly raised from the dead.'<sup>1</sup> It is unnecessary to assume the existence of a formulated creed to account for this or similar passages. It forms no part of a confession based on the baptismal formula, such as the Old Roman Creed professed to be. And besides, Ignatius, for whom a creed handed down from the Apostles would have been of the greatest service against the heresies he combated, knew apparently of no such document.

Finally, Justin Martyr, who published an *Apology* about 150 A.D., gives no undoubted indication that he knew a creed, although if such existed in his time he would probably have mentioned it in his account of Baptism. The conclusion, therefore, is forced upon us that the date of the Old Roman Symbol is somewhere between 150 and 180 A.D.<sup>2</sup> It was an expansion of the baptismal formula, 'The Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost,' or of the formula more frequent in the post-apostolic age, 'God, Jesus Christ, Holy Spirit.' Once formulated, it was never changed at Rome itself; but since its claim to be of apostolic origin was of later growth, other Churches felt at liberty to modify its terms to suit local needs. In a Latin translation it went out from Rome into the provinces and became the foundation of all Western confessional symbols. The similarity of these symbols to the Old Roman Symbol may be said to be in proportion to

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<sup>1</sup> *Epistle to the Trallians*, Chap. 9.

<sup>2</sup> As to whether Marcion knew and accepted the Roman Creed on his arrival at Rome about 139 A.D., compare Kattenbusch, *op. cit.* II, p. 86; McGiffert, *op. cit.* p. 58 seq.

the geographical nearness of the given church to Rome. About the sixth century Rome substituted for its old Creed the Niceno-Constantinopolitan, doubtless in order to condemn Arianism, as Harnack says, in its very baptismal formula. But though set aside at Rome, the old Creed continued its career of change and development in Gaul and elsewhere; and when, about the ninth century, the Roman Church resumed its use, it was in the fully-developed form in which it exists to-day. 'Such are the strange vagaries of history! The Roman Church gives her old Creed to Gaul. There in course of time it became enlarged. Meantime the Church of Rome builds up the legend of the strictly apostolic origin of the unchanged Creed. Then, under the pressure of outward circumstances, she lets it drop after all, and it ceases to exist. Meanwhile its child, the Creed of Gaul, presses forward into the land of the Franks, and there wins for itself a supreme place. The kingdom of the Franks becomes the world-kingdom and the master of Rome. From it Rome receives her old Creed back again, but in an enlarged form; she accepts the gift, invests the new form with Roman authority, and crowns the child-creed with the glory of its mother by transferring to it the legend of strict apostolic origin.'<sup>1</sup> From the ninth century onward it gradually superseded all rival forms, and became the confession of Western Christendom. During the Middle Ages, when for the vast majority of Christians the New Testament was a sealed book, this Creed, which every member of the Church was required to learn, kept alive the name and faith of Christ, and guided the development of dogmatic thinking as concerned with the problems of God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit. It was interpreted indeed, in an unhistorical way, in terms of the Nicene Christology, by the scholastics; still, men were ever recalled by it to the figure of the Master, and to the thought that salvation was bound up with His great redemptive deeds. The Reformers of the sixteenth cen-

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<sup>1</sup> Harnack in the *Nineteenth Century* for July 1893.

ture inherited the traditional reverence for it as an excellent summary of Christian belief, though they rejected the legend of its apostolic authorship. Luther declared it to be his Bible, 'which has stood so long and still stands unshaken,' to which he held fast, to which he was baptized and upon which he would live and die. Cranmer translated it—a translation which substantially is reproduced in the Anglican Catechism, and in the Order of Morning and Evening Prayer. In Scotland, for one hundred years after the Reformation, we find the Creed printed in full in the Book of Common Order, popularly called 'John Knox's Liturgy,' a work based on the Book of Geneva, compiled by Calvin, which became the model for all the liturgies of the Reformed Churches on the Continent. Hence, in all Churches whose service is liturgical (except the Greek Church), the Apostles' Creed holds an honoured place. In non-liturgical Churches it is regarded with sympathy, and possibly is the one religious formula in which all Christians could unite as the expression of their common Christianity.

Passing from the history of the Creed to its original purpose, we may ask, 'To what specific conditions does it owe its existence?' The older investigators held that it was the expression of the Church's reaction against Gnosticism, an assertion of the great realities of faith against the tendency to dissipate them in allegory and mystic speculation. This theory has now been universally abandoned. The symbol is too untheological to be the product of an anti-Gnostic movement. The majority of scholars of the present day regard it as framed in a missionary interest, to instruct converts from Paganism and Judaism in the truths of Christianity. On the other hand, if, as has been shown, it was composed at Rome in the middle of the second century, some reason of a kind which had not hitherto been in existence must be assigned for its origin. Now such a reason, it is believed, is found in the heretical teaching of Marcion, who made a stir in Christian circles at Rome about the time the Creed origin-

ated. Professor McGiffert, in the work already alluded to, takes up in order each article and endeavours to show how it was shaped by an anti-Marcionitic interest. For example, the opening clause of the Creed runs: 'I believe in God the Father Almighty.' Now the Greek word<sup>1</sup> here rendered 'Almighty' means rather, 'all-ruling,' and with the word 'Father' expresses the idea that the God worshipped by Christians is the creator and ruler of the world. But Marcion taught a kind of dualism, according to which the God of Jesus Christ did not create the universe, which came into being through the agency of the stern and wrathful God of the Old Testament. The compiler of the Creed seems by the use of a rare phrase to contradict Marcion's fundamental thought. So too with the clauses concerning Christ. Here the omissions are as significant as the assertions. The history of Christ between His birth and crucifixion is not alluded to. Now we know that in the second century certain elements of that history occupied a large place in Christian thought. For instance, His baptism, His miracles, His fulfilment of ancient prophecy, and above all, His victory over demons, which was still shown in the exorcism of these evil powers by the use of such a formula as: 'In the name of Jesus Christ crucified under Pontius Pilate.' Why is it that if the Creed was simply intended as a summary of what the Church believed about her Master, no mention of these facts was made? Clearly there must be some other motive at work. What is actually inserted points to that motive. For example, the earliest form of the Creed had the clause: 'Born of Mary the Virgin,' the phrase 'Conceived of the Holy Ghost' being a later addition. The author seems to be concerned not about the miraculousness of Christ's birth, though this too, doubtless, formed part of his belief, but about its *reality*. We have the same thought repeatedly in Ignatius, as, for instance, when he congratulates the Smyrnaeans on their faith in Christ 'who was truly born of a virgin' and 'truly

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<sup>1</sup> *Pantokrator*.

nailed up in the flesh for us under Pontius Pilate and Herod.'<sup>1</sup> Ignatius emphasizes the *reality* of these events against the docetic attempt to explain them away as only phantasmal. Now Marcion was a docetist, and opens his Gospel, a recension of St. Luke, with the assertion that Jesus Christ came down from heaven in the fifteenth year of the Emperor Tiberius, and after the assumption of an unreal or phantasmal body, entered on His work of teaching. Hence the point of the Ignatian reiterations, as of the article in the Creed, is to assert that Jesus experienced a real earthly birth; that the birth was miraculous was the all but universal belief in the second century, and therefore did not call for express assertion. The fact of the Virgin-birth was not, indeed, regarded as a truth of salvation, for there were, as Justin informs us,<sup>2</sup> some Christians who denied it, but as a valuable apologetic argument against the Jews in favour of our Lord's Messiahship. On the whole, then, it is hard to resist the conclusion of the distinguished American scholar that we have here a document drawn up as a deliberate denial of doctrines that threatened the foundations of the Christian faith by eliminating the humanity of Christ, and that the essential motive which guided the author in his selection of *credenda* was his belief in the reality of that humanity.

Some conclusions of practical interest would seem to follow from the strangely complicated history which has been roughly sketched.

1. While many of the elements of the Creed can be traced back to the Apostolic Age, the combination of these elements into a confession of faith is not the work of that age, but expresses certain truths which the Church of the second century felt called upon to emphasize against heretical ideas. It is the product of a period that witnessed one of the most far-reaching transformations Christianity has ever undergone, the rise, namely, of

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<sup>1</sup> *To the Smyrnaeans*, Chap. I.

<sup>2</sup> 'For there are some, my friends,' said I, 'of our race who admit that He (Jesus) is Christ, while holding Him to be man of men.'—*Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*, Chap. 48.

Catholicism and its institutes, the growth of an anti-Pauline legalism and a retrogression to a less spiritual standpoint than that of the New Testament. The Creed, therefore, is not itself an absolute and final authority, behind which we cannot go; it points back to Christ and His Apostles, and asks to be judged in the light of their teaching.

2. The words of the Creed have no sacrosanct character. They varied in different Churches during many centuries, and there are grounds for believing that some of the weightiest and most fundamental articles, as, for example, the article on the Forgiveness of Sins, formed no part of the original symbol. The present text is a growth determined, partly by the need for explanation, partly by later dogmatic reflection, and partly by causes of a purely accidental character.

3. The interpretation of the various articles of belief has varied according to the culture and spiritual insight of believers. It is no exaggeration to say that there is not a single Christian in the world to-day, who can repeat the Creed in precisely the same sense intended by the original framers. And the reason is, because the special conditions of thought and feeling that called it forth have passed away never to return. To try to work ourselves back to the spiritual consciousness of the second century would be to attempt the impossible. Rather may we read into the words whatever of divine meaning we have been enabled to discover in Christ and in the revelation which He has brought to us. Not only each individual, but each age finds in the Creed exactly what it brings to it. One illustration must here suffice. During the early centuries there was a widespread belief in a physical resurrection at the Last Day. This idea was taken over by the primitive Christians from Judaism, though St. Paul explicitly denied it in his First Epistle to the Corinthians. Hence, in the Old Roman Creed, the Christian confessed his belief in 'the resurrection of the flesh.'<sup>1</sup> Our transla-

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<sup>1</sup> *Sarkos anastasin.*

tion 'the resurrection of the body,' derived from an Anglican formulary of the Reformation, obscured the meaning of the original, and is capable of a double interpretation. We now take it to mean that we shall have beyond the grave, not our present material bodies, but 'a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.' But in meaning this we must frankly confess that we contradict the thought of the early Church and range ourselves on the side of Marcion against the author of the Creed, though in doing so we are reproducing the mind of Christ, as of St. Paul and St. John, more closely than primitive thought was able to do.

4. The essence of the Creed is contained in one of its articles: 'I believe in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord.' There is a truly Christian and apostolic ring about these words that finds a response in every heart that has learned the secret of the gospel. Here and there some detail of the Creed may not find us, but if the faith which the Creed enshrines, faith in the unique Sonship and Lordship of Christ—the great spiritual dynamic of the primitive ages of Christianity—has found a lodgement in our hearts and a dominating influence in our lives, then are we one in faith and spirit with the saints of all ages, by whatsoever name they may have been called, members of the larger Church of which our ecclesiastical organizations are sadly weak and imperfect reflections.

SAMUEL M'COMB.

## ARCHBISHOP TEMPLE

*Memoirs of Archbishop Temple.* By SEVEN FRIENDS.

Edited by E. G. SANDFORD, Archdeacon of Exeter.  
2 vols. (Macmillan. 1906.)

THE late Archbishop was a great and a manifold man, on the whole, perhaps, an almost unparalleled man—a man *sui generis*. For one person adequately and within moderate limits of time to compass the writing of his memoirs would have been a difficult task. Even a versatile, one might say manifold, scholar would have taken too long to accomplish his work, especially as such a writer could not fail to be a busy man with large responsibilities in official life. Accordingly the time for completing the task has been abridged by distributing the work among seven co-adjutors, 'seven friends,' of whom the first takes the Memoir of Earlier Years; the second, the Education Office Period; the third, the Rugby Memoir; the fourth, the Exeter Period (that is, the first Bishopric); the fifth, the London Memoir (the second Bishopric); the sixth, the Canterbury Period, with the Primacy; while the seventh division is undertaken by the general editor, Archdeacon Sandford, who has also dealt with the history of the Exeter Episcopal Period. The chief burden of editorial responsibility has rested with the Archdeacon, who has justified his appointment by the masterly ability with which he has performed his more than twofold portion of the work, though we venture to think that the archaic history of the Church within the limits of the Exeter diocese as sketched by him in the introductory chapter of his 'Exeter Memoir' is given in somewhat excessive detail.

In such a review as the present writer can attempt it would be futile even to glance at the technical points of



Temple's peculiarly technical work in the Education Department of the Privy Council; first at Twickenham, where it was his business to prepare youths for the work of teaching in workhouse schools—a project which, through no fault of his, proved a complete failure—and afterwards as an Examiner of Papers in the Education Department of the Privy Council. Nor can we pretend, however interesting to educational experts the subject might be, to deal with the masterly work which Dr. Temple accomplished as the Head Master of Rugby School, which under his rule rose to a height of fame and influence such as attracted pupils in crowds, not only from far and wide within our own British territories, but also from the United States. Still less can we presume to deal with the obscure, the highly technical, points of litigation, connected with the ceremonial and disciplinary controversies within his own Church, with which, as Primate of all England, Archbishop Temple had more to do than any other ecclesiastical dignitary, and as to which, at more points perhaps than one, it is permissible to think that even his keen discernment and strong will may have failed completely to satisfy the critical need of the Church and the nation at the present crisis, when the most momentous of all national controversies remains unresolved.

Without trenching on these matters, however, there is much in the personal history and character of one of the ablest of Church leaders of the bygone age, and one of the strongest and noblest of the Christian men of our time, which may furnish material for a suggestive review.

The late Archbishop was a unique character; he stood absolutely alone; from his boyhood upward and onward he had no fellow. This was largely due to the altogether exceptional conditions under which his early life was passed, from his birth in Santa Maura till his migration from a lone farmhouse in South Devon, to Balliol College as a scholar of Blundell's School. In virtue of his mere parentage and early home-life he was, no doubt, destined

to be a man of strong physique and of a decided character; but he had peculiarities which marked him out from all other strong and sturdy Englishmen.

It is not without its interest, indeed, to note that, on his father's side, he was descended from a very distinguished patrician stock, the Temples of Stowe, the Buckingham Temples. From the dukes to the soldier's son, born at Santa Maura, the descent is great. The stock had not come down below the condition of a Cornish country clergyman, the vicar of St. Gluvias, when his soldier son was commissioned as an ensign in 1799, and was stationed at Santa Maura, in the Ionian archipelago, where, in the year 1821, his eldest son Frederic was born. His mother was the daughter of a small Cornish landowner. Throughout all their history, whether in the Ionian islands or after their return to England, the condition of the family was one of very strait poverty. There were more than a few children; the father's pay was scanty. When he returned to England on half-pay, he bought a small farm in South Devon, but had neither capital nor knowledge or training to make it pay. He accordingly, being a retired major, pressed for an appointment abroad, and received the melancholy preferment of Governor of Sierra Leone, 'the white man's grave,' where of course he died. Within the year the end came; but by his heroic though reckless devotion to his wife and family he had earned for them a pension which enabled his wife, with whom lived her Methodist sister,<sup>1</sup> to bring up her family respectably, though they could not afford to have butter on the table, and to give a good education to her sons at the Tiverton school.

This is the bare outline of a hard but heroic family history. Mrs. Temple was a remarkable woman, of quiet, powerful character, a loving yet masterful mother, but for

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Temple, when Bishop of London, told the late Rev. H. Price Hughes, whom he met at a Temperance gathering, that he knew a good deal about Methodism in the villages, because he was accustomed to accompany his Methodist aunt to her village chapel.

whom her son, the great bishop, would not have won his Balliol scholarship or been Archbishop of Canterbury. The father was a brave and true, but fierce and fiery, soldier, one of the heroic spirits that have made England invincible in war; and the melancholy self-sacrifice by which he earned the means of thrifty living for his widow and children was a rare instance of nobility. Such parents were fitted to stamp with the impress of self-sacrificing heroism the type of character distinctive of their offspring, and most signally exemplified in the case of the Archbishop.

Instrumentally, however, the son owed more to his mother than to any other influence or any combination of circumstances. As an educator Mrs. Temple stands alone; her spirit ruled and determined her son's character, not only as a student and prize-winner, but also, very largely, as a ruler and governor in school and in the Church. Mrs. Temple was a quiet and comely Cornish woman of a good old family. Left a widow with a few acres of land and a small house, she took sole charge of the household and the land. Not content with this, she took in hand, as best she could, the education of her children, including the preparation of her sons for Blundell's School. Knowing nothing herself of geometry, she nevertheless, after her own fashion, conducted successfully the grounding of the future scholar of Balliol in his Euclid's elements. It was a mere verbatim memoriter performance, of the scientific or scholarly meaning of which she knew nothing, yet it laid the foundation sure and immovable for a perfect knowledge of Euclid's geometry—never lost afterwards—when her son went through the elements at school. In the same manner she took him through his Latin grammar. She never inflicted physical punishment on her children, but by quiet insistence she taught them all implicitly to obey her. One of her daughters afterwards ruled the house of her brother at Rugby. Like her mother she was calmly but resolutely insistent, with a placid sternness of purpose. Combined

as that was with remarkable care and love in the oversight of the scholars in her brother's house, she secured affection as well as obedience in her domestic régime. Thus the mother's rule and influence were, in a sense, reproduced at Rugby, in a strong masculine form under the hand of her son, in a feminine and mitigated form under the influence of her daughter.

All through his earlier life, and till he had gained his Balliol Fellowship, Frederick Carveth Temple—his mother was a Carveth—led a life of poverty and hardship. Born in garrison in Santa Maura, he told an audience of working men, when he was bishop, that in his boyhood he had endured hard poverty, in his youth he had sometimes at college been unable to afford a fire in winter, and that he had learned to thresh and to plough a straight furrow. On one occasion Dr. Jenkyn, master of his college, perceiving the evidences of his exceptional poverty, conveyed to him privily a ten-pound note to meet his necessity. 'Of course,' he said, in after life, 'I was very much ashamed to take it; but at that time I was very poor—it was a question whether I should be able to stay at Oxford—and I took it, and shall never forget it to the end of my life.'

This youth, having won his scholarship at Balliol, maintained his position at Oxford in spite of the pinch and discouragement of extreme penury, never allowed himself to become a dependent, never lost his proper dignity. He was recognized by the greatest scholars and the most distinguished members of, perhaps, the most famous college in Christendom, not only as their intellectual but their social equal, by reason of his high moral character and noble independence of spirit, as well as of his brilliant scholarship. At the same time he owed nothing in his social standing to the graces of social intercourse any more than to the gifts of fortune. He was a stark man and a scholar of great intellectual power and promise, but apart from a very select circle of Oxford Dons he was not yet in society. He kept up, however,

his religious work. He taught in St. Ebbe's Sunday school, and his enthusiasm for foreign missions is illustrated by a letter to his sister Katy, written in November 1841, when he was twenty years of age. He also writes a few months later that he had observed religiously the services in Holy Week, and that 'he does not know any place he likes better than Oxford for spending that week.'

When reading for a Fellowship, he was too poor to be able to pay a 'coach.' But Tait, the future archbishop, whom he was to succeed as Bishop of London, was his chief friend and helper. He supplied, by private tuition, the place of a 'coach'; while Ward, 'Ideal Ward,' who held his logical lash over Newman, forcing him onward towards Rome, zealously took the part of friend to the rustic scholar from Blundell's School. The greatest master of mathematics in the University gave Temple the benefit of his very valuable instruction. Thus he came out, at the end of his scholarship term, as a Double-First and won his Fellowship.

As Fellow of Balliol he entered on a new life. He was now one of a brilliant brotherhood; his position, socially as well as intellectually, was secured. He had his place in the same University fellowship with Jowett, Matthew Arnold, and other eminent scholars; as a Balliol Double-First there was no position in the intellectual world he might not have aspired towards, no social circle which had the right to look down upon him.

The one notable and more or less doubtful feature in his position and attitude was due in great part to his close friendship with Ward and to his admiration of Newman. Though this was not without its limits and its qualifications, it may be questioned whether he was ever altogether clear of the partiality for some features of the Oxford school of High Churchmanship, strong and steadfast Protestant as he was, and whether it may not have appreciably influenced him even after the time when he had completed his Rugby experience. On the crucial question in 1845, as to the censure and condemnation of

Newman and Ward, like all the other Fellows of Balliol, he voted against the statute of condemnation. But this was in his case, as in that of most of the other Fellows, a vote given on behalf of large liberty of thought, and not from sympathy with Romanizing ideals. He was still a young man, and his theological studies were very incomplete. Not long before, his wise mother, understanding his disposition and his immaturity of knowledge and judgement, had solemnly counselled him to abstain from controversial discussion, a counsel which he respected and obeyed. This period was the crucial trial of his life, and the result of his whole experience at the time is excellently summed up by the Editor in his 'Supplement' under the head of 'Development.'

He was held fast because of elements which entered into his conception of faith. . . . But there were legacies of the school—i.e. the Tractarian School—which he never lost—an awe and reverence about his religion and worship which all could see, and the sense of a supernatural presence which inspired them; an elevation of aim in daily life which lifted him above conventional standards, while nevertheless he remained absolutely simple, and lived his life in common things; a belief that the Church, though he gave no narrow interpretation of the term, was no convenient institution framed by man, but the creation of Christ Himself; a hold on things unseen which made the world beyond the grave and the communion of saints perpetual realities to him; above all, a belief in the objectivity of the Christian faith, with the Cross and the Resurrection and the Divine Sonship of Christ as the Centre and the Head. 'Our Lord is the Crown, nay, the very Substance, of all Revelation—if He cannot convince the soul, no other can. The believer stakes all faith on His truth, all hope on His power.'—*Temple's Bampton Lectures*, p. 251.

It may not be unfitting to insert the striking portraiture of Temple, by Professor Shairp, in his poem on the Balliol Scholars at Oxford.

There, too, was one broad-browed, with open face,  
 And frame for toil compacted—him with pride  
 A school of Devon from a rural place  
 Had sent to stand these chosen ones beside :

From childhood trained all hardness to endure,  
To love the things that noble are and pure,  
And think and do the truth whate'er betide.

With strength for labour as the strength of ten,  
To ceaseless toil he girt him night and day :  
A native king and ruler among men,  
Ploughman or premier, born to bear true sway :  
Small or great duty never known to shirk,  
He bounded joyously to sternest work—  
Less buoyant others turn to sport and play.

Temple had no idea of spending his life as a resident Fellow of Balliol or an Oxford Don in the University. His vocation he felt to be that of a teacher, and those who knew his character and powers understood his feeling. Accordingly the Privy Council Education Department, just then taking form as a leading force in national development under the masterly guidance of Mr. Kay—afterwards known as Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth—had fixed its eye upon Temple as one who could render valuable assistance in the organizing of a national department of service. Just at this time a promising, and, as it seemed, a scientific project was in view for the organization of a college for the training of masters of workhouse schools, and the man selected to pioneer this work—undoubtedly the likeliest man to undertake it successfully—was Temple. The college was located at Twickenham, and was destined, as has already been intimated, to be a failure through no fault of the principal.

It so happened, however, that just at this time the writer of this article first heard of and first saw the future master of Rugby. He himself was stationed, in 1853-5, at Brentford, in the Hammersmith Methodist 'Circuit,' and Twickenham was situated within the part of that extensive circuit of which Brentford was the sub-centre. So it happened that he heard at Twickenham a vague account of a college with a good many acres of land attached where teachers were to be trained for workhouse schools. Whether it was an English Church college or a merely Government college was not clear.

That it was to be both the one and the other did not seem to be in any one's mind at Twickenham. The students worked on the land, and, strange to say, the head of the college, a clergyman, was accustomed to work, more or less, with the men, besides giving them lectures, having college prayers with them morning and evening, and taking them to Church services. He worked with them in the field or garden early in the morning—it was, in fact, farm work, and he acted as farmer. Then there was much chanting at their morning and evening worship, and the prayers were from the Church Prayer-Book. The whole thing was new and strange, but in some way connected with Government. The principal was evidently a notable and superior person, and was visited by gentlemen of mark on Saturdays—that is, on holidays. The writer caught a glimpse of him once, but only once. He seemed to be tall, grave, and clerkly. It was many a year before the writer knew what all this meant, that the young men were intended to become teachers in workhouse schools, and that that was the reason why only working men's boys, who wanted to be trained especially for field labour, were received into the college schools. The general suspicion seemed to be that the whole thing was a Romanizing affair.

The idea underlying the scheme—Kay-Shuttleworth's scheme—was a good and true one; but not even the vigour and freshness of mind and earnest goodwill of Mr. Temple, aided as he was by an able vice-principal, Francis T. Palgrave, could make it a success. The idea did not 'take.' Indeed, the social intelligence and demands of the period, among those youths who desired to become teachers in the public service, and those working-class parents who desired suitable and satisfactory education for their sons, did not answer to these plans for making the best use of workhouses and workhouse schools for the radical reform of workhouse administration, and as a step toward remedying the deadly and deep-rooted evils of national pauperism. The upshot of the experiment,



which sanguine social reformers had launched with good and benevolent hopes, was that, after four or five years of earnest labour, the scheme was abandoned, never to be taken up again in any such form, and that Temple had to betake himself to the weary work of reading examination and other papers in the offices of the Education Department at Whitehall.

Just at this point an interesting fact brightens the record of Dr. Temple's life. His younger brother was a soldier, and died, so it happened, in the island of his elder brother's birth, Santa Maura, leaving a dependent family. Dr. Temple, as his niece writes, hearing of this calamity, 'did what no one else would have done; he wrote to my mother'—a young Greek lady of good family—'to say he would look after us all. As I was the youngest, and had not been to school, he asked my mother to send me home. He was then at Kneller Hall. He sent my brother to Italy to finish his education as a doctor, and my sister went with my mother back to Corfu. I lived two years at Kneller Hall with my grandmother and uncle, and he taught me everything I know. I shall never forget his love for his mother. Of an evening he used to sit on a footstool at her feet, the dear old lady playing with his hair. On Saturday men like Stanley, Scott, Lake, Jowett, Lingen, Sandford (afterwards Lord Sandford), Walrond, and many others used to come down. It was a great pleasure to me, child as I was then, to listen to their conversation; and sometimes one of them would say, "How do you express this or that in your Greek?" for I was more familiar then with modern Greek than with English.'

On the closing of Kneller Hall, Temple was made Inspector of Church of England Male Training Colleges, an office which he held in 1856-7-8. At an earlier date (1851) he had given evidence in writing for the Oxford University Commission on College and University Reform. The *Oxford Essays* for 1856 include one by him on National Education, and in 1860 he gave evidence

before the Commission on Popular Education, over which the Duke of Newcastle presided. Indeed, from this time forth Temple was one of the chief, if not quite the chief, among the earnest and patriotic scholars, clergy and other gentlemen of University training, who inspired and guided the national progress in respect of popular education, always himself bearing in mind that what was to be kept in view was the upgrowth and development of a free and intelligent Christian nation, including all grades of society as well as all shades of Christian belief and character. When he left the mastership of Rugby to become a bishop, ascending, step by step, till he became the most influential Christian personality in Protestant Christendom, his whole progress from Blundell's School had been steady, continuous, conscientious, though he had had not a little from time to time to revise and alter in his views and expectations. He was always learning, as, not without discovery of error in his past, and a consciousness of still unfolding truth, he made good his way from one point of survey to another, and, through mist as well as sunlight, to an ever widening and still higher region of outlook and perspective.

Twice, indeed, he was in peril of serious error, as most men of candid and anxious minds, in times of grave controversy on profound and difficult subjects, are apt, at some moment, to find themselves. Once during the Tractarian controversy, as already noted, he was in such peril, and again, when too hastily and independently he wrote the first essay on the 'Education of the World in Preparation for Christianity,' in the volume of *Essays and Reviews*. The subject was fascinating, but skirted regions full of mystery, and not only obscure but perilous for a Christian teacher to deal with in the way of speculation or hypothesis. Very unfortunately, also, among the papers of which this stood first, was more than one justly chargeable with dangerous rationalism. In Temple's own work, indeed, there was little, if any, trace of rationalistic error, although there were ideas

in it, derived, at least in part, from German originals, which involved a freer exercise of philosophical thought than at the time had been known in the writings of English Churchmen. Still, had it stood alone, or in connexion with a body of orthodox companion essays, it would have excited no indignation, and little, if any, suspicion. But it was the first essay in the new and, taken as a whole, daringly heterodox volume, the publication of which had alarmed the orthodox Christianity of the nation, whether as represented by Pusey, or Lord Shaftesbury, or Bishop Wilberforce, or evangelical dissent. It could not be separated from the other essays, to which it was regarded as being, in some sense, an introduction; and, therefore, the appointment of Temple, then the head master of Rugby as well as Fellow of Balliol, by the Queen on the advice of Mr. Gladstone to the bishopric of Exeter, was regarded by a large and influential part of the Church as an outrage. Especially was this the case in the Exeter diocese, which had so long been under the influence of Dr. Phillpotts—Henry of Exeter.

Yet, after all, it turned out, as it is very carefully explained in the present biography, that Dr. Temple, in writing his paper, had no concert or understanding with any of the other essayists, and was in no sense or degree responsible for their work. In the House of Lords, on his first appearance after his consecration, he not only confirmed the statement to this effect which had already been made in the House on his behalf by a personal friend, but added that in future editions of the volume his essay should not appear. From the memoir now before us it further appears that he forbade his class in the school at Rugby—the sixth form—to read the volume, and that his authority and influence were such as to make his prohibition effectual.

This history will seem very strange to many. A Frenchman might describe it as a singular case of *insouciance*. It shows the utter independence of the man. He thought and worked by himself in fulfilment of his own

thoughts, and he took little if any counsel with others. Independence of character and steadfast reserve, as to important and difficult questions, when confidence was not called for, are marked as a part of his nature. This accordingly characterized him through life, and was one element of his stalwart strength. But it also was the reason, in some degree, of that social unpopularity which clung to him more or less, notwithstanding his intrinsic generosity of spirit. Probably, however, the tenor of his early life had more to do with this feature of his character, and his not infrequent want of pleasant courtesy in private conversation and discussion—which, there would seem to be no doubt, sometimes marred his intercourse with strangers.

Brought up among villagers and labouring people, and meeting at Blundell's with rude and often offensive schoolmates, determined to quarrel with a poor, reserved, successful village lad, a stranger and foreigner who had no money to spare, but worked his way up to the top of the school, he was sure to be disliked and envied. He had his comfort at home, but for long years he had to bear envy and persecution from many of his schoolfellows. He could not be 'hail fellow well-met' with the boys of Blundell's School, where, because he refused to swear, he was compelled to fight his schoolfellows.

He was wretchedly poor, again, when he migrated from Devonshire to Oxford; had no introductions, could not afford to have chums. A solitary country lad with every rustic disability and a strong Devonshire tone and accent—faults of tone and accent which were notable, and more or less a social detriment long after he had left Devonshire,—it was no marvel that he was ill at ease and, so to speak, out of 'society,' even at Oxford, during his earlier years. Presently, indeed, he made good his way, and found friends. But his most plastic period of life had gone by, and his manners, like his accent, which remained for thirty years more or less rustic, never became perfectly polished or attractive. It is notable, indeed, that more

than once in his letters home, after his removal to Oxford, he refers pointedly to the wonderful politeness to each other of the youths at the University; he is divided between admiration and dislike. He intimates that he felt as if the universal politeness and apparent amiability were too elaborate and perfect to be quite sincere—at least in a good many cases.

It is certain that he was himself a generous, a sincere, a noble-hearted man—sometimes rude in manner, but never unjust or unfriendly at heart to a sincere and estimable man. Whatever may have been his fault or defect in this respect, it is not concealed in these volumes. In particular, the editor, Archdeacon Sandford, has briefly, but sufficiently, indicated it.

It is as well to remember that, in one form or other, our most distinguished primates of commanding energy and ability, in these recent years of keen ecclesiastical controversy, have been accused of judicial partisanship and of consequent injustice. When party spirit ran high—and what kind of spirit is there that runs higher?—their judgements as to leading points of controversy have been bitterly resented and condemned; official appointments unsparingly criticized; their aims, their principles, their temper as Church leaders denounced. Archbishop Tait was bitterly traduced; his successor was severely condemned for his Lincoln judgement, and did not escape criticism for his irritability and occasional sharpness of temper. The primates who escaped such judgements in less controversial times were reproached for their want of zeal and energy. In his public action and appearances Temple's conduct as Archbishop was almost universally regarded as temperate and equitable; his public official conduct was more generally approved perhaps than that of any primate of recent times. His private manners were said to be uncourtly; his frankness to be often so brusque as to give offence. The truth of this is admitted in these volumes. But, all things considered, this mannerism must be regarded as a very venial fault.

At any rate the present writer may be allowed to give his experience in another sense. It was his duty during several years to meet Dr. Temple, at the time Bishop of London, as member of the Royal Commission on Elementary Education. This involved, besides the frequent collective meetings of the Commission, many private meetings, chiefly breakfast-meetings, of groups of Commissioners, for friendly conversation and technical discussion. It led also in his case to a friendship with the bishop, which was kept up with undiminished cordiality to the end of his life. The writer became a household friend of the prelate; on one occasion the bishop invited him to come and spend the night with him that their exchange of ideas might be confidentially complete. During the months and years of the Commission's work he never witnessed any instance of overbearingness or uncereemonious haste and dictatorial utterance on the part of the bishop, while, in his intercourse with Dr. and Mrs. Temple, whether in Fulham Palace or at Lambeth, in the house or the grounds, the high ecclesiastic was always quietly, frankly cordial, with a bearing altogether free from brusquerie or masterfulness.

One incident ought not to be omitted from this estimate of the late prelate's character. It arose in connexion with a singularly belated instance of eighteenth-century Anglicanism, occurring in the nineteenth century, in a Yorkshire village, and on the part of a great and noble landowner. At the time (1886-7) the late Rev. Dr. Young was President of the Methodist Conference. A new chapel was required in the village, and the owner of the site desired for the chapel insisted as a condition of sale that the trustees should covenant never to allow the Lord's Supper to be administered in the chapel. Dr. Young appealed from the nobleman to the public feeling of the country through the columns of the *Times*. He had written two letters on the subject when the present writer met Bishop Temple in a committee. He asked the bishop, before business began, if he had not noticed the

correspondence in the *Times*. He had seen it. What hope, then, he was asked, could there be of the friends of peace and good understanding between the Church of England and the Wesleyan Church succeeding in their efforts, if landlords and clergy took such an attitude toward a peaceable congregation of Methodists? 'It is infamous,' was his quick and emphatic response, 'but what is to be done in such a case?' It was then explained to him that the nobleman in question, who had probably never read Southey's *Life of Wesley*, and knew nothing whatever of the early or the later history of Methodism, had no doubt acted under the guidance and inspiration of his parish clergyman, and that the bishop of the diocese, if Dr. Temple would write to him and point out the fatal mischief which, between the vicar and the landlord, was being perpetrated, might duly warn and advise the clergyman, who would then bring influence to bear on the landlord, in the name of his own bishop, and so the mischief might be stopped. Bishop Temple saw the point, fully appreciated the import of the case, took out his pocket-book, found the parish and the diocese, mentioned the name of the bishop, said that he was a liberal-minded man, and added: 'I'll write at once.' He did so on the spot; not many minutes after, his letter to the bishop was posted. Very soon afterwards the newspaper correspondence ceased, the land was sold, without the threatened condition, and the chapel duly built and settled.

At a comparatively early period in his distinguished career, indeed, Dr. Temple had given evidence of his liberal Christian spirit, and of his freedom from sectarian bigotry. The Methodists at Rugby, while he was master of the great school, built a new chapel and enlarged and renovated their day school. The writer of this article was officially connected with that undertaking, and visited Rugby several times. Dr. Temple took part in the stone-laying festivities, gave an address, and contributed five pounds. Also, when a bazaar was held in connexion with the enterprise, he bespoke and purchased for himself a

large and somewhat costly upholstered easy-chair for use after his strenuous daily labours. He had not forgotten his aunt's homely Methodist people in Devonshire.

What has now been written is sufficient evidence of the unsectarian liberality and practical generosity which ruled his life, alike at Rugby, and as a member of the Royal Commission on Elementary Education.

The writer might furnish other evidence to show the genuinely liberal tone and the truly catholic spirit of the late archbishop, but enough has been said. Only it ought always to be understood how great a help Mrs. Temple was to him, from the time she joined his life at Exeter, in all matters of social care and influence. Herself a scion of an old and noble family, she helped to gather to his 'at homes' at Fulham and at Lambeth noble friends and generous-hearted workers in all Christian service, especially in the cause of education, particularly that of girls. From the time of their marriage, she lent her influence, in combination with her husband's, to every work of public beneficence. It was characteristic of her, that when the archbishop effected the transfer of a portion of the land belonging to Lambeth Palace in order to provide a ten-acre park for the people in that neighbourhood, one half of the space, at her instance, was reserved for women and children. But in every possible way she was a help-meet for her husband, so that he not only ruled in Church matters, but was a beneficent influence in the social interests of the poorer classes.

JAMES H. RIGG.



## PRIMITIVE ASTRONOMY AND THE OLD TESTAMENT

*Astronomy in the Old Testament.* By G. SCHIAPARELLI, Director of the Brera Observatory in Milan. Authorized English Translation, with many Corrections and Additions by the Author. (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1905.)

THE history of astronomy naturally divides itself into three great periods. Modern astronomy began in the days of Kepler and Galileo with the invention of the telescope on the practical side, and the acceptance of the Copernican doctrine, the discovery of Kepler's three laws of planetary motion, leading up to Newton's demonstration of the law of gravitation, on the theoretical. The modern period is therefore marked off from that which preceded it with the utmost sharpness.

But the middle period is also quite a definite one. It lasted for almost exactly 2,000 years. The features which characterized it were the use of graduated instruments to determine the positions of the heavenly bodies, and the development of geometry and trigonometry for the interpretation of those positions when thus determined. The great names initiating this period are those of Eudoxus of Knidus, B.C. 408-355, and Hipparchus of Bithynia, who observed from B.C. 161 to 129; and the great observatory of Alexandria, founded about B.C. 300, gave it form and system.

We have a complete history of the progress of the science through both these periods. But there was an earlier astronomy, of which no history is preserved; a truly primitive astronomy, by no means contemptible in amount, for when Eudoxus commenced his labours the length of the year had already been determined, the equinoxes and

solstices were recognized, the ecliptic, the celestial equator, and the poles of both great circles were known, the constellations had been planned out, and the five principal planets were familiar objects.

This primitive astronomy must have had its history, its stages of development, but we can only with difficulty trace them out. It cannot have sprung into existence full grown, any more than the other sciences; it must have started from zero, and men must have slowly fought their way from one observation to another, with gradually widening conceptions, before they could bring it even to that stage of development in which it was when the observers of the Museum of Alexandria began their work.

Is there any source from which we may get fresh light upon this primitive period? One that has been made available to us of recent years, in the numerous cuneiform inscriptions in Babylonia and Assyria, has proved on the whole a source of disappointment so far as this particular inquiry is concerned. There has been a good deal of popular misconception on this point, arising from the not unnatural failure of readers, and in some cases of writers as well, to discriminate between the condition of Babylonian astronomy in the earlier centuries of the city's history and in its latest days when it had long been under the full influence of Greek civilization.

Two instances may suffice to show the looseness with which this subject is frequently treated even by writers of high repute. Prof. F. Delitzsch, in the first of his well-known lectures on 'Babel and Bible,' has the following sentence :

The sciences, e.g. geometry and mathematics, and above all astronomy, had reached a degree of development which again and again moves even the astronomers of to-day to admiration and astonishment.<sup>1</sup>

The fact which Prof. Delitzsch is endeavouring to record is that, under the Parthian dynasty of the Arsacidae,

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<sup>1</sup> *Babel and Bible*, John's translation, pp. 36 and 37.

two centuries after the conquest by Alexander the Great, we find Babylonian tablets exhibiting systematic observations of the planets, mathematical tables, and calendars in which future astronomical events were predicted. These are of great interest to us, but they are not earlier or more precise than the observations which were certainly obtained by the Greek astronomers of Alexandria. And Prof. Delitzsch so sandwiches the statement between descriptions of the Babylon of Hammurabi and of Nebuchadnezzar, as to leave his reader no choice but to infer that Babylonian astronomers had already attained this eminence in the days of Abraham, 2,000 years before the date of the tablets which he is really describing. This is as gross an anachronism as it would be to describe Caesar's invasion of Britain as taking place under the conditions which would prevail to-day, and ascribing to him the use of railway trains, the electric telegraph, cannon, and ironclad steamers.

Similarly we find Prof. Carl F. Lehmann writing :

For modern astronomy the observations and calculations of the Babylonians are not only of historic interest, but also of practical, actual value; for instance, in the determination of such matters as the movements of the moon.<sup>1</sup>

An astronomer must be forgiven for protesting against a statement of this character. Ancient observations, if they existed, which would enable him to check the movements of the moon, would be of simply priceless value, and Assyriologists would have no reason to complain of lack of appreciation if they were able to bring forward anything of the kind. At the time when Prof. Lehmann wrote, not one single tablet had been effectively used in the development of the lunar theory. Since he wrote, two have been used. On one tablet from Nineveh, the bare record is given, 'The sun underwent an eclipse'; on another at Babylon that 'day was turned into night.'<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Nineteenth Century and After*, August 1903, p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> 'On the Secular Accelerations of the Moon's Longitude and Node.' By P. H. Cowell, *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, Vol. lxx. p. 861.

These two tablets, and these alone, have been used by modern astronomers to improve our knowledge of the moon's motions, but they give us not the slightest reason to think that either Babylonian or Assyrian astronomy was in any but the most rudimentary condition at the dates when these two tablets were severally written. It is our astronomical knowledge which makes them of service, not the astronomical knowledge of the men who recorded the eclipses.

Yet there is a certain amount of testimony borne by Babylonian monuments to primitive astronomy. This testimony differs entirely in character from that claimed in the two quotations made above, but has its interest nevertheless. It is precisely analogous to that supplied by the astronomical references in Homer and Hesiod. Just as these latter assure us that the principal constellations were known of old by the same *names* as those by which we know them to-day; so we learn from Babylonian 'Boundary Stones' of about the same period as Homer and Hesiod, or perhaps a little earlier, that they were then conceived as having the same *forms* as we ascribe to them now. The occurrence of such distinctive shapes as those of Sagittarius, Capricornus, and Scorpio on those stones, give us the right to interpret forms less distinctive in the same way, and we cannot doubt that some eleven or twelve centuries before our era, the very same constellations were recognized in Babylon as are shown on celestial globes of to-day. This does not, however, justify us in saying with Delitzsch that 'when we divide the Zodiac into twelve signs and style them the Ram, Bull, Twins, &c. . . . the Sumerian-Babylonian culture is still living and operating even at the present day' (*Babel and Bible*, p. 67), unless we mean no more than that the same constellation forms have been in use throughout. We have no evidence either that the Sumerian-Babylonians originated the constellations, or that they were the means of transmitting them to us. For evidence as to where, and amongst what people, the constellations arose we can only

consult those constellations themselves. For they are so old that tradition fails us; it is so broken and conflicting that it cannot be relied upon. But the internal evidence afforded by the constellations themselves, is, in its measure, distinct, definite, and coherent; the same result being obtained from several independent testimonies. First of all, the ancient constellations described in the poem of Aratus, and given in fullest detail in the catalogue of Ptolemy, do not embrace the entire heavens, but leave untouched a wide and roughly circular area in the south. The stars in this area were not gathered into constellations, simply because they never appeared above the horizon of those primitive observers who carried out the work of constellation making. The radius of this unmapped space gives us roughly the position of the celestial pole of the time and the latitude of the observers. We learn from it that they lived not very far from north latitude  $38^{\circ}$ , and about 2700 B.C., with a possible range of three or four centuries on either side.<sup>1</sup>

Directly we reach this conclusion some striking relationships appear. The longest constellation in the sky, the Hydra or Watersnake, stretched at the time in question for  $100^{\circ}$  along the celestial equator. Next, the Dragon was coiled in a figure of eight symmetrically round the two poles—the north poles of the ecliptic and of the equator. Further the snake held by Ophiuchus lay partly along the equator, but raised its head and neck along the upper part of the spring colure, its head marking the zenith of that particular latitude. The part of the spring colure below the equator was held by the Scorpion, whilst in another region of the sky, the Sea-monster swam along the horizon. These serpent or dragon forms, therefore, held all the chief astronomical positions fundamental for the latitude and at the time of their design.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Astronomy without a Telescope*, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> 'Snake-forms in the Constellations,' *Knowledge and Scientific News* October 1904, p. 227.

It is not possible to suppose that this arrangement was accidental throughout, and if it was intentional in one or two particulars, there can be no reason to question that it was intentional in all. If so, the early astronomers had already roughly determined the length of the year, and had marked out the fundamental great circles of the sky. For it is certain that the ecliptic was already known; it has never been doubted that the purpose of the twelve constellations of the Zodiac was to mark it out, and that they are twelve in number because there are roughly twelve months, that is to say lunations, in the year. But the evidence that these significant positions were assigned to the serpent forms by intention is not confined to the arrangement which actually exists among the constellations. The arrangement of these draconitic forms on the small inscribed stones, known as 'Boundary Stones,' and already alluded to as presenting us with a number of designs that are clearly constellational, is exactly analogous to their position on the celestial sphere. The coiled dragon often holds the top of the stone, like Draco round the two poles; an extended snake lies at the base, like Hydra along the equator; and often a snake rearing its head at right angles to its body, like Serpens at the spring colure, marks the side of the stone. Many of these stones are dated from the eleventh or twelfth centuries before our era, and they supply us with the earliest graphic representation of the constellation figures, first described to us in literature in the poem of Aratus. The precise arrangement of the serpent forms both on these stones and in the sphere is a clear indication of deliberate design in both cases, and shows that the engravers of the stones still preserved the memory of the significance of the astronomical arrangement made fifteen or sixteen centuries earlier.

The date of origin is confirmed by several other minor considerations. The latitude proves that the constellations were not designed either in Egypt, Arabia, or India, though the claim of each of these countries has been advocated at one time or another. Nor could they have

arisen in Babylon, but must have come thither from the north. The occurrence of the ship Argo amongst the constellation-figures suggests a people acquainted with navigation, and the curious tradition of the sea-horizon to the north, very definitely retained by Aratus, leads us to the southern shores of the Caspian or the Euxine. Somewhere, then, in this region, in Armenia or the neighbourhood, the constellations were designed, and roughly about 2700 or 2800 B.C. If the date now generally accepted for Sargon of Agadé be correct, he lived a full millennium before these old designs, that are so quaint and have been so carefully preserved, were first allotted to the star groups.

The foregoing considerations enable us to have a clear idea of the state of astronomy during the period covered by the Old Testament Scriptures. Their earliest books were written later, much later, than the mapping of the constellations; for these had already been several centuries in existence before Abraham left Ur of the Chaldees. The Canon closed long before the days of Hipparchus; indeed, the Septuagint version was then complete. The development of astronomy from its primitive to its middle stage, which began with Eudoxus and the founding of the Alexandrian school in the fourth century before our era, was much later than the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar and the subsequent captivity. At the best, then, only a rudimentary astronomy could possibly be expected in the Old Testament, even if the Hebrews were fully as advanced as the most scientific of their contemporaries; whilst the books of which it is composed are none of them of a character to throw much light upon such science as the Hebrews may have possessed, any more than a small collection of the devotional and ecclesiastical literature of to-day could supply to our remote descendants an adequate idea of the amazing activity in the physical sciences which marks our times.

To most readers it will no doubt seem surprising, especially when all the foregoing inevitable limitations are borne in mind, that there is anything to be said about

'Astronomy in the Old Testament,' yet Prof. G. V. Schiaparelli has produced not only a most readable volume under this title, but one not inconsiderable in size; and this without exhausting his subject—indeed, some aspects of it he leaves quite untouched.

Prof. Schiaparelli, the most distinguished of living Italian astronomers, published this work originally in his own country in 1903, where it met at once with a very cordial reception. It was translated into German in 1904, and now has appeared in English; this last version having the advantage of a careful revision by its learned and distinguished author, and of incorporating his latest conclusions. The express purpose of the book is:

to discover what ideas the ancient Jewish sages held regarding the structure of the universe, what observations they made of the stars, and how far they made use of them for the measurement and division of time. It is certainly not in this field that Jewish thought appears in its greatest originality or power. Yet it is also true that nothing can be indifferent in the life of that remarkable people whose historical importance is certainly not less for us than that of the Greeks and Romans.

After his introductory remarks, which I reserve for the moment, Prof. Schiaparelli proceeds to deal with the Hebrew conception of the world. He considers that they thought of it as a vast body placed without support in empty space. Its upper part was a great dome or vault which our author thinks, but on very slight evidence, they regarded not only as being solid, but as being double; the solid but invisible 'firmament,' lying far below the thin veil or curtain of 'heaven.' Stretched out under this over-arching roof of heaven was the surface of the earth, conceived of as a great plain; whilst deep within the substance of the earth was a vast cave, the underworld or 'covered place,' the abode of disembodied spirits.

We next come to the heavenly bodies. The poetic references to the sun in the Old Testament are numerous and finely conceived. Total eclipses, both of the sun and



moon, clearly seem described in the prophetic writings of Joel and Amos, and Prof. Schiaparelli remarks that three total solar eclipses took place in or near Palestine about their times or a little earlier. The references to the planets are few and uncertain, but Schiaparelli considers that the Jews paid some attention to comets, and that Joel is alluding to bodies of this character in his references to 'blood and fire and pillars of smoke' (Joel ii. 30). He further makes the hardly warranted statement that 'the appearance of a bolide is *undoubtedly* described in vivid colours in Gen. xv. 17,' and he mentions, but does not support, the idea that Joshua's victory at Beth-Horon was due to a fall of meteoric stones. These few hints give us no real light as to the progress of astronomical observations amongst the Hebrews. There is simply no evidence one way or the other as to whether they had mastered the secrets of the planetary motions or whether they had not even advanced so far as to make them a subject of inquiry at all.

The most interesting portion of the book is undoubtedly the inquiry into the exact meanings of the Hebrew constellation-names that have been preserved to us. Here Prof. Schiaparelli has been very careful to collect every particle of evidence and to present it as impartially as possible—perhaps almost too impartially, as the reader is left more or less in the dark as to which is the more probable rendering. The chief passage concerned is that in Job xxxviii., translated in the A.V.:

Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades,  
Or loose the bands of Orion?  
Canst thou bring forth Mazzaroth in his season?  
Or canst thou guide Arcturus and his sons?

There is a strong general consent that *Kimah*, the word rendered Pleiades, has been correctly translated. *Kesil* is not quite so generally held to refer to Orion, partly because in Isa. xiii. 10, we have 'the stars of heaven and the *Kesilim* thereof' But there would be no incon-

gruity in supposing that the most striking and beautiful of all the constellations should be put poetically as an expression for constellations in general. *Ayish* or *Ash* is not now generally believed to represent the star Arcturus, but rather the two northern constellations over which Arcturus was supposed to watch—the Bears. The R.V. therefore gives 'the Bear' as the rendering of *Ayish*. It should be remarked in confirmation of this view that the name *Benetnaish*, the 'daughters of Aish,' has actually come down to us associated with the star Eta Ursae Majoris.

When we come to the interpretation of *Mazzaroth*, Prof. Schiaparelli pleads for a view which has not been generally taken. *Mazzaroth* is usually supposed to denote the 'twelve constellations of the Zodiac,' and the cognate word *Mizrâta* occurs on the fifth tablet of the Babylonian 'Creation' story, where the context has obliged all Assyriologists to give it that rendering. The parallel passage in Job ix. gives as the equivalent of *Mazzaroth*, 'the chambers of the south,' an expression quite analogous to the 'mansions' or abiding-places of the moon of the Arabic and Indian lunar zodiacs. The twelve zodiacal constellations, each in turn the resting-chamber of the sun, and 'brought out' in its own peculiar 'season,' are hereby set in antithesis to the circumpolar stars of the two Bears, 'guided' in their unceasing round in the north.

The symmetry of this interpretation is entirely destroyed by Prof. Schiaparelli's explanation, which finds in *Mazzaroth* a reference to the planet Venus, seen sometimes as a morning, sometimes as an evening star. This interpretation rests on the occurrence of a similar word, *Mazzaloth*, in 2 Kings xxiii. 5, where mention is made of those who burned 'incense to the sun, to the moon, to *Mazzaloth*, and to all the host of heaven.' He concludes that *Mazzaloth* must mean here the most brilliant star in the sky after the sun and moon, and he refers to the triad of stars everywhere found on monuments in Assyria and Babylonia, as proof that 'the sun, the moon, and Venus

occupied a pre-eminent position in the Pantheon of the nations of Mesopotamia.' Prof. Schiaparelli has, however, missed the significance of these symbols. Fortunately within recent years, boundary stones have been found on which these symbols are distinctly referred to the tutelary deities of the first two months of the year; Sin, the moon-god represented by a crescent moon on its back—the position of the new moon at the spring equinox—presiding over the first month; whilst the twin deities Samas (the sun-god) and Istar, represented by the pair of stars, presided over the second. Now we know from an early Accadian tablet<sup>1</sup> that the method of ascertaining the beginning of the year in use in Assyria in very early times was by observing the setting together of the new moon and Capella. But the positions of Capella and of Castor and Pollux are such that the Twin Stars came into the same position relatively to the moon just a month later than Capella did; and hence if the ancients took as an ideogram for the first month of the year, a crescent moon lying on its back, the natural ideogram for the second month would be the two stars, Castor and Pollux. The two stellar symbols are not differentiated in form on the earliest monuments, as for example on the triumphal stele of Naram Sin, the son of Sargon of Agadé. There is no reason therefore for supposing that Istar in this connexion is the planet Venus, but rather the reverse, for that planet, unlike the Twin Stars, has no necessary connexion with any month of the year.

It may be noted here that whilst the tablet of the setting together of the moon and Capella describes the earliest kind of astronomical observation of which we have a record, the triad of stars itself probably looks backward to a time much earlier still. Four thousand years before our era, the new moon, when first seen in the western sky at the time of the spring equinox, would be seen together

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<sup>1</sup> Preliminary Paper on the Babylonian Astronomy, by R. H. M. Bosanquet and Professor A. H. Sayce, *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society*, Vol. xxxix. p. 455.

with the Twin Stars, Castor and Pollux, so that the triad is simply a picture of what all men then saw, year after year, on the first evenings of the new year. It is without doubt the earliest astronomical drawing that was ever made.

With respect to *Mezarim*, translated 'the north' in Job xxxvii. 9, Schiaparelli makes the ingenious suggestion that if we read for *Mezarim*, *Mizrayim*, we should have the 'winnowing fans,' and he thinks the two Bears might have had this name from the natural arrangement of the seven chief stars in each constellation. The translation given in our A.V. would therefore be substantially correct. There are several other constellational references which Prof. Schiaparelli passes over because he has put on one side all inquiries about the date of the constellations, and is unwilling to accept the idea that most of them were devised without any reference to the actual grouping of the stars. Thus the verse in Job xxvi. :

By His spirit He hath garnished the heavens;  
His hand hath formed the crooked serpent,

by its very form implies that 'the crooked serpent' is part of the 'garnishing' of the heavens, and the reference to the dragon coiled round the two poles of the sky becomes evident at once.

Again in Isa. xxvii. 1, we find :

In that day the Lord with His sore and great and strong sword shall punish leviathan the piercing serpent, even leviathan that crooked serpent; and He shall slay the dragon that is in the sea.

The marginal reading for the 'piercing serpent' is 'crossing like a bar,' the attitude of the equatorial Hydra, the Watersnake. This passage therefore seems to bring together the three principal stellar serpent forms—the equatorial Hydra, as just mentioned, Draco coiled round the poles, as 'the crooked serpent,' and Cetus the Sea-monster as 'the dragon that is in the sea.'

Again in Job iii. 8, we have :

Let them curse it that curse the day,  
Who are ready to rouse up leviathan,

the reference here being, as Dr. Driver has pointed out,<sup>1</sup> to the monster supposed to cause an eclipse by swallowing up the sun or moon; a mythological expression for the passage of the moon through one or other of its nodes, in one of which it must be for an eclipse to take place; the dragon's head and dragon's tail still standing as symbols for the two nodes.

*Rahab* is another name which occurs frequently in the poetic and prophetic books and has been thought by many to have, in some cases at least, a reference to one or other of the stellar dragon forms.

But a wider question is opened if we turn from the attempt to recognize references to constellations in Scripture, and inquire if there are references to Scripture in the constellations. This is a point upon which Schiaparelli is entirely silent. But, as the late R. A. Proctor pointed out, some of the groups are most suggestive in their arrangement. We have in the southern heavens the great ship *Argo*. Close to it stands the Centaur, who has apparently just left it. He is offering up a sacrifice upon an altar,<sup>2</sup> the smoke from the altar is formed by the bright clouds of the Milky Way, and there, in the midst of the cloud, is set the Bow of *Sagittarius*. The reference to the narrative of *Gen. ix.*, and to the promise 'I do set My bow in the cloud,' appears most evident.

Hardly less striking is the group of *Ophiuchus* and *Scorpio*, wherein the hero treads down the head of the venomous beast, but is wounded in his heel by the sting in its tail. The picture of the conflict is further carried on by the serpent which *Ophiuchus* strangles in his hands,

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<sup>1</sup> *The Book of Job, in the Revised Version*, by Dr. S. R. Driver, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> In our present atlases the animal offered up is a wolf, hardly a suitable creature for a sacrifice. But this name is clearly not an ancient one, for it was not known to *Aratus*. So, too, our present atlases show the altar upside down, whereas we learn from *Aratus* and more definitely still from *Manilius* that in their day it was conceived as upright.

and by the picture of Hercules crushing the head of the polar dragon. The two groups were originally so arranged that the heads of the two heroes were nearly in the zenith and the spectator saw one picture of the great struggle as he faced south, and another as he faced north. The framers of the constellations, therefore, clearly placed great importance on this particular representation, and we cannot doubt that what they wished to set forth was the promise of Eden, that the Seed of the Woman should bruise the serpent's head, though it should bruise His heel (Gen. iii. 1).

The ear of corn held in the right hand of the Virgin may be a further reference to the same prophecy, for it is quite clear that it does not refer to the agricultural labours of the month when the sun was in this constellation, since Aratus expressly tells us that the harvest had already been reaped by the time it had entered the previous constellation—the Lion; and the time had not come for the next sowing. But a clearer reference to Gen. iii. is the placing of the four well-known cherubic figures, the Lion, Man, Bull, and Eagle, in the four quarters of the sky; three of them in the Zodiac upon the three colures, and the fourth, the Eagle, as close to the fourth colure as the space required for the representations of the Great Conflict would permit.

These are questions which have engaged the attention of many writers, but are left entirely untouched by Prof. Schiaparelli, and he passes on from his suggestion that *Mazzaroth* was the planet Venus to the divisions of time amongst the Jews, which he treats of at considerable length. These need not, however, detain us here. The principal points brought out are the very clear explanation of the expression 'between the two evenings,' that is, after sunset and before complete darkness set in; and the significance of the names used for different months of the year at different points of the history. The concluding chapter on the septenary periods also raises several points of great interest. Prof. Schiaparelli remarks that the week and

Sabbath of the Babylonians differed importantly from the week and Sabbath of the Jews, being attached to the month, whilst the Jewish reckoning was independent of it. He entirely rejects the suggestion that has often been made, by the late R. A. Proctor amongst others, that the week is due to the astrological significance of the 'seven' planets. Our present names for the days of the week depend upon the division of the *nychthemeron* into twenty-four hours, and upon the Ptolemaic order of the seven planets; but the twenty-four-hour day certainly came from Egypt, where the week of ten, not seven, days was in use, and the Ptolemaic arrangement of the planets does not probably much antedate the Christian era.

The last appendix in Prof. Schiaparelli's book gives an examination of the dates of some 2,764 Babylonian deeds, as distributed amongst the days of the month; and in spite of the statement of Delitzsch that 'no work was to be done,' and that 'it is scarcely possible for us to doubt that we owe the blessings decreed in the Sabbath or Sunday day of rest in the last resort to that ancient and civilized race on the Euphrates and Tigris' (*Babel and Bible*, pp. 40, 41), it is clear from these that the Babylonians did not interrupt their work upon their Sabbaths as did the Jews. For those Sabbaths, that is the 7th, 14th, 21st and 28th days of the month, are not one whit behind most of the other days in the number of contracts dated upon them. But they did mark their Sabbath of Sabbaths—the 19th day of the month, that is, the 49th day reckoned from the beginning of the previous month,—in a curious manner, for only twelve contracts bear date of the 19th, whilst the average would be ninety-four. This looks at first sight as if the Babylonians did really observe one 'day of rest' in the month. It was not even so, for though only twelve contracts are dated the 19th of the month, seventy-seven are dated the '20th *minus* 1.' In all, therefore, we have  $12 + 77 = 89$  dates for the 19th day of the month, and this only falls slightly below the average, ninety-four, and exceeds the record of more than one-third of the days.

A considerable portion of his book is occupied by Schiaparelli in an inquiry as to the exact meaning of the year of Jubilee. There are several questions at issue. First, whether the year of Jubilee was in every case a Sabbatic year. Next, whether it was the 49th or the 50th year from the previous Jubilee. Third, if it was the 50th year, whether the reckoning of the Sabbatic years began afresh with each new Jubilee, or was carried on irrespective of them. Our author leaves the point undecided, for there are difficulties attending each solution. The true account appears to be one which he has not recognized. The Jubilee was arranged to commence when the Sabbatic year had half run its course, i.e. in its 7th month. It was, therefore, the 49th year, as we should express it, from the previous Jubilee; the 50th, as the Jews would put it, and the sequence of the Sabbatic years was quite unbroken. The special events of the year of Jubilee, such as the manumission of slaves and the restoration of land to its original owners, were not such as need to be spread over twelve months, but were probably all carried out (when the law was faithfully kept) within the first two or three weeks of the year. From that time the year would have its ordinary character.

There can be no doubt that this was the true state of the case when we consider a point to which Schiaparelli himself draws attention, namely that forty-nine years is a luni-solar cycle; that is to say, it brings together the natural month and the natural year, for 606 lunations make forty-nine solar years with a difference of only one and one-third days.

This leads us to the consideration of another department of his subject, 'Astronomy in the Old Testament,' which has been entirely neglected by Schiaparelli—the subject of astronomical cycles. An important paper on this subject has recently appeared in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada by Dr. W. Bell Dawson, M.A.<sup>1</sup> The first person to deal with this question was the

<sup>1</sup> 'Solar and Lunar Cycles Implied in the Prophetic Numbers in the



Swiss astronomer, M. de Cheseaux, in the eighteenth century; and much more recently Dr. Grattan Guinness, in his *Approaching End of the Age*, has made it familiar to English readers. Dr. Bell Dawson has pushed the inquiry somewhat further than either of his two predecessors has done, but the chief point of all three writers has been to show that the two periods mentioned in the prophetic books—1,260 and 2,300 days—are, if we take the prophetic days as meaning years, astronomical cycles of great accuracy. Seeing that the calendar of the Jews depended both upon the length of the month and the length of the year, it was important to find a period that was exactly divisible both by the month and the year, a cycle in which the calendar would repeat itself. The Metonic cycle of nineteen years, the trace of which we find in the Golden Number given in the Prayer-Book rules for finding Easter, was one of these. The two Daniel periods of 1,260 and 2,300 years are yet closer cycles, but their difference and half-sum, 1,040 and 1,780, if the latter be taken in lunar years, give us periods more accurate still. From the point of view of a practical working calendar, these Daniel cycles are too long; the Jubilee period was for the actual necessities of the Jews a more useful one. From the point of view of theoretical accuracy they are of the first importance. They are suggested to us by the Hebrew Scriptures alone; they were known to no other nation of antiquity; indeed it is only within quite recent years that our own astronomical knowledge has been sufficiently precise to bring out the extraordinary accuracy of the two cycles derived from the combination of the Daniel prophetic numbers.

Another important omission on the part of Prof. Schiaparelli is his neglect to inquire whether astronomy can throw any light upon the results obtained by the Higher Criticism. The point is an exceedingly important one,

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Book of Daniel,' by Dr. W. Bell Dawson, M.A. *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*. Second Series. Vol. xi. section III., pp. 33-52.

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for it is in the dating of the books of the Old Testament that criticism has secured its most significant results. But if it should happen in any instance that astronomy could afford a clue for dating a book or document, then beyond contradiction, mere literary criticism would have to stand aside and acknowledge the superior authority of the exacter science. Prof. Schiaparelli does indeed refer to the Higher Criticism; he gives an admirable little summary of its generally accepted results. These he himself appears to fully accept; at the same time he refers with scarcely veiled contempt<sup>1</sup> to

some truly sensational novelties which have been published recently, especially by some learned German Assyriologists in regard to the astronomical mythology of the ancient peoples of nearer Asia, and to the great influence which this mythology is supposed to have exercised upon the historical traditions of the Hebrews, upon their religious usages, and upon the whole literature of the Old Testament.

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<sup>1</sup> That this contempt is fully justified is shown by a pamphlet recently published by Prof. H. Winckler, entitled *Himmels- und Weltenbild der Babylonier*, and now before me. The pamphlet displays a complete disregard of even the most elementary of astronomical facts and principles, but is chiefly concerned with the bearing of astronomy upon Babylonian mythology. But here and there some allusions to Old Testament narratives occur. Thus Winckler declares Abraham, Lot, and Sarah to be the sun, moon and Venus; David and Goliath to be Marduk and Tiamat; and so on. We may take one of these identifications as a type of the rest. On p. 51 he derives a long argument from an Arabic globe of date 1279 A.D., as to the identity of Ehud, the left-handed hero of Benjamin, with Tyr, the left-handed Mars of the Scandinavian Pantheon, and of both with the Babylonian Marduk. This is because the globe shows Orion, left-handed, opposite to Cetus, which Winckler identifies with Tiamat, the chaos-dragon overthrown by Marduk. It has escaped his notice that the circumstance upon which he bases the whole long chain of his identifications, namely, that Orion wields his sword with his left hand, simply arises from the inevitable character of a celestial globe, which must literally be shown 'inside-out.' All figures upon it are, therefore, transposed left for right, and the Orion on the globe is left-handed only in the sense that the reflection of a man in a mirror is left-handed!

And whilst he accepts the general results of criticism, he is careful to add that

this must not, however, be carried to the extreme of supposing that we can separate and assign to their authors every chapter, or verse, or fragments of verses, as some have recently believed that they can.

It is neither to Schiaparelli's acceptance of some of the opinions of critics, nor to his rejection of others, that we object. These lie outside his own special science, and therefore his opinion respecting them, however just, does not carry the full authority of an expert. But if he had attempted to show how, and to what extent, the science of which he is incontestably so great a master, might throw some sidelights upon these difficult problems, it would have been a service that could not have been over-valued.

In default of such an inquiry on the part of the Italian astronomer, it may be permissible to indicate here some lines of thought which it might be well to follow up.

The book of Job is the book of the Old Testament which contains the most numerous astronomical references; it also is the one in which the date and place of origin is the matter of least importance. It is generally regarded now as post-exilic and as full of the signs of Babylonian influence. From an astronomical point of view the evidence before us is that the constellation-names which we find in Job have none of them been recognized on any cuneiform inscription, whilst they are found in the unquestionably pre-exilic books of the Prophet Amos, and of the first Isaiah. Further, though it is clear that the precise significance of these names was known to the Hebrews before the captivity, yet the tradition had become obscure and doubtful by the time that the Septuagint Version was made. The reference in Job's apology to the worship of the sun and moon is doubly alien to a Babylonian atmosphere. That which Job declares 'were an iniquity to be punished by the judges,' was the very soul of Babylonian life, and the omission, both in this book,

and in the account of the fourth day of Creation (Gen. i. 14-19), of any reference to the planets, so highly regarded in Babylon, points to a state of culture which, if not very early, must at least have been free from any pronounced Babylonian influence.

A case in which the constellations have a distinct testimony to bear upon Higher Criticism, is that of the Deluge story. Here we have three different witnesses; we have, first, the narrative in Genesis; next, the Deluge story in the eleventh book of the Epic of Gilgamesh; third, the picture in the southern constellations of Argo, Centaurus, and their neighbours. But this last is the only one that bears evidence of its date impressed upon itself; the southern constellations were completed about 2700 B.C. Some Assyriologists have asserted confidently that the Epic of Gilgamesh is zodiacal in character, the eleventh tablet corresponding to the constellation of Aquarius. As Aquarius did not become the eleventh constellation until after the astronomical revolution which made Aries the leader of the Zodiac, such a correspondence would prove that the Epic was written after 700 B.C., probably much after. The Genesis narrative is by critics universally divided into two, 'not only independent, but contradictory.' The constellations on the one hand and the Gilgamesh Epic on the other both agree in presenting, as incidents of a single narrative, elements taken from both the two Genesis narratives, as separated by critics. One of two things therefore: either the Genesis narrative is not dual but single; or it is, in its present form, older than either the constellations or the Babylonian Epic, seeing that the two accounts, plainly separable in it, have yet been completely fused in both the others.

It is further significant, as showing the independence of the Hebrew Scriptures of Babylonian influence, that the Babylonian month-names, which were frankly adopted by the Jews after their return from captivity, appear in none of the books of the Old Testament except those that were avowedly post-exilic in date, and they are found in

all of these except the book of Malachi, in whose short prophecy no dates occur at all. Apart from these, the months, not only in the Deluge narrative, but throughout the whole of the Old Testament, are always indicated by simple numerals; with two significant exceptions. The Phœnician months are mentioned in connexion with the building of Solomon's temple by the workmen of Hiram, King of Tyre; and the month of the Passover, the first month of the Jewish sacred year, bears a name that has not yet been traced to any foreign source, and appears to refer to the traditional method by which the Hebrews brought the lunar months into correlation with the course of the seasons, that is to say with the solar year. This was done by the simple method of observing the ripening of corn. Three ears of barley were required for the celebration of the Passover, and thus for the determination of the first month of the year; hence called Abib, 'the month of green ears.'

The Babylonian Deluge story has clearly many close points of contact with the narrative in Genesis, and it was natural that, when the 'Creation' tablets were first discovered, a similar relation should have been supposed to hold in their case also. It is now recognized by many Assyriologists that, though the Babylonian Creation legend has many points of resemblance to the Greek and Scandinavian Creation myths, it has hardly one in common with the Biblical account. The only point where they may be considered to touch is the reference in Gen. i. 2, to the 'deep' (*tehom*); for Marduk in the Babylonian myth fought and overcame the dragon of chaos, *Tiamat*, and built the heaven and earth from her body. The Babylonian *Tiamat* legend has evidently no extreme antiquity, at any rate in its more highly developed form; for the eleven monsters, born of *Tiamat*, are clearly derived from constellation-figures, and hence are later than 2700 B.C. But the poem itself cannot be earlier than 700 B.C., and is probably contemporaneous with the actual writing on the tablets we possess. This we learn from the follow-

ing paragraph on the fifth tablet, which seems distinctly to refer to the division of the Zodiac into twelve equal parts, each with three equal sub-divisions, the 'decans' of later times :

He (Marduk) made the stations for the great gods;  
The stars, their images, as the stars of the Zodiac he fixed.  
He ordained the year and into sections he divided it;  
For the twelve months he fixed three stars.

The significance of the above reference lies here. The constellations of the zodiac are of most unequal length and arrangement, and can never have been actually associated throughout with the months. But there came a time when it was found convenient to divide the ecliptic into twelve equal parts, the 'Signs of the Zodiac,' as opposed to the constellations; each sign deriving its name from the constellation to which it most nearly corresponded at the time of the equal division. The constellations, therefore, are real aggregations of actual stars, but are irregular in shape and unequal in size; the signs are perfectly equal and symmetrical, but are purely imaginary divisions of the heavens, and move amongst the stars in a course which it takes about 26,000 years to complete. We know, therefore, that the equal division into signs cannot have taken place earlier than 700 B.C., since it was not until that time that Aries could have become the leader constellation, and Aries was originally, and still is, the first sign.

There is another point of yet greater importance which quite disproves the idea that the Hebrew *tehom* was borrowed from the Babylonian *Tiamat*, and that 'the priestly scholar who composed Genesis chapter i. endeavoured of course to remove all possible mythological features of this creation story' (*Babel and Bible*, p. 50). This suggestion goes in the teeth of all that we know of the evolution of nature myths. In every case the observation of the natural object or phenomenon must have come first of all, and afterwards its personification. There never has been known an instance in which a nation has evolved a

cosmogony by removing the mythological personifications from the legends which tradition had handed down to it. We do not learn of the existence of the sea by 'removing the mythological features' from 'Old Father Neptune,' and we may be quite sure that the Jews did not do so either. Least of all the nations of antiquity could the Jew have demeaned himself to learn in this fashion from the idolatrous nations for whom he had so pronounced a scorn. No European of to-day could entertain a more profound contempt for the savage beliefs of Zulu or Ashantee than is shown over and over again in the Hebrew literature. Elijah mocking the priests of Baal; Isaiah's repeated descriptions of the fashioning of idols, and of their utter helplessness; Ezekiel's contempt for the divinations employed by the King of Babylon, are but samples of an attitude of spirit which rendered it as absolutely impossible that the Jews should have borrowed their notions of cosmogony from the idolatrous myths of nations over whom they justly felt that in this respect they enjoyed an immense superiority, as that we to-day should borrow our conceptions in this field from Hindu or Chinaman.

This point it is well to weigh very seriously, for it explains the attitude, unique amongst ancient nations, which the faithful amongst the Hebrews consistently maintained towards astrology and kindred superstitions. Alone amongst the ancient peoples they 'feared not the signs of heaven at which the heathen are dismayed' (Jer. x. 2), and scoffed at 'the astrologers, the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators' (Isa. xlvii. 13). Truly, as Schiaparelli remarks, 'it is no small honour for this nation to have been wise enough to see the insanity of this and of all other forms of divination. Of what other ancient civilized nation could as much be said?'

It has been necessary to call attention to several subjects which, though they came legitimately within the scope of his work, have been omitted by Schiaparelli, but no fault can be found with his handling of those with which he elects to deal. He has the dignity and self-restraint of

the scholar and man of science, and his clear and graceful style adds a further attractiveness to an inquiry that is of itself full of interest. He is seen nowhere better than in his introductory chapter, wherein he touches upon the attitude of the Jews towards the facts of nature :

In every part of their literary remains their profound feeling for nature rises to the surface ; and it is manifest how open was their mind to acute observations of phenomena, and to admiration for all that is beautiful or impressive in them. . . . In no other ancient literature has nature given to poets more copious or purer springs of inspiration.

The ancient Hebrews may not have studied nature from a scientific standpoint, but no nation, ancient or modern, ever made a more magnificent use of natural objects and natural phenomena in poetry. They were the earliest singers to this music ; they still remain unsurpassed for sweetness, unequalled for sublimity.

And the secret of that sublimity, as of their freedom from the superstitions of astrology and magic, lay here—they worshipped One God who made heaven and earth. Nature in all its wonder and beauty was but the outward evidence of His wisdom and His power, and of something yet more uplifting to contemplate, His infinite and abiding love. Therefore it was that the prophet sang the great Psalm of comfort which we know as the 40th of Isaiah.

'What advantage then hath the Jew?' Truly the Apostle had cause for his answer :

'Much every way : chiefly, because that unto them were committed the oracles of God.'

E. WALTER MAUNDER.



## HENRIK IBSEN: SATIRIST AND POET

**T**HE present generation can hardly appreciate to the full the influence of Ibsen, simply because it has been born into the atmosphere that he helped to create. For some years before his death, withdrawn as he was through illness from the activities of life, he seemed to have taken his place with the great majority. But now, at the final close of his career, it seems fitting once more to attempt an estimate of the nature of that influence which moulded so powerfully the thought of the later nineteenth century.

The insistent personality of the man impressed his contemporaries. It is possible to forget some authors in their works. But one can read nothing of Ibsen without calling up the image with which scores of contemporary pens have made us familiar—the short, squarely-built man, with hair brushed straight up from a vast forehead, and deep-set, spectacled eyes, sitting alone, evening after evening, in his favourite seat at the café, acknowledging with conscious dignity the respectful salutes of those who recognized the famous Norwegian author, always lonely, critical, self-confident, and self-dependent.

The story of his life, its humble beginnings, its early struggles and subsequent success, is by now common property. It is a curious fact that the most national of poets should have had so strong an infusion of alien blood in his veins. He was of mixed Danish, German, and Scottish ancestry, and was born in 1828 at Skien, a little sea-port of some 3,000 inhabitants. Here among the quaint wooden houses and the constant screeching of the saw-mills which formed the staple industry of the place, Ibsen spent his boyhood. In this old-fashioned provincial town-let social distinctions were strongly marked, and Ibsen's

family enjoyed for some time the consideration that was freely granted to means and position. In 1838, however, his father became insolvent. The sudden loss of social importance, the drop into straitened circumstances, evidently made its mark even on the child of eight, and the years of struggle that followed left on his lips the unforgettable taste of life's bitterness. He was remembered in the town as a serious child, not fond of the diversions of other lads, but a great reader, and specially interested in questions of history and religion. He left school early and was apprenticed to a druggist in the little port of Grimstad, where, in 1848, he wrote his first drama, *Catilina*, and several lyrics. Two years afterwards he made his way to Christiania, where he supported himself in a hand-to-mouth fashion by literary work, consorting with the young Liberal students of the University and inveighing against the timidity and spirit of compromise that characterized Norwegian politics. The offer of a post at the Bergen theatre as author and stage manager was of importance to him, not only as bringing him a regular income, but from the insight the work gave him into the details of play-construction and stage management. Here he produced his first important play, *Dame Ingard of Oestrad*, founded on an episode of Norwegian history, and also the fresh and genial little piece, *The Feasting at Sollhaug*.

After six years' work at Bergen, he accepted the offer of director of the Norwegian Theatre at Christiania, and this change of circumstances was followed by his marriage. Unfortunately in 1862 the theatre went bankrupt, and Ibsen found himself without occupation or income. He succeeded, however, in obtaining a travelling pension from the Government which enabled him to visit Rome and Berlin.

This was the turning-point in his career. The change from the provincialism of a small capital, and the fret of uncongenial task work, seemed to have released the latent force of his genius. Strangely enough, it was under

foreign skies that he conceived his most characteristic, most intensely national works. In 1866 *Brand* appeared and at once made him famous. It was followed in the next year by the even more brilliant and arresting *Peer Gynt*. We shall return later on to these two great lyric dramas, in which we think posterity will recognize his strongest claim to remembrance.

The success of *Brand* and *Peer Gynt* assured his position in his own country. The series of prose plays which followed—*Pillars of Society*, *The Doll's House*, *Ghosts*, *The Wild Duck*, &c.—gave him his vogue with the European public. He resided chiefly abroad, in Germany and Italy, producing all the while (as if he gained the true perspective by distance) those marvellously mordant and brilliant satires on modern middle-class life, so photographically accurate in detail, so bloodless and impossible viewed as studies of real human beings.

Ibsen is as keen a satirist in some respects as was Swift, whom he resembles in his chilling and inhuman tone. His people are psychological impossibilities, in spite of the wonderful lifelikeness with which he presents them. But his mastery of stagecraft stands him in good stead. The action never flags, the interest is always kept alive, the story unfolds itself without the aid of ancient conventions like the stage soliloquy. The methods of the modern stage bear permanent traces of Ibsen's influence.

In these dramas he appears as a great questioner of established institutions, a great opponent of convention. Timid souls raised cries of immorality, forgetting that the morality which rests on eternal principles has nothing to fear from such attacks as his. As for the morality which rests on social cowardice and mean compromise, he considered it not worth saving.

Cursed be the social wants that sin against the strength  
of youth !

Cursed be the social lies that warp us from the living  
truth !

These lines might stand as the motto for the whole series of his prose dramas.

*The Doll's House* illustrates the hollowness of what passes in the world for a happy marriage. The wife is content to be petted like a pretty singing-bird till a crisis in their fortunes reveals to her that her husband and she are in very truth strangers to each other. It is open to any one to say that Nora's development, from the doll of the first act to the strong determined woman of the *dénouement*, is a heavy tax on one's faith, nor would it be possible to find an ounce of sympathy in real life for a woman who deserted her little children on the plea that 'before all else she was a human being.' But the satirist makes his point and drives it home, and so his object is fulfilled.

The brooding horror of *Ghosts* arises from bitter meditation on social hypocrisies. The good, simple, narrow Pastor Manders, a type of the timid conventional piety which Ibsen so bitterly contemned, comes to visit his old friend Mrs. Alving. Many years ago, he persuaded her to return to the unworthy husband whose roof she had left in a passion of indignation and disgust, and ever since he has flattered himself that he had been the means of turning a reprobate from his errors and establishing a happy, blameless home. He has to learn that the whole of Mrs. Alving's life had been one effort to keep up a decent screen between the base facts of her husband's life and the world. She sends her son from home that he may never know what his father was, and founds an orphanage in the dead man's name to keep up the imposture. Her reward is to discover that her idolized son is the inheritor and victim of his father's vices, and the hopeless horror deepens, till in the last scene he goes mad before her eyes.

It is the value of writing like this, that it makes us examine ourselves, whether we are indeed bound by allegiance to the eternal ideas of truth, purity and justice, or whether we are blind swallows of formulae, taking a

certain line because we dare not be different from our neighbours, afraid to let the light in upon our lives.

'I almost think we are all of us ghosts' (says Mrs. Alving). 'It is not only what we have inherited from our father and mother that "walks" in us. It's all sorts of dead ideas and lifeless old beliefs and so forth. They have no vitality, but they cling to us all the same, and we can't get rid of them. Whenever I take up a newspaper I seem to see ghosts gliding between the lines. There must be ghosts all the country over, as thick as the sands of the sea. And then we are, one and all, so pitifully afraid of the light.'

This brilliant biting criticism of established ideas and institutions was the chief factor in Ibsen's popularity in France. Nora in *The Doll's House* has some claim to be the ancestress of the *feministe* heroine of present-day French fiction. Such phrases as 'the joy of life,' 'the right to one's place in the sun' express the doctrine of individual self-development, the reaction against ideas of self-sacrifice and self-repression, which to some minds make up the sum of Ibsen's teaching. Yet Ibsen himself was never an *Ibsenite*. The most scathing satire ever penned on 'Ibsenism' is his own play of *The Wild Duck*.

But those who only know this side of Ibsen's work have missed what is perhaps most characteristic, permanent, and fruitful. For he is more than a mere destructive critic: he had the constructive power and the far vision of the poet. He could build as well as pull down. One discovers this on turning, not without relief, from the stuffy sordid atmosphere of his *bourgeois* dramas to *Brand* and *Peer Gynt*.

To take up *Brand* after a play like, for instance, *The Wild Duck* is like leaving a frowsy tavern-parlour, heavy with the atmosphere of stale smoke, for a walk on the high fells in the clean calm freshness of a June morning. Here is the romance of one of the most romantic lands on earth, the poetry of the deep rock-walled fjord, and the silent glacier snows.

It is a characteristic Norwegian vignette that he gives through the mouth of his hero—a picture which may have flashed before him suddenly, as he sat in a Berlin café, or strolled on the Pincian at the hour of the Ave Maria, for it is under alien skies that such familiar scenes come back with a vividness and meaning that they never had while we looked upon them every day.

‘Every boathouse, every homestead, the landslip hill, the birch trees on the estuary, the old brown church—I can remember it all. There is a square rigged boat, bending on before the breeze, and to the south, under cover of the crag, I can see a boathouse and a wharf, and behind, a farmhouse painted red.’

Such a scene—and every traveller in Norway can remember its fellow—the parson Brand looks down upon as he goes to take comfort to a dying man.

Brand is the incarnation of Ibsen’s favourite virtue. He has the passionate sincerity, the lack of which seemed to the poet the great danger and shame of his age. And because the holiest of all things, religion, is the one that suffers most from shifty, timorous worldliness and base accommodations, Ibsen made his hero a minister of religion. It is said that Brand had a prototype in a certain Pastor Lammers whom Ibsen knew in his youth and who ruined his professional prospects by an enthusiasm and zeal that proved inconvenient to his official superiors. But Brand is no portrait. Sometimes he is nothing but the author’s mouthpiece, as when he utters that bitter attack on Norway for what Ibsen judged her cowardly attitude in not taking the side of Denmark in the Dano-German war.

Nothing moves the scorn of the poet like prudent calculation. It seemed a small thing to him that the men of the little kingdom should fling themselves into a hopeless contest with the armed might of Prussia. He is never tired of raging against the narrow, selfish aims bred in a poor country by a constant struggle with nature for the means of bare livelihood. When men have to wring their

food by ceaseless industry from narrow strips of fertile soil or harvest it from the sea, with long bitter winters and short hot summers, small opportunities and difficult means of communication, it does not seem strange that their life should be petty and provincial, wanting in wide outlook and generous impulse, and that even their worship should be, as Brand says, little but a desperate repetition of one clause in the Lord's Prayer, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' with the rest forgotten.

'Oh, I know you through and through, slack of soul and dull of heart! The whole "Our Father" has not strength in its soul nor anguish in its groaning to reach Heaven and be heard like the cry of a living voice, except only the fourth petition. That is the watchword of the country. That has become the people's cry. Away from this sultry hole. The air is like the vapour of a mine: no flag can fly its colour here, unfurled by a fresh breeze.'

Up among the hills he goes, 'on a message from some one great.' 'Who is it?' asks the awe-struck peasant who meets him on the road, and Brand answers, 'His name is God.'

He meets Einar and Agnes, a beautiful youth and maiden, gay and sportive as butterflies, and speaks a few burning words to them. As he leaves them behind, Agnes murmurs, 'Did you notice how he seemed to grow while he was speaking?'

His motto is 'All or nothing—no cowardly compromise.' 'I know God's love: that is not weak and mild. It offers caresses which leave wounds. What did God announce in the hour when the Son lay sweating in agony and prayed and prayed, "Let Thy cup pass from Me." Did He take the cup of pain from His lips? No, He had to drink it to the depths.'

Like Browning's questioner in 'Easter Day,' he refuses to believe that the tragedy of Calvary was meant

Only to give our joys a zest,  
And prove our sorrows for the best.

The Christian life is to him a warfare, while all round him people seem to be taking it like an afternoon stroll.

Word is brought to him that his mother, a miserly, hard old woman, is on her deathbed, and begging to see her son. He refuses to come to her or to bring her the last sacraments until she has yielded up the uttermost farthing of her hoarded wealth. She offers to give up half, two-thirds, nine-tenths; but he repeats his formula. All or nothing. The demand is too great. She dies alone and without spiritual comfort, for Brand, true to his motto, will not approach her while her repentance is incomplete.

The village doctor has visited the old woman all through her illness, out of pure humanity, for she paid like a pauper. 'The *quantum satis* of human will are you,' he says to the stern pastor, 'but your *conto caritatis* is a virgin page.'

Brand is married to Agnes, and they live in a hamlet by the fjord-side under the shadow of giant mountains. The sunshine scarcely penetrates into the deep cleft, and at morning and night a treacherous, chilling mist rises from the water. His little child begins to pine, and the doctor tells him plainly that he needs sunshine and warmth if he is to thrive. At once the father begins to make plans for removal, and the doctor smiles maliciously to see one, who is so severe with others, so easily moved to throw his duties on one side as soon as his home happiness is threatened.

But it is only the impulse of a moment with Brand. Immediately after the doctor's visit, one of his parishioners comes to him in great alarm. He has heard that the parson is going to leave them, going to buy an estate in the south with the inheritance of his mother. Now that he has become a rich man he will not stay in that poor place. And while the man speaks, Brand realizes how the poor creatures hang on him for help and comfort in the soul-deadening gloom and hardness of their lives.

It is a terrible decision that has to be taken. And by a keen touch of satire, Brand, the strong man, is made to



cast it on the woman. 'It rests with you,' he says to his wife; and Agnes answers calmly, though her heart breaks, 'Go that way your God bade you.'

Then comes the great fourth act, almost unendurable in its pathos, the martyrdom of a white soul made perfect through suffering. It is Christmas Eve, but there is no child in the parsonage now for whom to deck the Christmas tree, and outside the snow lies on a little grave. Sorrow has hardened to iron the intractable nature of the preacher. He finds sin even in Agnes's tender regrets for the lost boy. He will not suffer her to look out to the churchyard or to think of what was a year ago. The bitterest pang comes when he bids her give up to the gipsy woman the little clothes she had cherished in secret, even to the baby cap she had hidden in her bosom. 'It must be all or nothing,' he tells her. She obeys to the uttermost and wins her release.

*Brand.* Sleep. Your work for the day is over.

*Agnes.* Over, and the candles lit for the night. . . . Oh, but God is easy to praise. . . . Good-night, Brand.

So the pure soul passes from the extreme of human anguish to peace, while Brand remains in the lonely parsonage, wilder, sterner, fiercer than ever. No fitter end could be devised for his story than the scene which shows him climbing higher and higher into the glacier wilderness, in search of the Ice Church which is to be high enough and pure enough to hold regenerate humanity. Then the avalanche sweeps down from the heights and buries him in a cloud of whirling snow, but out of the thunder comes a great voice, declaring the secret that the lonely striver has missed all through his life: 'He is *Deus caritatis*.'

*Brand* is unrelieved tragedy almost throughout. *Peer Gynt* is a work of much greater variety. In it Ibsen has embodied the favourite legends of his country, stories of trolls and gnomes, huldras and fairies, and groups them round the figure of the Norwegian 'Pau-pekeewis,' so familiar in folklore. *Peer Gynt* is for ever bragging

about his own exploits, and the predicaments into which his vanity leads him have furnished fireside mirth for generations. In him Ibsen has incarnated what he took to be the leading defect of the Norwegian character, the want of thoroughness and sincerity, the spirit of compromise against which he felt called to wage perpetual war.

Everybody knows the *Peer Gynt* music and remembers how exquisitely the composer Grieg, Ibsen's great countryman, whom fortunately we still have with us, has rendered the death of Aase. It is characteristic of Peer Gynt, who loves his foolish old mother with all the heart he has, that he will not let her know that she is dying, but soothes her with fairy tales till her poor timid soul drifts out into the unknown. The 'Wedding March' again calls up the whole throng of quaintly attired villagers on their way to the wedding of Ingrid, the rich farmer's daughter; and now comes Solveig, the loveliest, after Agnes, of all Ibsen's creations, with her long plaits of fair hair, her sweet eyes cast down, and her prayer book wrapped in a handkerchief. She is Peer Gynt's good angel, and he knows it, but he finds it more amusing for the moment to pay court to Ingrid and steal her from her bridegroom.

Then follows the wild outlaw life along the hills, the lure of the saeter girls and the revels in the hall of the Troll-King. He meets on his path that weird shapeless monster, the Börg, the symbol of that spirit of expediency that has him in its toils and ever whispers, 'Go round!' when the strong man would 'go through.' The words of Brand might have been taken as a motto for *Peer Gynt*: 'The evil man has good in him that may be wrought upon, but for the mean man there is no hope.'

Yet there seems hope when Solveig gives up her home and friends to come to him and be his bride. In the face of her pure trust, he determines to begin a fresh life. But his old sins, unrepented, never fairly faced and forsaken, walk the earth in visible shape and claim him. He leaves Solveig waiting for him in the house that he knows himself unfit to enter, and goes out into the wide world.

His sentimental romanticism is quite compatible with an eye to the main chance. He makes a fortune by shipping idols and rum to China. Then his religion—consisting chiefly in a lively dread of future punishment—stirs him up to effect a sort of spiritual insurance, by exporting Bibles to the heathen as a set-off to the idols. But his doubtfully gotten wealth is lost in a shipwreck, and he is cast on the shores of Norway, old, broken, and penniless.

Then on the desolate verge of life he meets the Button-moulder, whose business is just with worthless souls like his. Peer Gynt has no real self to be saved or lost : he has never been himself. In his poor, scrappy, shambling existence, he has never loved or hated, sinned or repented. Heaven rejects him, Hell scorns him. His doom is to lose his individuality completely, to be melted down. By this grotesque image Ibsen figures the utter blotting-out of the spoiled profitless life. Yet one hope remains. If he can find one human being in whose eyes he is what God meant him to be—if there is one soul that still believes in him, he may be given one chance more. Ah ! he knows where his one chance is. From the hut in the forest he hears Solveig singing at her spinning-wheel. Even now, he dreads to face her, as well he may. The old shirking mood takes hold of him, but there is destruction behind him and he dare not delay. This time it must be 'Go through !' not 'Go round !' 'Where,' he asks her, 'has my true self been all these years?' 'In my faith, in my hope, in my love.' He buries his head like a child in the grey-haired woman's lap, and there is a long silence as the sun rises.

It was no narrow cynic that produced these types of faithfulness and courage in Solveig and Agnes. And if Ibsen is judged by his whole achievement, not merely as the prophet of a clique, but the poet of a nation, we may say with confidence of his work :

It lives,

If precious be the soul of man to man.

DORA M. JONES.

## THE RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY OF WILLIAM JAMES<sup>1</sup>

*The Varieties of Religious Experience: A study in Human Nature.* (Longmans. 1902.)

*The Will to Believe, and Other Essays in Popular Philosophy.* (Longmans. 1897.)

SINCE the publication of the *Principles of Psychology*, no one would be disposed to grudge Prof. William James of Harvard, a peerage of the realm of philosophy, and to a large and growing number of students, many of whom owe great debts to his teaching, he ranks as the foremost living psychologist. Yet the writer is not unready to risk himself in that most treacherous of tracks, the path of the prophet, to the extent of asserting that Prof. James will be held in remembrance rather for his contributions to the foundations of religious belief, than for his great and undoubted services to psychology. The rapid development of psychological insight, experiment, and knowledge must quickly outdate the ablest and most far-seeing of modern teachers, and relegate the pioneer of to-day to the retired list of yesterday. But he who gives some fresh justification for the faith that, in some way or another, is in the hearts of most men, even should it be as nebulous and unsatisfying an argument as that of Anselm, is sure to gain a name that will live through many generations.

I. The religious philosophy of Prof. James seems to be called into being by an impartial desire to give due attention to every shade in the prism of experience. By

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<sup>1</sup> The writer wishes to express his indebtedness to Prof. James for a kindly acknowledgement of his intention, and for supplying him with references to other work of his on this subject, in the *New York Journal of Philosophy*, &c.

reason of this, he is brought into collision with the dogmatism of those scientists to whom a crucible and a test-tube are an ultimate measure of all that is. Against these, not without reason, he breaks a lance. A religious inquisition and heresy-hunt was a heavy enough yoke, but to be freed from that, only to be forced, with the pistol of physical science at one's head, to swear allegiance to the dogmas of this new Holy Office, is to change the service of Solomon for the service of Rehoboam.

To any candid consideration, it is evident that the vast plenum of phenomena called Nature contains more material than can be enclosed in any system based on physical science only. As presented to us the cosmos is a chaos. Our interests lie in the way of order and arrangement. Accordingly we pick out such elements of the chaos as fit in with our system, and having duly related *a*, *b*, and *c*, there is an almost invincible tendency to assume that the residue *d*, *e*, *f*, *m*, *n* . . . must needs fall into line. The ground is too large, our powers are too feeble, life is too short, to relate all the phenomena, or satisfy all our interests; but so much stronger on the wing is desire than reason, that some there always are who fly across the gulf between the particular and the universal, and having expounded a system to explain the part, apply it to the whole. A little omission, plus a few assumptions, will bear the brunt of the operation. But for all that, an obstinate residue remains, which it is easier to ignore than to explain. It is by way of accounting for this residue, that Prof. James finds himself obliged to travel beyond the boundaries of pure science. 'The whole drift of my education goes to persuade me that the world of our present consciousness is only one out of many worlds of consciousness that exist, and that those other worlds must contain experiences which have a meaning for our life also. . . . The total expression of human experience, as I view it objectively, invincibly urges me beyond the narrow "scientific" bounds. Assuredly, the real world is of a different temperament—more intricately built than physical science allows.'

It may be contended that the ostrich attitude towards the facts of religion is past. In the study of comparative religion a shrine has been found in the temple of science for this side of man's nature. But in this way religious experience can never receive its full due. The science of religions is not a religion, and however useful it may prove in bringing the facts to judgement it is unable to give that judgement. To decide by comparative religion whether the essence of religion is true, is impossible. Indeed, as Prof. James points out, the exercise of the science is more likely to bias than help such decision: 'The cultivator of this science has to become acquainted with so many grovelling and horrible superstitions, that a presumption easily arises in his mind that any belief that is religious probably is false.' The attitude of science is impersonal. Religion according to Prof. James is essentially and unashamedly personal.

Prof. James applies himself to his task in a thoroughly empirical manner. The science of religion presupposes religious experience, and it is from this quarry that the stones of a religious philosophy must be hewn. By the logical method of collecting and sorting instances, it may be possible to trace out from the abundant material that is available, certain conclusions which shall have a measure of general validity, some facts to which all the creeds bear witness. With that end in view, Prof. James starts to wade breast-deep through the comprehensive collection of documents, the review of which forms the major part of his well-known Gifford Lectures.

For Prof. James, it is from the fact of religious experience alone that conclusions can be drawn regarding the truth of that fact. He distrusts all *a priori* methods, whether of philosophy or scholastic theism, to make religion objectively convincing, regarding feeling as the primary constituent of all religious belief, and philosophical attempts to construct a reason-compelling religion as springing from the natural desire to interpret and systematize this source. The prior feeling creates the attempt

to explain. But feeling is not justified of her children, who deny their parentage, and cast themselves into the form of a *priori* guarantees of the truth of religion, or philosophies of the absolute. No doubt the inspiration of these efforts is dislike of the subjective and individual aspect of feeling, and the desire to set the basis of religion in universal reason. *Solvitur ambulando*, thinks Prof. James. The attempts of philosophy to banish discord and give convincing proofs have led to as many divergencies as can be found in the original feeling. The 'proofs' of formal theism, and the dogmas of systematic theology tend only to confirm, not to create, faith; to give beauty but not birth to our convictions.

The existential judgement, in Prof. James's view, is in itself of no great importance. The real worth of our opinions, philosophical and otherwise, the 'cash-value,' as he puts it, is their practical meaning. We can well afford to be indifferent towards conceptions that have no bearing upon conduct, especially in matters of religion. The metaphysical attributes of God, beloved by the authors of our formal text-books of theology, are as destitute of practical significance as they are philosophically questionable. For both reasons Prof. James is willing to dispense with them. The moral attributes are equally lacking, for the most part, in the power to command anything like universal assent, and however much they may do towards lending dignity and form to our conceptions of God, they utterly fail as an engine for compelling the reason. 'Ratiocination is a relatively superficial and unreal path to the Deity.' Prof. James has no more faith in transcendental idealism. Unless the warrant can be found in the facts themselves, it is, he thinks, useless to seek for it elsewhere. Not only is metaphysical subtlety intrinsically unauthoritative, but unable, from the very nature of the case, to take the matter out of the hands of the common mother, feeling. It can define, criticize, arrange, but cannot give validity.

A more complete turn of the wheel can scarcely be

conceived. Prof. James and Hegel are removed as the east is from the west. Whilst Edward Caird and Prof. James's own colleague, Josiah Royce, together with the majority of writers upon the philosophy of religion, still lift their voices on the other side, it is not likely that there will be an unbroken hush whilst the claims of idealistic absolutism, to say nothing of systematic theology, are so summarily bowed to a seat in the rear. Philosophy will ill bear the judgement that clips the wings whereby she is fain to ascend into heaven and bring the Godhead down, and appoints her a hewer of wood and drawer of water, for ever formulating, as has been said, 'bad reasons for what we can't help believing,' or by transforming herself into a science of religion, to sift the incidental and contingent, and cleanse the fungus growth of superstition and prejudice from religious belief—the task Prof. James himself suggests for the queen he would depose. We must suspend our judgement, however, for Prof. James promises to return to the attack more fully in a later book, the publication of which we shall await with no little interest. Whatever side we take in the controversy, there is undoubted value in a thorough-going attempt to justify religion without the aid of a metaphysical alliance, which in the past has, in not a few cases, offered its bread to the hungry inquirer in the form of a dialectic stone, or a pantheistic scorpion.

Having dismissed metaphysics for psychological analysis, Prof. James is limited to religious experience flowing from feeling, and finding individual expression, unable to claim any universality other than that of a purely enumerative character. That is enough without doubt to assure what he has to say of a place in the mental Index Expurgatorius of many of his readers. Why it should be so, is another matter. I do not know of any organic aristocracy in the body which makes the feeling-process, considered from a physiological standpoint, inferior to the reasoning-process. Nor does Prof. James do other than place reason as subsidiary to feeling in the genesis of religious belief. Its subsequent importance he fully recog-



nizes. But in reading the criticisms passed upon this position by one or two writers, the unsophisticated reader must be led to picture the Harvard Professor of Philosophy as the guardian angel of all the irrational whimsies invented by the perversity of man. In effect Prof. James's attitude is this—instead of ascending into the height with Hegel, or descending the depth with Schopenhauer, find the word nigh unto thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart. Needless to say, Prof. James's polemic is against transcendental reason rather than against reason, and he has surely the right, if he please, to disentangle himself from the meshwork of metaphysical cobwebs which the nineteenth century spun in such abundance, without being written down as the holder of an 'extravagant' position, who 'discredits reason,' and finds it no niche whatever within the sacred ark.

If reason, however far it bear us, fail to bring us into the holy of holies, we must turn, as Kant turned, elsewhere. And if feeling can help us, why distrust it? Because, no doubt, it is subjective and variable. Grant that; but even then it may serve to satisfy us. If we abandon, for the time being, the ambition to coerce others, we may be able to carve out an individual expression of faith that fulfils our personal requirement. And since that is our main want, it should be our foremost quest. Moreover, as Prof. James emphatically says, the reality that has meaning is personal, individual, reality: 'as soon as we deal with private and personal phenomena as such, we deal with realities in the completest sense of the term.' 'The axis of reality runs solely through the egotistic places.' 'Individuality is founded in feeling, and the recesses of feeling, the darker, blinder strata of character, are the only places in the world in which we catch the real fact in the making.' Each man's religion is, at its best, an attempt to respond to the deepest reality of his experience.

It by no means follows that we are hereby debarred from seeking out some general conclusions; at any rate,

from inquiring whether there be an irreducible minimum. When we have stripped away all the personal and individual wrappings, the 'over-beliefs,' our analysis may discover a common ground, nucleus, and foundation, which, when clothed with its over-beliefs, takes its place in the world as concrete religious experience. Such nucleus must necessarily be small, and it is obvious that the more inclusive we make our survey, the less will be the final result we abstract.

Before we proceed to ask what this residuum may be, we may note Prof. James's opinion that faith, from a psychological point of view, must be held no mere anachronism, but a present necessity. The essence of religion is in feeling and conduct, and the 'faith-state' is a biological as well as a psychological phenomenon. Therein religion has a permanent, and by no means unimportant, place in the making of life. Faith is 'among the forces by which men live.'

Prof. James continues by asking whether any common testimony can be found beneath the many expressions of religion that religious experiences afford, and whether such testimony can be considered true. The first question is answered in the affirmative. The common testimony is to an uneasiness, and its solution: a sense of something wrong, and of deliverance therefrom by a due connexion with higher power. Herein, thinks Prof. James, all religions meet.

The second question is met with much caution, Prof. James designating his reply a hypothesis only. Religious experience introduces us to a 'something more.' That something more is described by reference to that well-known psychological entity, the subconscious self, and, stated in the lowest terms possible, 'we have in the fact that the conscious person is continuous with a wider self, through which saving experiences come, a positive content of religious experience, which, as it seems to me, is literally and objectively true as far as it goes.' Beyond this is over-belief; but over-beliefs, though they can be ignored

for what after all is the purely theoretical purpose of seeking out the fundamental act of religious experience, are necessary in order that each may have somewhat with which to drape and colour this naked and pale extract, and constitute it a practical and serviceable expression of religious life and activity. Indeed, 'the most interesting and valuable things about a man are his ideals and over-beliefs,' and as an example of the latter Prof. James sets forth his own, 'of a somewhat pallid kind, as befits a critical philosopher'—which, briefly put (so at least a general survey of his writings would suggest), is in a God whose attributes are goodness and personality, and from whom there is an inflow of energy in the faith-state and prayer-state, an attitude to which Prof. James holds, despite the fact that thereby he may be ranked as one of the 'piecemeal or crasser' supernaturalists, for he does not hesitate to say that, however repugnant to the 'scientific' spirit, such an hypothesis is most adequate to the facts, and upon this over-belief he is willing to make his 'personal venture.'

The justification of this personal venture is set forth in an attractive way in one or two of the essays in *The Will to Believe*; particularly in that from which the book takes its title, where it is contended that belief is formed in a practical manner for practical ends. The theoretic way to believe is by a dispassionate review of, and judgement upon, the facts. In practice, the actual stimulus to the formation of belief is the desire to confirm one's own faith or opinion, a fact no less true in science than in religion. The volitional side of our nature is uppermost in belief.

Moral and religious questions present forced options. Religion claims to bestow a good—if we believe. To disbelieve, and to sceptically suspend judgement, debar us equally from partaking. The question, therefore, is whether we are so greatly to fear the possibility of error, as to refuse in consequence the chance of gaining truth; or so greatly to esteem truth, that we risk error. It is patent that either

course of action involves a risk. One course or other we must take, otherwise judgement goes against us by default. In making our decision, we are bade remember that there are cases where faith in a fact can help to create the fact, where faith creates its own verification. Under the circumstances is not belief the more rational way? At least we can claim the right and freedom to believe. Here, of course, we are still upon a strictly individualistic basis, but the gain in personal liberty must be counted as compensation for the loss of the power of compulsion.

The point is further illustrated by a clever essay entitled, 'Reflex Action and Theism.' The structural unit of the nervous system is a triad, stimulus, re-action in the nerve-centres, discharge. In terms of the mind the same thing is expressed by perception, assimilation, conduct, which Prof. James designates as departments 1, 2, and 3. If department 2 exists for working up the material supplied by department 1, it must itself be dependent on department 3, since, as has already been stated, the world for us is a selection of certain relations, which, as essential for our purposes, we pick out from a vast indefinite sum-total to the ignoring of the rest. If this be so, it follows that department 3 dominates its associates, and practical interests lead the way. Philosophy may be said to belong to department 2, and to consist in the harmonizing of the facts that department 1 presents; but if department 3 is supreme, no philosophy is satisfactory that is not congenial to the powers we possess, and that does not definitely answer the practical interests. From this point of view Prof. James maintains that theism is the most rational and serviceable solution.

We must pass over Prof. James's opinions on many other interesting topics that come within the purview of religion. His Ingersoll Lecture on immortality contents itself with a reply to two objections, and contains no positive statement. Concerning free-will, Prof. James makes no secret of his belief. The question is judged, after considerable psychological discussion in *The Principles of*

*Psychology*, insoluble from that standpoint, but from ethical and common-sense considerations, set forth elsewhere, notably in the sparkling criticism of the essay, 'The Dilemma of Determinism,' Prof. James holds decisively and courageously to the doctrine of freedom.

II. In attempting to estimate Prof. James's contribution to the entrenchments of religious belief, we must bear in mind that he writes rather as a psychologist than as an apologist, but as a psychologist who is equipped, not merely with a laboratory and a library, but with a broad human insight, interest, and sympathy.

For some, Prof. James's 'common nucleus'—an uneasiness and its solution—will be too broad. The 'uneasiness' of the adherent of one of the world's many fatalistic faiths, is manifestly a very different thing from the Christian's 'conviction of sin,' and as such might demand a different name and description. Moreover, Prof. James has to face the almost impossible task of finding a common denominator for religion, ranging from the mumbo-jumboism of the West African savage to the Christianity of a Butler or the theism of a Martineau. Although the two points above-mentioned are given as a universal deliverance of the religious consciousness, Prof. James expressly tells us that his study deals only with the more developed forms, thus judiciously drawing the line at the task of dredging the cess-pools of superstition and jugglery in which, our anthropological and other sages tell us, we may find the same gold, albeit somewhat tarnished, that gleams in the fanes of the world's great faiths. With such limitation we have no desire to quarrel. It may be asked outright whether, in order to maintain the thesis that there is no race without a religion, the religious apologist serves any useful purpose by 'dignifying such off-scourings as these with that name, and whether if they are to be included, any truth common to them and to all other faiths can be found. We may still further refine upon Prof. James's conclusions, and state the fundamental fact of religion as the sense that due regard to higher power is

needful for the proper adjustment of life, but even then without any assurance that we are materially nearer complete universality. It is wiser to candidly exclude that which can serve no purpose other than that of overballasting our results.

There are some, on the other hand, who will object that the result is too narrow. To them it is a bare skeleton, devoid of flesh and life. But does Prof. James think it to be otherwise? Apparently not, saving that he treats it as the protoplasm rather than the skeleton of religion. An extensive development, and much accumulation of over-belief must take place, before our protoplasm issues in the finished product. In the term 'over-belief' the reader may incline to catch a suggestion of unnecessariness and superfluity, a totally wrong impression from Prof. James's standpoint. To him over-beliefs are essential, not supererogative, and endued with the characteristics of reality; the difference being that whilst the union with a wider sphere whereby salvation comes, is a fact that bears the marks of objective truth, the over-beliefs have individual validity only; a restriction which is considerably eased by the contention that the personal is the real in the completest sense of the term.

Prof. James is sometimes spoken of as the champion of 'the new apologetic'—the argument from experience. It is evident, in the light of what has been said hitherto, that this statement needs some qualification; at least it cannot be accepted in its popular interpretation. The aid Prof. James gives is in the justification he affords of the right of each to make his own personal venture, and have his own over-beliefs, to indulge in his own faith at his own risk. It is at this point that the argument from experience actually begins. Assured of the legitimacy of his own over-belief for himself, the believer may commend it, on the ground of reasonableness, of personal trial, of the unfailing satisfaction it has given him, to others. That is the argument from experience strictly so-called, and as it is commonly understood. Upon that itself Prof. James says

nothing. He commends no one over-belief, not even his own. To all he gives the right to live, and looks probably for the inevitable survival of the fittest.

The application of Prof. James's method to apologetic of a definitely Christian character is of especial interest. From the fathers downwards, the lines of Christian defence have been drawn with rationalistic implements, till in the nineteenth century demonstrative rationalism at one and the same time reached its zenith and its limits. Signs are not wanting that the tide is turning, and in a way not hostile to the traditions of Christianity. For Jesus—it is so obvious that it needs scarcely to be stated—preferred to appeal rather than to argue, that is to say, His method was psychological, and directed towards the will. 'If any man willeth to do' sums it in a sentence. To the outburst of a perplexed intellect 'If Thou canst,' the Gospel records the reply 'All things are possible to him that believeth.' The demand of Jesus was for that personal venture, that will to believe which has been vindicated in the heart of thousands, and to the support of which the whole of Prof. James's religious philosophy goes.

The uneasiness and its solution, which Prof. James regards as lying at the base of all the creeds, finds its fullest exemplification in the Christian doctrine of atonement, and the wider self through which saving experiences come would be translated by St. Paul as the 'Christ that liveth in me.' Even if Christianity be regarded in its simplest terms as signifying union with Christ, it is plain that it is, from the standpoint of Prof. James, an over-belief, but it is well able to take rank as the first and greatest, the most proved and practicable of over-beliefs, and it is as such that it has won its triumphs. The power of Christianity is not in the arguments of Butler, but in the personal testimony, such for instance as the Evangelical Revival drew forth, to the efficacy which experience has found therein, and the righteous man lives by his over-beliefs. Prof. James has not helped the theologians, but he has done much to vindicate the attitude of those who say 'we believe and therefore speak.'

Prof. James's method possesses a further advantage—that of flexibility. It is adaptable to practical necessities. By recognizing religion as embodying a positive content that is true, and contending for the right of each to interpret that content as best he can, and in a manner valid for himself, he gives a freedom that transcendental methods conspicuously lack. For once having wound through the intricacies of the metaphysical maze to the centre-compartment—or what we take as such—which is called God or the Absolute, it is no easy matter to find the way out again to the world of concrete religious fact, or to connect the absolute Deity with the relativities of our experience. Prof. James's empiricism lacks theoretic universality, no doubt, but the bewildering crowd of over-beliefs it sanctions will none the less sooner or later settle themselves or be settled by the practical and common-sense tests of reason and experiment, which in the long run are bound to eliminate the fantastic and temporary, and establish those that can answer a lasting requirement. We do not need more. We may not be capable of more. An over-belief or system of over-beliefs that survives this process may lack the stamp of logical stringency, but is sufficient for practical purposes; and the philosophy of religion, together with all knowledge that seeks for the ultimate by way of the actual, must rest on its journey in provisional results and working hypotheses, the more so since its aim is practical rather than speculative.

A measure of agnosticism remains—in the elements that we cannot yet induce to enter into combination. Such agnosticism—the necessary result of the admission that we know in part—may lead to scepticism or to faith: to scepticism if we refuse to act; to faith if we, without waiting for the chimera of objective certainty, determine with Prof. James to 'take our life in our hand' and act. Such a course brings its own justification, but only to those who take it. In all that they do their choice verifies itself. For the rest, they wait in hope.

ERIC S. WATERHOUSE.



## THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN CHINA

**T**HE two great forming agencies in the world's history,' says Professor A. Marshall, 'have been the religious and the economic.' But while we find the importance of the religious factor recognized in the rise and fall of nationalities in the past, in the movements which are going on at present it seems to be largely overlooked. At any rate, returning from a sojourn in China of more than a decade, I have found myself assailed by a score of questions on the political and economic situation there for every one question on the religious attitude of China. And yet that the religious condition of China will be profoundly altered is indubitable; and if history teach anything, it is equally indubitable that a change in her religious condition will modify the results of all the other forces that are now playing on her.

The whole situation is indescribably complex. We have not here to do with a problem which may itself be sufficiently difficult of solution, the problem of a rigid body acted upon by a complex of external forces. There is here, indeed, a complex of external forces; but that on which they act is a living organism, which, while it is acted on, reacts; which assimilates certain of the external elements, and again reacts differently because of this assimilation. The present article is an attempt to abstract and consider the religious elements of the problem; and if economic, political, and educational factors are referred to, it is only as impinging on this religious question. No attempt is made to consider them for their own sakes.

Even the religious problem is a complex one. To begin with, China is not religiously homogeneous. It is usual to begin any discussion of religion in China by a reference to the Sam Chiao, 'The Three Teachings': Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism. In this way a cer-

tain respectable flavour of scholarship and a fatal taint of unreality are imported into the discussion. For 'the Three Teachings' are more easily distinguished in the study of the Sinologue than in the practice of the Chinese people. For our present purpose it is more useful to distinguish four phases of Chinese religious thought. We have, first, the variegated popular religion. This differs in different parts of the Empire in the relative prominence of the various common objects of worship, as well as in the locally circumscribed superstitions. In it we find a worship of heaven and of earth, of idols, and of spirits inherent in natural objects; and a belief in demons and sprites of all kinds. Here, too, we may include the widespread belief in Fung-shui or geomancy—whether connected with the lucky locating of buildings for the living, or of graves for the dead—as well as all the other superstitious beliefs of which the Chinese mind produces such a plentiful crop.

There is, secondly, at the other end of the scale, as one might say, the classical religion of China, especially as we have it preserved in the august Imperial worship—the recognition of a Supreme with a circle of inferior spirits. This form of belief hardly operates popularly, though I have known one family of Confucian scholars who held sternly aloof from all popular idolatry, and recognized only such objects of religious worship as are mentioned in the classics. The influence of the Imperial worship is, however, met with in the objection, apparently not uncommonly taken, to the Christian proclamation of the worship of the Supreme (Shang-ti) as binding on all men. 'The Son of Heaven,' it is replied, 'alone can worship Shang-ti; we worship the Worthies' (the idols, lao-yeh).

Thirdly, we have ancestral worship, than which no other belief more thoroughly pervades the whole of China. Theoretically, exception may be taken to classing ancestral worship among religious factors; but practically it is as much religious worship as the worship of the idols. Only if the worship of idols can be fairly described as

merely a mode of expressing veneration for those worthies of former times, can ancestral worship be defended as only a mode of expressing filial piety. In both cases there is, in fact, an expression of those feelings which are only evoked by the objects of religious worship.

Finally, there is what may be called the typically Confucian frame of mind, as being the frame of mind fostered by the teaching and example of Confucius, even though in its negations it goes beyond him. It is the agnosticism which discards, or would fain discard, all religious opinions except, perhaps, a belief in a fate, which hardly amounts to deism; while at the same time it conforms to any religious observance which custom or expediency demands. The supernatural is dismissed as the unknowable; and all the stress is laid on conformity to the Confucian morality and institutes.

It is evident that these different forms of religious thought will react differently under the modifying forces that now influence China. No one expects that the political influence of any nation will be overtly exercised for or against a change in the religious condition of China. But more and more China will be caught in the current of world-politics, and be brought into closer relations with other peoples. This political result will act along with the more stirring and varied mercantile life on which she will undoubtedly enter. Foreign capitalists and merchants will endeavour to capture her markets, and to exploit her treasures of minerals and of cheap labour; and her own subjects will not be behind in the race for trade dominance. The kind of influence which is now at work in the treaty ports will be diffused over wider areas, and reach the remoter parts of the empire. Further, China is calling out for a new education; and though, having decreed the abolishment of the old, she has made no effective provision as yet for the supply of the new, she is certain to get it. A great deal, of course, will depend on the channel through which she receives it. At present the probability is that Japan will be her

instructor, through her professors and teachers who are accepting posts in China, and through those thousands of Chinese students who are being trained in Japan. It is to be feared that from Japan China will imbibe not only the scientific knowledge which she is mainly seeking, but also at the same time the kind of thinking about the ultimate problems, the whole mental cast, which is variously characterized as materialistic, agnostic, or positivist. Of course, there may be Christians among those Japanese who will act as the instructors of China, and so far, the teaching China receives will be accompanied by a healthier influence. And in forecasting the future of Chinese education we must not forget the vantage-ground already occupied by those missionaries who have accepted posts in Government educational establishments. Such positions are of great importance; and if they are thrown open, may be recommended to the attention of those who have missionary enthusiasm, but do not feel free to join any missionary society, as positions of small emolument, perhaps, but of great potentiality for good. At the present time of transition, too, the missionary institutions already existing, or to be founded in response to the urgent appeals being now addressed by the missionaries of various societies to their Boards, may play an important part in mediating the new knowledge to China in a form not hostile to the Christian faith. The spirit of the educator, however, does not determine the use made of the imparted knowledge by the educated.

Obviously, it is the first of the four religious phases previously indicated—the popular religion—that is most directly exposed to modification under the political and educational forces thus hastily sketched. That superstitions die hard is a fact that may be illustrated from any, the most enlightened, nation of Christendom. But if not killed by education and the wider outlook that comes with widening commercial and political relations, they at least retire into the background of men's minds, and cease to be publicly-recognized and dominant forces. Fung-shui,

for instance, will receive an ever more severe shock by the laying of railways and telegraph lines and the opening up of roads. Cults which are local will be weakened by the greater mobility of the population. Mere acquaintance with other lands where neither the idols nor geomantic influences are taken into account, tends to shake belief in them at home. Indeed, cosmopolitanism is not favourable to the strength of superstitions, though, for a time, it may by importation increase their number among the credulously superstitious.

The same influences will also, it may be surmised, profoundly affect ancestral worship. Already, knowledge of other lands and customs is stimulating thought with regard to it, and driving home a distinction between 'li' and 'le,' principle and ceremonial expression. No doubt this distinction can be used in defence of the institution of ancestral worship as the indigenous expression—one, therefore, which all Chinese should loyally uphold—of the universal principle of 'filial piety.' But it is not difficult to see how the distinction gives a superior vantage-ground to the attacking party, who, taking their stand on the admitted principle and posing as its true champions, are all the more free to criticize the expression of the principle as being foolishly superstitious. To this criticism acquaintance with other customs and 'Western knowledge' lend their aid. Hence it is probable that with the enlightenment of China, ancestral worship will gradually be modified; and will become, what its defenders often assert that it in essence is, a pious recognition of one's ancestors, with forms which, even if retained, will no longer be defended except as customary practices. All the ideas of offerings as necessary for the sustenance of the spirits of the departed, and of placating the ancestral ghosts—or, rather, of currying favour with them—ideas which at present bulk too largely in the mind of the worshipper, will fade away from the ritual, as completely as materialistic ideas had ebbed from the Hebrew ritual for the enlightened Jehovist, who still offered his sacrifices,

and spoke of Jehovah as smelling their savour. No such modification as I have attempted to forecast for the popular religion and for ancestral worship is to be looked for in the case of the State worship of China. And this for two reasons. Its comparative simplicity and purity present fewer points for criticism; and in so far as it is withdrawn from popular life and entrenched in state ceremonial, it may endure unmodified in form through great cycles of popular change.

With regard to the agnostic, or would-be agnostic, temperament, it is to be feared that the new forces of education and of economic and political life will bring it strengthening rather than diminution. The new atmosphere will not be uncongenial to it. Agnostic indifference and monotheistic evangelicism are the only two cosmopolitan religious tempers. The outlook on this weltering world, with its variety of religions, will not of itself induce an ardent partisanship on behalf of any. And it must be confessed that nowhere, not even among the nations of Christendom, is there so salient a moral supremacy as to demand indubitably and imperatively the acceptance of its religious basis. From this consideration of the factors involved, the prognosis so far is in favour of the increasing prevalence in China of agnostic indifference, alongside of which may be expected the continuance of traditional religious forms; and in the recesses of thought and life there will lurk old and unscientific superstitions.

But in all the foregoing discussion no mention has been made of the force which most directly acts on the religious situation in China—the Christian propaganda. If one is to judge from the disproportionateness of their inaccurate references to this force, our publicists neither recognize its importance nor are well acquainted with its facts. Indeed, of the Roman Catholic and Greek Church forms of this propaganda it may be difficult to obtain accurate information. Even with regard to the Protestant form of it, a complete body of information is not

easily accessible. In 1907—the centenary of Morrison's arrival in China—it is proposed to hold in Shanghai a conference representative of all the Protestant missions in China, to which, no doubt, a more complete statistical report will be submitted than any that is now available. If this were the place for it, I should gladly describe in more detail some one mission, which might be taken as a sample of what is being done. Such a description would, in proportion to its success in representing the facts, encourage those who hope for China's progress, and believe that Protestant Christianity is on the whole the religious force which most makes for progress. For the facts, although they are not of the kind of which the secular press ordinarily takes notice, are omens of the happiest order. Here one can only say generally that the Christian propaganda is being actively carried on along varied lines—evangelistic, educational, medical, and literary. There is already a large body of native Christians; and what the Boxer troubles proved of the northern Christians must be taken as being applicable to them all—that they are not 'rice Christians' but Christians by conviction, and that the faith which animates them is no exotic, possible only in the forcing-house of foreign protection, but a plant which finds congenial soil in China as in Europe.

No doubt it is true of this nascent Christian community in China that it is but minute compared with the immense population of the Empire, and that it is principally composed of members of the lower classes. But it is also true that here, as everywhere, the Christian community has an influence great out of all proportion to its apparent material resources. To begin with, each Christian, whatever the amount of constructive force he exerts, is, by his very existence, a force disintegrative of faith in the old idolatries and superstitions. I know of a village where perhaps a tenth of the inhabitants are Christians, and the other nine-tenths are in consequence by no means enthusiastic idolaters. 'Why,' they say, 'should we pay

for plays and other idolatrous celebrations, when our neighbours, who fare at least as well as we do, pay nothing?' Besides, it is putting the case too low to say that the Christian only fares as well as his heathen neighbour. *Ceteris paribus*, the Christian, in virtue of a higher morality, usually fares better, even in this life, than his non-Christian rival. This in itself increases the weight of the Christian community. The Christian shopkeeper prospers, and his wealth gives him a higher social standing. The Christian doctor, superior, in virtue of his knowledge of Western medicine, to native practitioners, is consulted by patients of a social degree higher than his own. The Christian pastor, in virtue of his office as the chief of a community—and perhaps it should be said, in virtue also of his more intimate connexion with the foreigner—is recognized as a public person just as are the elders of a village, or the head-man of a guild.

In any forecast we make of the religious future of China, it must be assumed that this propaganda will be carried on with increasing energy, and no doubt with increased results. But it is safe, also, to assume that there will be reaction and conflict, and modification by the other forces which make for change. The present political situation, for instance, is stimulating a sense of national unity on the part of the Chinese. This in itself is good. But it may take the form of self-assertion, not only impatience of foreign predominance, but dislike of foreign influence, and a mistaken independence. In fact, already there are signs of a recrudescence of anti-foreign feeling in some quarters, which in the religious sphere takes the form of an anti-Christian animus.

Education, too, as we saw, will tend to disintegrate the popular religious beliefs. But, in so far as it has a positivist bias, it will become critical of Christianity also. Already missionaries have been met with the taunt from the lips of the 'enlightened' Chinaman, that no scientific man in the 'Western kingdoms' is any longer a Christian; and that it is because science has exploded the



pretensions of Christianity at home, that missionaries have been forced to come to China to impose their religion on the ignorance of the Chinese peasantry. The 'enlightened' Chinaman is even beginning himself to turn science against Christianity. Some time ago, in a Chinese newspaper published in Shanghai, there appeared an article in which the mutual incompatibility of science and Christianity was exhibited in this wise. The late Dr. Edkins had published some outline of the argument of 'Paradise Lost.' This was the anti-Christian fulcrum. The law of gravitation was the lever by which to evert the whole fabric of the Christian faith. Does not Milton, a renowned exponent of Christianity, affirm in that famous poem of his, that Satan, having escaped from hell and winged his perilous flight through chaos, made his way to the sun, there to inquire of the angel of that luminary where Eden was; and, directed thither, descended to tempt our great mother Eve, whence came 'man's first disobedience,' and in sequence the whole interposition of God's grace? But how—it is asked—if the law of gravitation is true, as it undoubtedly is, could Satan, once having reached the sun, ever leave it to descend to earth? Once there, there he must remain, unable to break loose from the gravitational glue that would hold him fast. The picture of Satan, ignorant of Newton, unwarily venturing into the maelstrom of solar gravitation, and for ever unable to extricate himself to accomplish his malevolence, has its humorous aspect. It was not the humour of the situation, however, that appealed to our Shanghai author, but the 'serious conflict' between the teaching of 'Western science' and the teaching of Christianity; the acknowledged truth of the one disproving the alleged truth of the other. Such a humorous incident in the 'conflict of science and religion' is a straw to tickle us; but it is a straw which shows how the wind is setting. In China, as elsewhere, Christianity must be prepared to meet 'the oppositions of science.'

There will also be a reaction on the part of the existent

religion ; and if something is assimilated by it, the reaction may be all the more seductive. One Chinese newspaper, published in the south of China, thought it worth while to print a series of articles, the title of which was 'Honour Confucius.' It is, perhaps, doing the articles more than justice to call them a study in comparative religion, but the compliment to them may pass, if we qualify it by the adjectives 'crude' and 'ill-informed.' A large section of them was taken up with a defence of the position assigned to music in the Confucian régime. This is a case of simple reaction. A yet more remarkable instance of reaction is the publication of Part I of a Confucian catechism, evidently modelled on the catechetical manuals published by the various Christian missions. This book claims that Confucius is the teacher of Asia. It recommends the institution of an exposition of Confucian doctrine one day a week, coincident with Sunday. Women are to be admitted to these weekly preachments, and schools are to be started for girls. It is true that the association of Confucian scholars responsible for this catechism has not yet produced the promised second part, and that the 'preachments' and girls' schools are still unrealized. But the little book is of interest in itself as instance of assimilative reaction. Its authors are so far acquainted with 'Western knowledge' as to know our geographical terms and to speak of the continent of 'Asia,' and they have recognized the strong points in the Christian propaganda, in its weekly expositions, and its provision for the education of women and girls. It is, perhaps, worth while noting that the mention of 'weekly preachments' indicates that it is the Protestant rather than the Roman Catholic propaganda the success of which is feared and emulated. Just as we see here a certain imitation of Christian institutions, so too, the Confucian mind will assimilate, at least theoretically, the Christian morality. There is no difficulty in winning the verbal patronage of the typical Confucianist for Christian philanthropy as displayed in hospitals and in colleges, and for the moral teaching of Christianity. This tone

of patronage is characteristic of the cosmopolitan indifferentism which is affected by many of the enlightened and travelled Chinese. The late Li Hung Chang, some years ago, gave typical expression to this attitude towards Christianity. 'There exists not much difference between the wise sayings of the two greatest teachers, on the foundations of which the whole structure of the two systems of morality is built. The soul,' he continued, 'I need not say much about, being an unknowable mystery of which even our great Confucius had no knowledge.'

The existence, especially in high quarters, of such plausible patronage of Christianity, has its dangers for the Christian propaganda in its seductiveness to a certain missionary instinct, by no means the least noble—the instinct of finding the soul of good in everything, and of 'becoming all things to all men in order to save some'—the apologetic instinct. The dangers of this instinct are not imaginary, as the following quotation may indicate. 'There was a time when each country had its particular sciences, a science of China, of Arabia. . . What science do you study to-day? Universal science. It is the same as regards everything. We have now international law; and what is true of law is true of religion. Even religions are now becoming similar. To be good is the best religion, to be kind-hearted towards men and nations. This is the basis of all the best religions in the world.' The quotation purports to be from a speech by an eminent missionary; and if the quotation is correct it proves that the dangers of the apologetic instinct have not been completely escaped; and that there is a risk—if we so regard it—of Christianity being reduced to a moralizing deism, in order to come to terms with a moralizing Confucianism.

From our whole survey we conclude that there is a frame of mind which we must expect to become increasingly prevalent. The political, economic, and educational forces, as they disintegrate the old faith, will tend to produce it. This frame of mind is one of the by-products of Christian missions themselves, which will unsettle from

their old position many whom they will not succeed in incorporating in the Christian community. Indeed, it seemed as if the last and most stubborn enemy that Christianity will have to face in China may thus be in part its own creation. The frame of mind to which I refer is one, though with different phases. Its lowest phase, religiously, will be agnosticism; its highest, a cold deism. Morally, it may at one end of the scale entrench itself in a sincere and respectable virtue; and at the other, in undisguised devotion to material interests, with the intermediate phase of devotion to material interests disguised by a profession of high moral maxims. Such a frame of mind is not a likely subject for Christian impression, less likely than the religiously superstitious mind which is more prevalent in China to-day; and accordingly, if this prognosis is at all correct, it behoves Christian missions to be up and doing, that they may, as far as possible, capture the popular Chinese mind before its transformation into this less susceptible condition.

P. J. MACLAGAN.

## CONCERNING CHARLES LAMB

**I**N a delightful paper Dr. Jessopp refers to Charles Lamb as one of the gods of his idolatry, and exclaims: 'But Lamb: who can *only* admire Lamb? He is and will for ever be more than a mere author to those that know him. He is a presence, a presiding genius; he goes in and out with you, haunts you in the kindest, gentlest way.' That tribute may fittingly stand at the head of this article.

Charles Lamb is not merely, as so many have strangely seemed to think and say, an exceptionally amusing man with an agreeable and helpful stammer, the author of puns and jokes which conjure up Milton's 'laughter holding both his sides.' He is the most intensely human figure in our literature, the most loved of all our authors, the most charming of men, the most charming of writers; a man of letters in whose exquisite, humane, and truly wholesome pages, with all their delicate thought, quaint play of airy fancies, and beguiling inconsequence, we never fail to find what his most brilliant editor, Mr. William Macdonald, has well termed, 'the endearing connotation of his own personality,' and who himself is always on the side of the generousities, the tolerances, the lenitives of life. He is the richest and truest of humorists, with a pervasive humour, quick, kindly, whimsical, imaginative, which seems at first to be laughter, but changes again and again, and sometimes 'scalds like tears' ('The truest humour lies nearest the source of tears,' was Carlyle's maxim in reference to *Don Quixote*); his puns, not infrequently, are instruments of analysis, principles of interpretation, and his jests, though sometimes wayward and occasionally beyond the limits of becoming mirth, often reveal an undiscovered 'soul of goodness in things evil'; he could construct delightful comedy out of the

meanest stuff in human nature. He is also the most enchanting and personal of essayists, who, in each inimitable achievement, has discarded the conventionalities hitherto so characteristic of the essay and made it unconsciously and engagingly unaffected. Further, he is an incomparable critic, at once authentic, just, luminous, penetrative, influential, unerring in taste, instant in precision, and pure and whole-hearted in sympathy, correcting the mistaken verdicts of the past and anticipating the righteous verdicts of the future. Coleridge said of Lamb, as early as 1800, 'His taste acts so as to appear like the unmechanic simplicity of an instinct.' What advantage both Coleridge and Wordsworth must have derived from being in constantly close touch with such a critic! And with all this he has a style which is not the mere adornment, but vitally part of the framework and substance of his thought, a style of fitting and final words, a style which seems at times touched with the winsome hesitancy and coy approach of his own physical stammer, a style which, notwithstanding his lack of ear for music, is not only easy and concise, but also has such grace and finish and verbal melody that every lover of perfect prose regards it 'with an admiration that may well become despair.' Charles Lamb's individuality is that of undoubted genius, and genius, in Wordsworth's inspired definition, is 'the introduction of a new element into the intellectual universe.'

The personal quality of Lamb's writing must never be forgotten. The statement is hardly to be controverted that his letters contain the most complete revelation of a man, body, soul, and clothes, ever yet made by poet, novelist, letter-writer, diarist, or autobiographer. But throughout letters and essays alike are to be found the same distinctive qualities of a genius that has no parallel, though in the letters there may be the more freedom and in the essays the greater richness and beauty. As we turn the precious pages of *Elia*, just as surely as when we read Lamb's letters, the man himself is there; *he* is

always speaking to us and in unrivalled fashion pouring out his tale. 'The essayist,' says George Eliot, 'must be personal, or his hearers can feel no manner of interest in him.' Of all the great essayists, with the possible exception of Montaigne, Lamb is the most personal. The French critic, M. Derocquigny, has well observed that Lamb 'does not merely project himself into his characters, but he tinges their personality with his own.' What unity there is in his variety! In many respects no better biography of him will ever be written than that which his own essays contain. In *The Old Benchers of the Inner Temple* Elia may thus write of his own narratives, 'They are, in truth, but shadows of fact—verisimilitudes, not verities—or sitting but upon the remote edges and outskirts of history.' Yet his name runs through the middle of his unique essays far more really and apparently than the poet's name or that of his lady love runs through the heart of Edgar Allan Poe's acrostics. As we read we find ourselves in a prolonged experience-meeting, in which there is but one speaker. 'You shall soon,' says Lamb in writing to his friend, Barron Field, about the first series of *Elia*, 'have a tissue of truth and fiction impossible to be extricated, the interleavings shall be so delicate, the partitions perfectly invisible.' But though make-believe attempts may be here and there at disguise, behind the almost transparent mask is the man Charles Lamb. The words that come out of his heart, blended with laughter and tears, have gone into it first through experiences as close as life and death.

It may be true, as Lamb intimated, that Coleridge 'ferreted' him to begin writing; it may also be true, as Barry Cornwall asserted, that Lamb 'was almost teased into writing the *Elia* essays.' But if write he did, certain things write he must. He must show you himself. And so there are his well-loved friends; there are his cherished books; there are his joys, his delights, and sometimes, alas, not far away are his bitter sorrows and crushing griefs—'Before there is wine or there is oil the grape

must be trodden and the oil must be pressed.\* A would-be critic once observed that he did not care for Lamb's essays because they had no subject matter and taught him nothing! John Forster has, however, contended that there is scarcely a sentence written by Lamb which cannot be proved to be crammed with thought. And the reader who is not amazingly obtuse will find that the essays have, at least, one common subject about which he will learn a great deal and never enough, that subject being the personality of the author, of whom Coleridge, who knew him almost as well as he knew Coleridge, declared, 'Charles Lamb has more totality and individuality of character than any other man I know, and have ever known in all my life.'

It is largely because of this personal element in Lamb that he so completely wins our regard. Even Macaulay, who was hardly a kindred spirit, declared that we cherish Lamb's memory as if we had known him personally. And Mr. Swinburne, in a noble appreciation, has asserted that no good criticism of Lamb, strictly speaking, can ever be written because nobody can do justice to his work who does not love it too well to feel himself capable of giving judgement on it. Without this personal regard for Lamb we can never understand him. He must have some inner chamber of our heart—small though it may be—on whose door shall be inscribed, 'Sacred to Charles Lamb.' We will not, indeed, dispute the statement that he is worthy of all the room that we can make for him, even at the cost of some demolitions, expansions, and rebuildings.

It may be, however, that above all we have this personal affection for Lamb because in a way altogether his own he seems to show a regard for us individually. In a letter to his publisher concerning the first series of *Elia*, he asks, 'on better consideration,' that his suggested dedication shall be omitted—'The Essays want no Preface; they are *all* Preface. A Preface is nothing but a talk with the reader; and they do nothing else.' Ruskin once said



enthusiastically to a friend—I capture the fugitive appreciation because, so far as I know, it has escaped every biographer of Ruskin or Lamb—‘Lamb was the only writer in the world’s history who had a human soul within his breast that cared for *me* and *you*.’ From Mr. Arthur Symonds, one of the subtlest analysts of Lamb’s genius, comes an echo of this rapture: ‘Kindness, in him (Lamb), embraces mankind, not with the wide engulfing arms of philanthropy, but with an individual caress.’ Barron Field, in his article on Lamb in the *Annual Biography* for 1836, makes an interesting point in remarking that the stories and characters of all Lamb’s plays, poems, and essays, turn upon some weakness of humanity with which he had a lively sympathy and towards which he extended a large charity.

When Thackeray read a letter with some exquisite fooling from Lamb to Bernard Barton—a letter now happily preserved in the British Museum—and came to the pretty postscript to Barton’s daughter, laboriously written, with two lines of verse in alternate red and black inks, the patient care with which Lamb had set himself to amuse a child called up a vision of his whole gentle life—to use an epithet Lamb himself rejected—and stirred a kindred spirit to an act of unpremeditated homage. ‘Saint Charles,’ exclaimed the great novelist, as he pressed the letter to his forehead. That, perhaps, will be the ultimate judgment of Lamb’s life; and though Thackeray’s sudden impulse may not be ours when we have read Mr. Lucas’s pages, yet when we have duly considered Charles Lamb, with the pathos, tragedy, and heroism of his life, as well as its faults and failings, we can say but little less. Such lives ‘irradiate,’ as Coleridge wisely says of him. When we think of the record of his life:—the early shadow of insanity that threatened his own career; the horror that followed when the unhappy sister slew the mother to save whom she seemed to have sacrificed her reason; the unwearied patience of the love and the trembling tenderness of the devotion that ensued, with the one

cry of anguish that broke his serene melancholy (in a letter to Coleridge nearly four years after the tragedy), 'My heart is quite sunk and I don't know where to look for relief. . . We are in a manner *marked* . . . I am completely shipwrecked. . . My head is quite bad. I almost wish that Mary were dead'; the brave declaration, 'I am wedded to the fortunes of my sister and my poor old father'—one, in his own terrible words, 'perpetually on the brink of madness,' the other a palsied dotard claiming his brilliant son, evening after evening, for repeated games of cribbage; the backward longing for the days 'of a mother's fondness for her school-boy'; the elder brother, in the sad irony of the *Elia* essay, *My Relations*, always 'marching in a quite opposite direction, with a jolly handsome presence and shining sanguine face . . . chanting a tune,' while Charles proceeded in his own 'opposite direction tuneless'; the determination that he and Mary should take what snatches of pleasure they could 'between the acts,' though even in holiday time the ominous strait waistcoat lay ready in their trunk; the continual watching for signs of aberration in the smitten one, for whose sake alone he gave up at the last what he then called 'the pompous troublesome trifle called housekeeping'—but which always meant much to one of his peculiar disposition—and of whom he could say at the end, 'When she is not violent, her rambling chat is better to me than the sense and sanity of this world'; and the endurance of an oft-repeated test, and the tragic horror, not only of memory but of fear, which underlay his life. As we think of all this and more—even as we think only of that picture of the brother and sister stealing along bypaths to the asylum and weeping, both of them, when the midnight shadows were deepening over Mary's mind, or that other picture of the brother bringing his sister back to the pleasant haunts of men when once more the shadows had lifted—and how, notwithstanding all, he was always winning his way with sad yet patient soul, if we do not say, with Thackeray, 'Saint Charles,' we do hold him in abid-

ing honour and affection, and our heart responds without hesitation to Wordsworth's touching eulogy—in his epitaph on Lamb—'O, he was good, if e'er a good Man lived!' Surely, nowhere in the history of letters is there a spectacle quite like that of Charles Lamb—we remember, however, his words, used in quite another connexion, 'There are ~~only~~ few heroic things in this world to admit of our marshalling them in anxious etiquettes of precedence'—and the fact of his devotion is a permanent possession for us all.

'If the balance has been against her hitherto,' Lamb once wrote to Miss Wordsworth concerning his sister, 'it was a noble trade.' What a characteristic expression is that! And though we may find him also saying of her, 'In the days of weakly infancy I was her tender charge as I have been her care in foolish manhood since,' and again (she was 'from home' at this time), 'All my wretched imperfections I cover to myself by resolutely thinking on her goodness. She would share life and death, heaven and hell with me. She lives but for me'; though we may remember that she was a woman of rare and beautiful gifts and character, to whom men like Coleridge, and Hazlitt, and Landor, paid high tribute; though in his touching sonnet to his sister he refers to himself as one who repays

But ill the mighty debt of love I owe,  
Mary, to thee, my sister and my friend;

though we may consider that the tragedy of his mother's death at his sister's hand rallied his stronger qualities, that possibly his very unselfishness kept him sane, and that without the aid his sister gave and from her very weakness required from him he might never have risen above himself and shown courage and unselfishness rarely paralleled; our admiration for his virtues is not thereby in one respect lessened or qualified. Does not the duty to which he surrendered himself explain, in some degree at least, his want at times of so-called serious thought? May he not have taken refuge in trifles seriously? Leigh

Hunt says wisely, 'Lamb's was a levity that relieved the gravity of his thoughts and kept them from falling too heavily earthwards.' He may have had a praiseworthy purpose even in playing the fool.

There is no necessity that any restatement should here be given, even in the concise chronological form adopted by Edward FitzGerald, of the principal events in Charles Lamb's life; reference may yet, however, be made to some of the influences affecting it. The importance of Lamb's love for London can hardly be over-estimated. There may be a little nonsense in his seeming depreciation of natural scenery, as when he declares that on ascending Skiddaw he found he was composing his mind and staying his heart on a famous ham and beef shop he knew of in St. Martin's Lane. Undoubtedly his soul made appreciative response to the message of the mountains even when he first saw them in the dusk—on his visit to Coleridge at Keswick—'great floundering bears and monsters they seem, all couchant and asleep. . . Such an impression I never received from objects of sight before, nor do I suppose that I can ever again'; and perhaps he discovered, with his friend Leigh Hunt, that there was not a single street in the city from which he could not see a tree. But 'The earth, and sea, and sky (when all is said)'—so he declared—'is but as a house to dwell in.' And as to his passionate love for London there can be no question. He may have loved 'unspeakable rural solitudes,' but how much more did he love 'the sweet serenity of streets'! Of all the sons of the great London mother Charles Lamb was the most devoted. We know that he wrote of 'the hot muddle of rational creatures,' but yet to him 'no sound was dissonant which told of life,' and palpitating human life ever gained his quickest sympathy—'a mob of men is better than a flock of sheep.'

In the city were the Temple and Christ's Hospital, which had impressed his mind and heart in a manner hardly to be believed. Talfourd well says, 'He clung to the realities of life, to things nearest to him which the

force of habit had made dear. The tendency of his mind to detect the beautiful and good in surrounding things, to nestle rather than to roam, was cherished by all the circumstances of his boyish days.' In the city, as Lamb says to Manning, were the 'old bookstalls, "Jeremy Taylors," "Burtons on Melancholy," and "Religio Medicis," on every stall.' And though at times he may have found himself too much 'accompanied'—as when he wrote to Barton, 'Whither can I take wing from the oppression of human faces?'—yet apart from human faces the finest scenery failed to satisfy his sense of beauty. 'The wonder of these sights,' he says to Wordsworth, 'impels me into night walks about her crowded streets, and I often shed tears in the motley Strand from fullness of joy at so much life.' 'I have lent out my heart with usury to such scenes from my childhood up,' he says to Robert Lloyd, 'and have cried with fullness of joy at the multitudinous scenes of Life in the crowded streets of ever dear London.' Here, surely, we have the supreme poet of London! Writing about the same time to his friend Manning he declares that London is more enchanting than Mahometan paradise, 'London, whose dirtiest drab-frequented alley, and her lowest bowing tradesman, I would not exchange for Skiddaw, Helvellyn, James, Walter, and the parson into the bargain. O her lamps of a night! her rich goldsmiths, print-shops, toy-shops, mercers, hardwaremen, pastry-cooks, St. Paul's Churchyard, the Strand, Exeter Change, Charing Cross, with the man *upon* a black horse! . . . Had you not better come and set up here? . . . All the streets and pavements are pure gold, I warrant you. At least, I know an alchemy that turns her mud into that metal—a mind that loves to be at home in crowds.' London is always pre-eminent with him. Even when writing to Wordsworth about *The Excursion*, just sent him, London must be defended: 'There is a great deal of noble matter about mountain scenery, yet not so much as to overpower and discountenance a poor Londoner or south-countryman entirely,

though Mary seems to have felt it occasionally a little too powerfully, for it was her remark during reading it that by your system it was doubtful whether a liver in towns had a soul to be saved. She almost trembled for that invisible part of us in her.' When at Enfield he resolves to give up housekeeping and take lodgings next door, he speaks of being 'forty-two inches nearer town'; and in writing his last letter to Manning he observes, 'I walk nine or ten miles a day, always up the road, dear Londonwards. The Ware road is cheerful and almost as good as a street.'

Petrarch delighted in the country within reach of the town; but even at Enfield, that 'little teasing image of a town,' Lamb felt it sorely hard that his solitude was not relieved by the sights and sounds of his own dear London. 'O never let the lying poets be believed,' he writes to Wordsworth, 'who 'tice men from the cheerful haunts of streets. . . A garden was the primitive prison, till man, with Promethean felicity and boldness, luckily sinned himself out of it. Then followed Babylon, Nineveh, Venice, London, haberdashers, goldsmiths, taverns, play-houses, satires, epigrams, puns—these all came in on the town part and the thither side of innocence.' He 'frets like a lion in a net' for the 'dear London weariness,' and he might take his rest 'but that back-looking ambition tells me I might yet be a Londoner.' In the same letter to Wordsworth he declares, 'I would live in London shirtless, bookless.' A fortnight after, he thus writes to Barton, 'Give me old London at Fire and Plague times, rather than these tepid gales, healthy country air, and purposeless exercise.' And about a year before his death he refers once again to London in a letter to Wordsworth: 'London streets and faces cheer me inexpressibly, though not one known of the latter were remaining.' It is undoubtedly true that Charles Lamb was a Londoner: the Londoner of all Londoners that ever lived.

Lengthy reference has thus been made to Lamb's love for London because he cannot be understood if this love

is forgotten. 'I am a Christian, Englishman, Londoner, Templar,' are his words to Southey. Moreover, the extracts given bear the very autograph of Lamb and should make the reader quick to discern the quaint cunning turn of sentence which seems to be his peculiar possession. It may also be conjectured that Lamb's love for London was fostered by the fact that, like other sensitive natures, he knew what a perfect place for any wretchedness is a great city. 'Rome,' said Nathaniel Hawthorne, 'is not like one of our New England villages, where we need the permission of each individual neighbour for every act that we do, every word that we utter, and every friend that we make or keep.'

One, at least, of the foregoing extracts may incite in some minds the old suspicion that Charles Lamb was profane. It is to be hoped, however, that the last has been heard of such a suspicion. That Lamb was Coleridge's dearest friend—'dear to my heart, yea, as it were my heart,' wrote Coleridge from his own death-bed—should be sufficient reason for its complete removal. There was in him throughout a deep and true religiousness. As a young man he writes to his friend, Robert Lloyd, in a memorable letter, 'Friends fall off, friends mistake us, they change, they grow unlike us, they go away, they die; but God is everlasting and incapable of change, and to Him we may look with cheerful, unpresumptuous hope, while we discharge the duties of life in situations more untowardly than yours. You complain of the impossibility of improving yourself, but be assured that the opportunity of improvement lies more in the mind than the situation. Humble yourself before God, cast out the selfish principle, wait in patience, do good in every way you can to all sorts of people, never be easy to neglect a duty tho' a small one, praise God for all, and see His hand in all things, and He will in time raise you up *many friends*—or be Himself instead an unchanging friend.' With his oft-recurring and pathetic humility he writes to Coleridge of his own 'improvable portion of devotional

feelings, though when I view myself in the light of divine truth, and not according to the common measures of human judgement, I am altogether corrupt and sinful. This is no cant. I am very sincere.' And to the same supreme friend he also says, 'In my poor mind 'tis best for us to consider God as our Heavenly Father and our best friend without indulging too bold conceptions of His nature. Let us rejoice in the name of dear children, brethren, and co-heirs with Christ of the promises, seeking to know no further.'

Had the space been at my disposal much of interest might have been said concerning Lamb's well-loved books—his 'midnight darlings.' His bookish tastes were almost solely of the past. Chaucer, Milton, Spenser, Bacon, Burton, Jonson, Drayton, Cowley, Drummond, Beaumont and Fletcher, Philip Sidney, Chapman, Donne, Sir Thomas Browne, Jeremy Taylor, Fuller, Montaigne, Feltham, and Margaret of Newcastle were all amongst his 'ragged regiment.' Much more of interest might have been said of his friendships—especially that with Coleridge, 'my fifty-year-old friend without a dissension'—the story of which has a fascination in every line.

'Lamb, I believe, began to die on July 25,' are Mr. Lucas's expressive words. That was the date of Coleridge's death (1834). 'My head ran on you in my madness,' said Lamb to Coleridge forty years before. And now Lamb's sad refrain was 'Coleridge is dead, Coleridge is dead.' Five months after Coleridge's 'hunger for eternity,' of which Lamb wrote, had been satisfied, Lamb, of whom Coleridge had spoken as one 'hovering between heaven and earth, neither hoping much nor fearing anything,' passed quietly 'into that still country, where the hail-storms and the fire-showers do not reach, and the heaviest-laden wayfarer at length lays down his load.' The murmured names of friends were the last words that fell from his lips.

The best monograph on Lamb is still that by Canon



Ainger (whose real and necessary sympathy with his congenial subject is not to be questioned) in the *English Men of Letters*, and the *Eversley* edition of Lamb's writings cannot yet be superseded. Mr. E. V. Lucas's exhaustive edition and biography (Methuen) win our sincere thankfulness and admiration, even though the edition may not be final and the *Life* may not be ideal. When Mr. Lucas's *Little Library* edition of *Elia* appeared about four years ago, the notes contained such blunders that readers who *knew* anticipated with grave misgiving the fulfilment of his greater task. But while in his later achievement there are errors<sup>1</sup> and omissions, his method and its results are alike to be almost unreservedly commended. Throughout the *Life* there has been unfailing use—adequate and systematic—of Lamb's letters and essays, and, also, of his contemporaries' recollections. Mr. William Macdonald's charming edition (Dent) has unique characteristics and striking excellences. A most useful edition, with introductions and notes, of the *Elia* essays is to be found in Macmillan's *English Classics*; and Mr. Walter Jerrold has lately written, in miniature, an excellent life and critique (Bell). Even now, however, we should welcome an edition amply annotated, and with a life, by the accomplished pen of Mr. Thomas Hutchinson. But if only the biographer and editor should arise in whom would be centred the special abilities and various knowledge of Canon Ainger, Mr. William Macdonald, Mr. E. V. Lucas, Mr. Thomas Hutchinson, Mr. W. C. Hazlitt, and Mr. John Rogers, with an amalgam of Mr. Walter Pater and Mr. Arthur Symonds, what an unspeakable gift to the lovers of *Elia* such a man would undoubtedly be!

R. WILKINS REES.

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<sup>1</sup> Two extraordinary blunders may be instanced. Mr. Lucas refers to Dr. Parr as 'a sturdy old Tory'! He might, at least, have remembered De Quincey's *Whiggism in its Relations to Literature*. Reference is also made to Sara Coleridge's *Phantasmagoria*. Surely Mr. Lucas must have forgotten what Sara Coleridge's *Phantasmion* is about. There was a book by Lewis Carroll called *Phantasmagoria*, but that was a book of poems.

## ETHIOPIANISM: A MENACE OF SOUTH AFRICAN MISSIONS

**T**HE literature of Ethiopianism has yet to be created, as its history still remains to be written. At the very threshold of our discussion we are met by a difficulty, of definition. Sometimes the term Ethiopianism is used to describe a certain spirit and temper, at other times it denotes a tendency; but strictly speaking it should be used to indicate those bodies of native Christians which have broken away from the organized Churches.

Exaggerated and alarmist positions have been taken up in regard to this development in the centre of South African Christianity; and on the other hand there has been a disposition in some quarters to underestimate the real force and effects of this new influence that has been brought to bear upon mission work and mission Churches in this country. On almost every side there has been a lack of careful inquiry, exact statement, sympathetic and yet fearless exposition of the origin and meaning of this latest instance of the separatist spirit. This has arisen to a large extent from the absence of reliable data as to the teaching and ultimate objects of those who have led this propaganda; but the facts are being slowly collected, the inner intention of the movement is being laid bare, and the time is rapidly coming when we shall be able to decide what is the precise character and extent of the danger that lurks in these independent bodies. We shall also be able to determine accurately the true genesis and real aim of this movement, and to say how far it is due to a genuine national uprising, how far it is a mere wayward desire for a premature independence, and how far it is touched and vitiated by false and mischievous political ideals. As these results are attained the duty of the Church will become

increasingly clear, and the correct attitude for the State to assume towards Ethiopianism will be easily defined; but for the present the greatest possible care is needed in both departments.

The origin of the movement is quite recent, and the main outward facts connected with its development can be fully and clearly stated. In the year 1892 the Rev. Mangena Mokoni, a native minister of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in the Transvaal, resigned his position and proceeded to establish an independent Church. The reasons for Mokoni's resignation are embodied in a document that now lies before us and it is easy to see that they all spring from considerations connected with his position and status as a native minister. That is to say they were personal reasons. Hence the body that he founded bore a very close resemblance to the Church that he had left; indeed in doctrine and in discipline it was professedly the same, and the chief peculiarities of Methodist work and worship were simply transferred without material modification. The great distinction of the newly constituted body lay in the fact that it was organized on racial lines—it was to be wholly African, composed of Africans and controlled by Africans. No secret was made of the fact that this was the special glory of the new order, and it was openly boasted that the native had found his complete emancipation from European interference in the Church. It is freely alleged that he was promised early emancipation from the same interference in the State. But on such a point it is obviously difficult to collect reliable information. The South African native appears sometimes to be as simple as a child, but this simplicity is conditioned by a wonderful power of secretiveness, and this makes it almost impossible to get a clear and authentic account of the programme laid down, or of the esoteric doctrines that were actually taught.

Two years later a similar occurrence took place in Cape Colony, and again the prime mover was a native minister of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Rev. James M. Dwane left the ministry of the South African Conference,

and is said to have drawn a large following of church members after him. Some time after his secession Dwane went to America and was received with great cordiality by the African Methodist Episcopal Church in that country. We have no means of ascertaining the exact nature of the report laid before the authorities of that Church, but Dwane came back to South Africa clothed with all the powers of a general superintendent. He seems to have set to work with great earnestness to draw into the African Methodist Church those whom he had led out of his original fold. A year later Bishop H. M. Turner, himself a full-blooded negro, visited South Africa and made a sort of triumphal progress through the country. It was claimed at the time that in six weeks he had ordained sixty ministers and deacons and received numberless congregations into the fellowship of the Church which he represented. It was not denied that these congregations were made up of those who had been won from the misery and nameless degradations of heathenism by the older Churches. A year later Dwane made a somewhat startling move, and we find him in negotiation with the Anglican Archbishop, by whom he was confirmed in the cathedral church at Grahamstown on August 26, 1900. Immediately after this the whole plan was unfolded to a wondering public. An attempt was made to transform the Ethiopian Church into the *Order of Ethiopia*, having a corporate existence within the pale of the Anglican communion. Dwane was installed as the first Provincial of the new Order, which was to be governed by a Chapter, the Chapter itself being under the jurisdiction of the Provincial Synod. The action of the Anglican authorities was much criticized then and since, and the Order does not appear to have made any deep impression upon the native imagination. In accepting the position of Provincial of an Ethiopian Order under white jurisdiction Dwane had surrendered the very principle of the whole movement, and is not much heard of afterwards.

During this time a still more remarkable development

was taking place in Natal. A Mr. Joseph Booth, a missionary who had formerly laboured in Central Africa, came forward with a scheme for establishing an African Christian Union. This was not to be a Church so much as a sort of philanthropic joint stock company for the exploitation of the whole country. His prospectus is sufficiently startling, and might have come from the pen of Dowie. It was estimated that if only one-sixth of the civilized blacks of Africa and America would subscribe one penny a day the sum of £3,000,000 would be annually available. Railways were to be bought up. African ships were to sail over every sea, African manufactures to supply every market. Vast plantations of coffee and sugar were to be managed by Africans for Africans. Ocean-going steamers, mission stations, schools, colleges, mines, and farms were all to come under the same control. *Africa for the Africans* was the heading of the appeal. The one illustrious exception to the universal rule was to be Mr. Joseph Booth himself. We read of an all-night meeting in Durban, when to over one hundred educated natives this visionary, or adventurer, expounded his scheme. Through the long night they listened patiently, but as day broke they took to plain speaking and proceeded to apply Mr. Booth's own principle. They pointed out that he must at once retire from the concern, or the whole case was given away. At dawn Mr. Booth lost his temper, and his audience melted away very quietly. Booth himself is believed to have retired to America, but a new restlessness had been imparted to the native mind.

And so the Ethiopian crusade has undoubtedly threatened and injured the missionary work of all the Churches during the last decade. The Wesleyan Methodist Church, having a more extensive frontier than most, has suffered somewhat severely. Men like the late Dr. Stewart of Lovedale, Moderator of the Free Church of Scotland and Duff Lecturer, a life-long missionary and a noble benefactor of the African native, have been sorely distressed by the spirit and results of this up-rising. It was our privi-

lege to meet that fine old missionary hero François Coillard as he set out for his last long trek to the Zambesi and beyond. To meet the man was to respect him; to know him was to love him; even to read an account of his work, apart from the influence of a vivid personality, was to be filled with admiration. Only a few weeks before he died on one of the outposts of our Lord's great empire he sadly wrote :

' . . . Our field of labour has been lately invaded by the Ethiopians . . . thus the work of twenty years in one of the hardest parts of the field is threatened with destruction. There *shall* be a reaction one day, although I may not live to see it, but at present the situation and prospects are most gloomy.'

Such is the last and bitterest trial of a good man who loves his fellows. So the dying saint in distant Barotse-land drank of His cup who died for the men that killed Him.

The danger of Ethiopianism lies largely in the effect it is likely to have upon the administration of discipline in the churches that are exposed to its influence. Having regard to the antecedents and tendencies of the members of our native churches, the exercise of a strict and godly discipline is for them a matter of life and death. All the future seems to depend upon this. The separate acts of discipline are so many concrete expositions of the Christian ethic, and these acts appeal to the native mind far more powerfully than any formal or dogmatic enforcement could do. But the moral sanctions of the law are greatly weakened when the Ethiopian minister stands with open arms to receive the worst offender. And it very often happens that this offender is at once placed in a position of prominence and honour. It was this aspect of the ordinations of Bishop Turner that made his hasty action so much deplored.

It is difficult, we might say impossible, to gauge the present position and the future prospects of Ethiopianism; but we think it is abundantly evident that at the moment

there is a decided reaction. Financial embarrassments have told heavily upon the enterprise. Churches, built without reason and without money, have been seized and sold by the contractors. Large numbers have come back to the churches that they left, and have come back in a chastened spirit, thankfully taking the lowest place where once they took a higher. The native leaders, unsteadied by responsibility, are charged with lording it over their own brethren. In other cases the people are beginning to see that the promises so loudly made are not being carried out, and that they cannot be fulfilled by those who made them.

The comparative failure of Ethiopianism can be accounted for. When Christian charity has brought down the indictment of this spirit to the mildest terms possible the following counts remain. Ethiopianism, even at its best, appears to lack an adequate sense of responsibility. It has been wisely and truthfully said that the whole tendency of the movement is to grasp at larger privileges without paying any heed to those duties which lie close by. It must also be said that Ethiopianism seems utterly to lack the true missionary spirit. It gathers its crowds of proselytes and is content. A still more serious fact is that the tendency has ever seemed to be towards laxity in morals. The feverish eagerness to obtain adherents has induced an almost total disregard of those conditions and safeguards that usually regulate admission to the Church. We cannot say what an access of fresh motive or of more effective leadership might do; but under present conditions we do not anticipate for the movement any great future. The necessary leadership is not likely to be accepted from the American side, as there is little or no affinity between the proud Bantu people and the American negro. On the other hand it is doubtful whether tribal and racial jealousies in this country will permit of anything like a really national combination. No one imagines that such a growth will die a natural death, but the present indications point to further division and sub-division of these

dissident fragments, the whole constituency being reinforced by malcontents from the larger bodies.

In dealing with the facts and spirit of Ethiopianism we shall need patience and wisdom and restraint in a very large degree. Nothing must be done under the influence of panic. Smarting under a sense of ingratitude and nervously anxious as to the future, a few have gone so far as to advocate intervention on the part of the civil authority. If the propaganda be seditious we may trust the civil authority to vindicate itself. We believe that two or three Ethiopian preachers have been proceeded against and convicted of sedition. And that is well. The Christian is nothing if not loyal to the powers that are ordained for government. But no man must be persecuted for mere opinion, however foolish and hurtful to his best interests that opinion may be.

Negatively the Government has discouraged Ethiopianism in two ways, both of which seem legitimate. It has refused to appoint Ethiopian ministers as marriage officers, and it has refused to give grants to day schools under Ethiopian control. This action is amply justified by the low standard of education reached by the ministers; by the inefficiency and instability of the day schools; and by the lack of men amongst them of financial standing and responsibility. But further than this the Government cannot safely go.

Another danger will present itself and must be carefully avoided. In our dislike of Ethiopianism and utter distrust of its methods, we must not be drawn into an alliance with those who are the traditional and consistent enemies of the native. The follies and excesses connected with this episode in the development of races climbing from low levels of ignorance must not be allowed to turn us aside from the steady pursuit of those great ends which the Church of God must ever seek, even in the face of ingratitude and misunderstanding and inappreciation.

What is our duty at such a time? Let us state once more the great object for which every mission is working.



Surely that object is the establishment of a self-supporting and self-governing native Church. That is our aim, and we must not allow any passing circumstances to deflect it. The goal is not changed by recent events, though very likely it may be pushed a little further into the future.

Nor must we listen to any unjust and unwarranted attacks upon the native ministry. Some missions have steadily discouraged the training and ordination of a native ministry, and it needs great humility and restraint on their part not to remind us of some of their early and late prophecies. We imagine, however, that those who have always advocated the edification and extension of the native Church by a native ministry will not be easily moved from the position which they took up on conviction and after mature consideration of the whole subject. For our part we steadfastly refuse to believe that the gospel can be faithfully preached to any community without awakening in some heart the sense of the noblest of all vocations. It is surely quite incredible that the Holy Spirit, working according to His own will, convicting, enlightening, and sanctifying, can so operate without sounding in some responsive soul the call to the ministry of the Church.

On the whole there is no room for anything like deep discouragement. During the decade of Ethiopian activity the membership of the native Church under the South African Conference has nearly doubled, while the native membership in the area still under the jurisdiction of the Home Committee has more than trebled during the same period. Though there be strife and the clash of arms, the Kingdom comes; though the line of battle may waver here and there, the final issue is never placed in doubt.

Great questions will emerge as the years go by, questions which will tax to the uttermost the statesmanship of those who will have to face them. Ethiopianism gives a clue to the character of the problems that will arise, which may be such as these: the relation of the European Church to the native, the extent to which administration must be influenced by racial and local peculiarities, the precise connexion between self-support and self-government, the

discovery of a sufficiently strong bond of union when financial obligation ceases. Substitute the word Colony for Church, and the problems of the British Empire are the problems of the Methodist Church.

The discussion and solution of these problems will sooner or later raise the question whether in all the circumstances of South Africa, with its various races and enormous territories, the episcopal form of Methodism would not be more effective than the Presbyterian; and whether in the last resort the bishop, elected for a term of years and not for life, itinerating and not diocesan, would not be the most natural and satisfactory nexus between the supreme ecclesiastical court and synods and conferences. Such synods and conferences may have to be organized with lingual or racial, rather than geographical, boundaries.

Meanwhile let the friends of missions in South Africa be reassured. Every week that passes sees the baptism of hundreds upon hundreds of Africa's sons and daughters. These people do not at one step pass into the possession of all the high graces of the Christian character; but every man received into the Church of Christ reduces the probability of that great native rising, which like a spectre haunts the imagination of many. Some even now fear that the civilization of this sub-continent may yet be drowned in a sea of blood. Such a dread contingency is of all things most unlikely now; but if Christian missions are prosecuted with adequate zeal and support for twenty-five years longer, it will be as impossible here as in England or America. It means more than we think that the missionary came to Africa a hundred years before the revolt of the native mind, even in the mild form of Ethiopianism, was possible. Not long ago it was stated in the German Reichstag by a high Minister of the Crown that the white residents who escaped the massacres in Damara-land were saved by native Christians. Let the reader expound for himself the full significance of that official remark.

AMOS BURNET.

## Notes and Discussions

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### SIR OLIVER LODGE ON THE DIVINE ELEMENT IN CHRISTIANITY

**T**WO or three of the most notable pages that have appeared in the periodicals for many months are to be found in the *Hibbert Journal* for April last. Sir Oliver Lodge has for some time been 'mediating' between science and religion. In no mere trimming or compromising fashion, however; but to use his own words, his desire has been 'to go out as far as possible to meet theologians on their approach to the camp of science; for it is generally far more useful to discover points of possible agreement than to emphasize points of difference.' In that spirit theologians also should think and act, and Sir Oliver generously recognizes that leading men amongst orthodox Christians have set a good example in the matter.

Part of the article in question is occupied with a plea that inasmuch as some elements in current Christianity (1) are not well evidenced historically, and (2) are not 'edifying to people at any reasonable intellectual level,' nor (3) helpful to higher spiritual aspiration, they should be discarded. He urges that the real essence of the Christian religion needs to be more clearly understood, and that it ought to be separated from its adjuncts and excrescences. Six varieties of Christianity are named, sufficiently differing from one another, and some of the chief and unquestioned sayings of Jesus are selected as typical of His spirit and characteristic of the religion which He has founded in the earth. The 'worship of God as spirit and the service of man as a brother are undoubted and emphatic constituents—the warp and the woof, as it were, of the pure Christian faith.'

Thus far, however, there is nothing unusual in the line of comment adopted. Many writers, before and after Dr. E. A. Abbott, have tried in their several ways to separate 'the kernel

and the husk,' and the elements above cited, as Sir Oliver Lodge is acute enough to see, do not really bring us to the heart of the Christian religion. The last section of the paper is headed 'Ecce Deus, or the Essential Element in Christianity,' and its closing pages constitute a very striking testimony, as coming from a leading representative of modern physical science and its methods. 'The divinity of Jesus is the truth which now requires to be re-perceived, to be illumined afresh by new knowledge,' we read. True, Dr. Lodge does not mean by the phrase precisely what Athanasius meant, nor what the modern orthodox theologian means by the phrase. But all the more there may be something for the orthodox theologian to learn from Sir Oliver's exposition, and it is surely well to seek for points of contact rather than points of difference when such a man speaks on such a subject. His words glow with deep feeling as he points out what is the true Christian idea of God, not a Being outside the universe, 'solely exalted, beneficent, self-determined and complete; no, it is also that of a God who loves and yearns and suffers.' He adds, 'It is a marvellous and bewildering thought, but whatever be its value, and whether it be an ultimate revelation or not, it is the revelation of Christ.' Deep spiritual insight belongs to the man, whether theologian or *savant*, who can go on to say—'This is the truth which has been reverberating down the ages ever since; it has been the hidden inspiration of saint, apostle, prophet, martyr, and, in however dim and vague a form, has given hope and consolation to the unlettered and poverty-stricken millions:—A God that could understand, that could suffer, that could sympathize, that had felt the extremity of human anguish, the agony of bereavement, had submitted even to the brutal, hopeless torture of the innocent, and had become acquainted with the pangs of death—this has been the chief consolation of the Christian religion.'

There are many points in this most interesting paper that we could criticize, especially those in which the writer speaks of the 'un-uniqueness of the humanity of Christ,' and of the 'Divinity of Jesus and of all other noble and saintly souls, in so far as they too have been inflamed by a spark of Deity.' There are many more with which we only partially agree, or which we could wish had been differently expressed—that is only to say that the writer's standpoint is not ours. All these we gladly leave for the moment on one side, to draw attention to the exposition from a man of great scientific

eminence of the central Christian truth of the Divinity of Christ, 'so simple and consoling in one of its aspects, so inconceivable and incredible in another.' Sir Oliver Lodge thinks that even as yet it is only dimly and partially seen even by Christians, but 'in the life-blood of Christianity this is the most vital element.' Is it too much to hope that along the lines thus traced out science and Christian faith may come to understand one another better?

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## DOES MODERN CHRISTIANITY LACK INTENSITY?

ONE of the most popular religious essayists in Germany—Prof. Dr. Hilty—complains, in a recently published series of letters (*Neue Briefe*), that to-day the average Christian lacks intensity. In the conflict with materialism the supreme need is held to be not a more comprehensive creed, but a more complete possession of the spirit of Christianity. The strictures of Dr. Hilty deserve consideration; for although at times his condemnations are too general, they are not uttered in unfriendly tones.

Many Christians, it is urged, have not a sufficiently spiritual ideal of life; they are too dependent for happiness on materialistic sources. The cause of their unhappiness, and the reason why their religion is unattractive, is that they have never really gained the victory over self. There is an infallible criterion by which genuine, living faith may always be distinguished from its counterfeits—'the increase or the decrease of egoism is in exact proportion to the increase or decrease of true faith.' A theological student is reminded that the first qualification for the ministry is self-renewal; for the masses who oscillate between the extremes of materialism and superstition, he alone has an effectual message who has himself had experience of the power of God's grace. In the teacher and preacher personality is the most important factor; the spiritual growth of the inward man will unconsciously mould thought and shape language. Emerson truly says, 'That which we are we shall teach, not voluntarily, but involuntarily.'

A recurring thought in these letters is the simplicity of true religion. 'A time is coming in which everything complex and

superfine in philosophy, history, politics, and above all in religion and in the Church, will be obnoxious to mankind; they will seek for something simple, and yet sufficient to lighten the heavy burden of existence.' The young minister, it is true, must be able to give an intelligent reason for his attitude towards philosophical and religious questions which are prominent in modern thought; he must know why neither materialism nor pantheism can satisfy the human spirit's hunger for happiness. But after all, his main business is to direct restless seekers after rest into ways of peace and joy. He must, therefore, himself have learnt the secret of true happiness; it is simple; it consists in 'the nearness of God and in work.'

The simplicity for which Dr. Hilty contends is not to be secured by sacrificing essentials. He plainly says, 'Without the resurrection of Christ there would have been no Christianity.' Belief or disbelief in the resurrection of Christ marks, in his judgement, the parting of the ways. For if Jesus rose from the dead, He was 'no ordinary man,' and in His teaching we have not merely the sayings of a great teacher, but the words of a Redeemer. The Gospels clearly reflect the spirit of Christ; after the spirit all may know Christ. To possess His spirit and ever more ardently to desire likeness to Him is to be an intense Christian. The christianizing of the world depends upon the number of intense Christians that are found in it. To some busy, not to say fussy, Christian workers, Dr. Hilty's advice is, 'Rather seek to become daily a more intense Christian yourself. There is no need to command a light to shine; darkness, which will test its illuminating power, is never far to seek.' Intense Christians are happy Christians, and the need of our times is 'joyful Christians who are manifestly happy in an assured faith, who possess the powers of the world to come, and are therefore not only themselves lifted above difficulties and opposition, but are able to impart this power unto others.'

J. G. TASKER.

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## A CRITICISM AND AN EXPERIMENT IN HYMNOLOGY

IN a recent article in the *London Quarterly Review* (January 1906) I had occasion to refer to Bernard of Cluni's poem, *De Contemptu Mundi*, from which the lines translated by Dr.

Neale in the hymn 'Jerusalem the golden' are taken. I had not then noticed that in the version given in the new *Methodist Hymn-Book* an extraordinary and regrettable variation is introduced in the lines, which in the old book ran as follows—

I know not, O I know not,  
What *social* joys are there.

This is an exact rendering of the bold and vigorous original *Quam socialia grandia*; but in the new book the lines are—

I know not, O I know not,  
What joys await us there.

An unhappy and lifeless rendering in comparison with the familiar one of the older hymn-book! It would be interesting to learn on what grounds a translation so true to the original, and above all so expressive of the genius of Methodism, should have been eliminated from these lines. The epithet *social* is one that must have deeply affected many lonely souls in all generations—not merely the monastic saint withdrawn from the simple and natural joys of human intercourse, but others of a later age, in whose lives the wistful yearning for human sympathy and mutual understanding could never be truly realized. It is earnestly to be hoped that 'social joys' will re-appear in future editions of the hymn-book.

The festival of Whitsuntide is an annual reminder of the rich treasure which the Christian Church possesses in its hymns on the Holy Spirit. How noble the succession of lyrics inaugurated by that sublime original song, the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, the archetype and primal inspiration of all others! It struck the authentic note, true alike to Scripture and experience, which has sounded over and over again in the praises of the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity. We have been living since the day of Pentecost in the era of the Holy Spirit—a fact not without significance and even condemnation to all who realize that in their thought and worship the Holy Spirit is only occasionally and perhaps perfunctorily honoured. The defects of our thinking and practice in this matter are, however, constantly brought home to us by the hymnology of the Christian Church, which thus renders a valuable service to Christian experience and doctrine. Most ministers have already discovered that in congregational worship the praises of the Holy Spirit awaken the tenderest and most spiritual emotions, and often exercise a thrilling influence upon the tone and atmosphere of the service,

Perhaps two of the most popular hymns in the new book (happily both set to exquisite tunes) are hymns on the Holy Spirit. I refer to No. 243, 'O Breath of God, breathe on us now,' by the Rev. A. H. Vine, and No. 244, 'Breathe on me, Breath of God,' by the late Dr. Edwin Hatch. Both are charming alike in expression and in spirit, and are models of modern hymn-writing, striking the chords of confession, aspiration, and adoration. These are the unchanging emotions of the devout spirit, and for that reason it is almost impossible to rise to any original or novel strain in expressing the experiences of the inner life. The Psalms are for ever fresh and modern. Hymnology is more catholic than the creeds. The distinction of ancient and modern vanishes. 'Jesu, Lover of my soul' belongs to the same order of evangelic sentiment as the *Jesu dulcis memoria*. Past and present merge into a kind of everlasting 'Now,' and the ages meet in the soul that soars on the wings of praise to the Unseen. Some of the most popular hymns of to-day might well have been sung—if rendered into the idiom of ecclesiastical Latin—by our forerunners in the Christian race. It has occurred to me to make the experiment of rendering the two hymns above named into Ambrosian Latin; that is, I have attempted to present them in the form in which they might have been sung in the Christian worship of the Western Church fifteen hundred years ago.

## I

O Breath of God, breathe on us now,  
And move within us while we pray;  
The spring of our new life art Thou,  
The very light of our new day.

O strangely art Thou with us, Lord,  
Neither in height nor depth to seek:  
In nearness shall Thy voice be heard;  
Spirit to spirit Thou dost speak.

Christ is our Advocate on high;  
Thou art our Advocate within:  
O plead the truth, and make reply  
To every argument of sin.

But ah, this faithless heart of mine!  
The way I know; I know my Guide:  
Forgive me, O my Friend divine,  
That I so often turn aside.

Adfla, Creator Spiritus,  
Iam nos precantes suscita;  
Tu fons renati roboris,  
Ortus novati luminis.

Praesens, nec infra nec super  
Quaerendus hospes immanes:  
Vox corda lenis personat,  
Mens sancta mentes consecrat.

Vindex in alto Christus est:  
Vindex sed intus tu vales:  
O veritatem proferas!  
O vim mali redarguas!

Proh infidele cor meum!  
Viam scio: scio Ducem:  
Amice solvas optime  
Quod saepe te refugerim.



Be with me when no other friend  
The mystery of my heart can share ;  
And be Thou known, when fears transcend,  
By Thy best name of Comforter.

A. H. VINE.

Cum mens amicos ceteros  
Secreta celat, tunc ades ;  
Metu recorder excito  
Quod Paraclitus diceris.

## II

Breathe on me, Breath of God ;  
Fill me with life anew,  
That I may love what Thou dost love  
And do what Thou wouldst do.

Breathe on me, Breath of God,  
Until my heart is pure,  
Until with Thee I will one will,  
To do and to endure.

Breathe on me, Breath of God,  
Till I am wholly Thine,  
Until this earthly part of me  
Glows with Thy fire divine.

Breathe on me, Breath of God ;  
So shall I never die,  
But live with Thee the perfect life  
Of Thine eternity.

DR. E. HATCH.

Adfla, Creator Spiritus,  
Fac recreari me novum :  
Quod diligis, sic diligam,  
Et si quid egeris, agam.

Adfla, Creator Spiritus,  
Cor puritate consecra,  
Ut id velim quodcumque vis  
Seu perpetrare seu pati.

Adfla, Creator Spiritus,  
Ut omnia a te complear :  
Donec mei mundana pars  
Calore sacro candeat.

Adfla, Creator Spiritus,  
Sic non peribo perpetim :  
Aeternitatis sed tue  
Vita superna perfruar.

R. MARTIN POPE.

## THE JEWS AND JESUS

DR. SCHÜRER calls attention, in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (No. 6) to the literary activity of a Jewish writer, Dr. Friedländer, who has published since 1897 no less than seven works dealing with various aspects of the relation between Judaism and Christianity. His earlier treatises have such titles as 'Judaism in the pre-Christian Greek world,' 'Greek Philosophy in the Old Testament,' &c. Dr. Schürer says that the fundamental thought of all Dr. Friedländer's work is clearly expressed in the title of his article in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (1902, p. 265 ff.), 'The Pauline emancipation from the law a product of the pre-Christian Jewish Diaspora.' Some indication of the strength of liberalizing tendencies in modern Judaism is afforded by the fact that an author, who is Principal of the Jews' College in London, can be described as

'having renounced the legal, rabbinic form of Judaism in which he was brought up.'

Of Dr. Friedländer's latest work, *Religious Movements within Judaism in the time of Jesus*, Dr. Schürer says that it raises the question, Why does not a writer who speaks so sympathetically of Jesus and Paul become a Christian? The answer given in the preface is that to-day Christianity, as well as Judaism, needs purifying. Dr. Friedländer's aim is to prove that Judaism is capable of becoming a universal religion; hence his polemic against legalism, and his endeavour to show that the 'free and inward' religion of the prophets and of the Wisdom-literature attained its highest development in the Hellenism of the Diaspora. Dr. Schürer's criticism of the first part of this new book is that it deals only with those tendencies in Palestinian Judaism which arouse the author's sympathies; in other words, it neglects to take due account of the influence of Pharisaic legalism. 'The chief fault in the author's re-construction is that undoubtedly he exaggerates the influence of Hellenism on Palestinian Judaism.'

In the second part of his book Dr. Friedländer discusses 'Hellenistic Judaism.' Here also traces are found of bias resulting from a theory that 'everything good is derived from Hellenism.' But the most striking feature in the work of this learned Jewish author is his testimony to Jesus, of whom he speaks as the Messiah who appeared 'when everything was carefully prepared for his work of redemption.' In conflict with the Pharisees, Jesus is said to have 'gradually gained clearer insight into his own personality. If in the first period of his ministry he desired to be nothing more than a successor of the prophets, or another Baptist, soon he became aware that he was greater than these, and the consciousness developed both of a higher mission and of a divine indwelling power far surpassing that possessed by his predecessors.' Again we read, 'The times were ripe for the Messiah, which does not mean that to the times is due the ripeness of the Messiah and of his ideas, but simply that the times were characterized by a receptivity for him, and an ability to understand him and to believe him.' These are significant admissions. No wonder that so competent an authority as Dr. Schürer should say, 'These testimonies manifest far more historic insight than almost anything else that we have heard from Jewish writers concerning the person of Jesus.'

J. G. TASKER.

## THE CAMBRIDGE SEPTUAGINT

THE thin quarto which represents the first instalment of the long-planned Cambridge Septuagint<sup>1</sup> offers to the world of biblical scholars a treasure of patient and unobtrusive labour scarcely to be matched in our generation. For eleven years the editors have been toiling at the minutiae of a task as dreary (one would think) as it is indispensable. We understand that they have divided among themselves the acquisition of strange tongues, in order to follow the ancient translations and the references in patristic writers. They have laboriously gathered specimen pages from all accessible MSS., numbering over 120, and selected 30 cursives which appeared representative. They have collated these, and recollated all the uncial MSS., the text of which was already presented in the manual edition of the Cambridge LXX prepared by Dr. Swete. Seven ancient versions have been examined throughout by one or both of the editors; and quotations in the New Testament and other literature have been collected and entered in their place. For all this work Messrs. Brooke and McLean had predecessors in the justly famous Oxford editors Holmes and Parsons. But the century which has passed since they began their enterprise has brought much new material, and the old material needed revising. Cambridge has made its own the work which the sister university thus began. It is deeply interesting to read how large a share in the planning of the work was taken by Dr. Hort, that prince among English biblical scholars, whose carefully elaborated scheme was given to the editors to work out when he had passed away. The veteran Regius Professor, whose marvellously accurate edition according to the text of the great uncials is the only Septuagint any British or foreign scholar would think of using to-day, is happily still at hand to counsel his juniors. So comes to us a book of guileless workmanship, entirely worthy of the great university from

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<sup>1</sup> *The Old Testament in Greek*, according to the text of Codex Vaticanus, supplemented from other uncial MSS., with a critical apparatus containing the variants of the chief ancient authorities for the text of the Septuagint. Edited by A. E. Brooke, B.D., and N. McLean, M.A. Vol. I. The Octateuch (to be completed in 4 parts). Part I. Genesis. 7s. 6d. net. Cambridge University Press, 1906. Pp. viii. 155.

which it proceeds. It is no small satisfaction to a patriotic soul to reflect that German students of the LXX will be compelled to use a Cambridge text and an Oxford concordance; in a year or two we hope Mr. Thackeray will make them use a Cambridge grammar. It only remains for Germany, in friendly rivalry, to produce a new lexicon to supersede Schleusner, as Hatch and Redpath superseded Tromm, and our international equipment for LXX studies will be complete.

When, however, all this has been done, we shall be only on the first rung of our ladder. The reconstruction of the Greek Old Testament, as it was read by St. Luke and St. Paul, cannot be even begun till we have gathered our material. How far with this material we have any real chance of recovering the actual words of the pioneer Bible translators, it is impossible to say. Probably most ordinary students, when they find that the new edition only reprints after all the text of the oldest uncial, with a full apparatus of variants which do not enable them to determine what the translators themselves wrote, will decide that Dr. Swete's three handy volumes are quite good enough for their needs. But of course serious investigation of the Old Testament, the uncertainty of whose original text is largely admitted even by those who are least inclined to swallow Dr. Cheyne and his theories, must always take into careful consideration the manifold evidence which comes from the kaleidoscopic forms of the Greek translation, made a thousand years before the writing of our oldest Hebrew MSS. If Messrs. Brooke and McLean's work rarely finds its way to the shelves of any but the specialist, it will nevertheless be the basis of every serious piece of research on the Old Testament which will be penned for generations to come. Their self-denying labour will bring them none of the popular fame which is easily won by the shallowest sciolist who is clever enough to make a hit. But every such specimen of thorough, patient, unsensational research helps us to realize afresh the superb motto which Hort left to be the inspiration of the true scholar, 'A life devoted to truth is a life of vanities abased and ambitions forsworn.'

It should be added that the book is a model of clear and beautiful printing, and that subscribers to the whole volume will get each part at a twenty per cent. reduction.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

## Recent Literature

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### BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL

*The Authority of Christ.* By D. W. Forrest, D.D.  
(T. & T. Clark. 6s.)

DR. FORREST has already sufficiently proved his ability to put his finger upon central, vital questions of theology, and to handle them with combined fearlessness and skill. His *Christ of History and of Experience*, now in its fourth edition, was an eminently timely and helpful book, and the title of the treatise before us proves that the author can discern in a battlefield where lies the key of the position. The authority of the Church may be all-important for the Roman or the Anglo-Catholic; the authority of Scripture is a matter of great moment for the Protestant; but of late the emphasis in discussion has rested upon the authority of Christ. What is the scope and character of this authority? How far, for instance, does our Lord decide for us the authorship and historicity of Old Testament narratives? Or, in another sphere, is His ethical teaching in the Sermon on the Mount a code for all time, or how far is it to be interpreted and modified by the altered circumstances of modern life? Does He prescribe duties for corporate as well as for individual life, and can the duties of Christian citizenship be deduced from Christ's teaching? Has He given full and final decision concerning the eternal destiny of man, and if so, how are the nations at large affected by it? When the Master left the earth and promised to His disciples for all ages the gift of the Holy Spirit, did He mean to promise a fuller and clearer revelation than He Himself had been able to give, and if so, what are the scope and limits of such revelation?

These are some of the questions which Dr. Forrest essays to answer, and if these be not burning questions, it would be difficult to name such. No one will be surprised to find that the author's bold attempt can at best be said to have met with but

partial success. Some readers may be more disturbed than helped by this volume, whilst undoubtedly there are others whose difficulties will be more or less fully met, and who will be grateful to the author for his unshrinking examination of problems which need to be faced. Whether Dr. Forrest's solutions are satisfactory is another question. To begin with, he is more of a Kenotist than many of his readers will like. He does but follow where Gore and Fairbairn and others have led, but the road leads to a kind of Bypath Meadow. Again, the basis which Dr. Forrest lays down for the authority of Christ's teaching on God is surely all too narrow. Again, his admissions as to the extent to which circumstances may modify the application of Christ's teaching on individual duty are somewhat unguarded, and it would not be difficult to select passages from the chapter on the Holy Spirit which appear quite inconsistent with a belief in the finality of the Master's own words.

It might seem from these remarks that Dr. Forrest undermines rather than upholds the authority of Christ. To suggest that would be to give an altogether unfair impression of the book. We are persuaded that the author is as loyal to the Lord Jesus Christ as the most strait-laced adherent of traditional orthodoxy—in reality, he may be more loyal than many loudly-protesting disciples. His book is stimulating and suggestive. It raises important and crucial questions, and deals with them in a frank and yet perfectly reverent spirit. The author himself would probably be the first to acknowledge that he has started more inquiries than he can satisfy, and on a subject so sacred and vital as the authority of Christ such a course is at least full of hazard. But readers whose own faith is secure will find much in this thoughtful volume to stimulate thought and inquiry, whether or not they accept its writer as a competent guide in the difficult country across which he leads them.

*The Book of Job.* By S. R. Driver, D.D. (Clarendon Press. 2s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Driver has given a fresh illustration of the way in which the highest scholarship may be employed to meet the needs of the multitude. In this unpretending but really learned and very useful volume he presents the Revised Version of Job, with an introduction and very brief notes intended purely for the exposition of the text. This is exactly what a large propor-

tion of intelligent students of the Bible need and cannot find in ponderous volumes which bury the text under piles of learned comment. The Book of Job, being for several reasons particularly obscure to the ordinary English reader, needs above everything else elucidation. Dr. Driver furnishes this and nothing more. But the half is more than the whole, and thousands of readers will be grateful to the eminent critic for his silence as well as for his speech.

The introduction explains the outline and argument of the poem. The R.V. translation speaks for itself, but the editor very properly gives prominence to the marginal notes of the revisers, and lays stress upon the fact that the version is not complete without them. We wish that readers generally could be made to understand that the marginal notes of the R.V. are often more important than the text itself as containing the judgement of a majority, though not a two-thirds majority, of the revisers. Dr. Driver's notes are brief, pointed, excellent; they leave the student to do his own moralizing and sermonizing. It is needless to say that the typography, arrangement, and general presentation of a volume proceeding from the Clarendon Press are of the best. It will do much to aid in the study of one of the most difficult and fascinating books of the Old Testament.

*The Century Bible. Minor Prophets. Vol. 2. Edited by S. R. Driver, D.D. (T. C. and E. C. Jack. 2s. 6d. net.)*

The treatment accorded to the Minor Prophets in this second volume differs somewhat from that adopted in its predecessor by Dr. Horton. Dr. Driver confines himself strictly to exegesis, and in this he is wise, as well as in accordance with the general principles of the series. It is superfluous to commend the work of so well-known and esteemed an exponent of the Old Testament. It may be enough to say that the present volume maintains and raises the high standard of the 'Century Bible.' Some of its chief features of excellence are the new translation which the editor occasionally furnishes, his clear brief notes, much more illuminative than longer ones, his occasional cautious emendations of the text and the absence of that wild attempt at re-construction which is so fashionable in some quarters just now, and the very valuable

suggestions given as to the use of marginal renderings. This is exactly the kind of book asked for by busy ministers and thoughtful laymen who wish to understand the byways as well as the highways of Hebrew prophecy.

*Jesus.* By W. Bousset, Professor of Theology at the University of Göttingen. (Williams & Norgate. 4s.)

Prof. Bousset makes no attempt in this book to narrate in order the events in the outward course of the life of Jesus. He concentrates attention upon the forms of activity adopted by Jesus, His teaching, and the mystery of His person. The result is a work of art, and not in any sense a biography, nor even a portraiture for which the qualities of completeness and correctness may be claimed. The artistic character appears especially in two respects. From a literary point of view, the book is vivid and brilliant, and in its phrasing blends freshness attractively with force. Its contents, too, are artistic, in the sense that they are the products of a lively imagination, and not derived from a scientific or fair treatment of available materials. More particularly, Prof. Bousset overlooks a considerable proportion of the original authorities for the historical research upon which he is engaged, and plays havoc with those he uses by the application of a process of selection, of which the only principle is his own whim. Passages of Scripture that do not suit his purpose are freely dismissed as interpolations, forged by later Christians out of their own consciousness. The question naturally rises whether such a book as this can be of any value. As real biography, it obviously has little or none. As fiction, it is a fine piece of literature, as well as a provocation to thought. And above all it is a witness to the irresistible charm which Christ is exerting, to-day more powerfully than ever, over the minds of men who either miss or stumble at the actual secret of His transcendent power.

*St. Paul: the Man and His Work.* By H. Weinel, Professor Extraordinary of Theology in the University of Jena. (Williams & Norgate. 10s. 6d.)

This book does not deal with the externals of St. Paul's life, his missionary travels, or the date or authorship of the letters ascribed to him. It is an attempt to portray him as a man and a leader of men, to delineate his character, and to analyse the influences that enabled him to lay the foundations of the Church in the Gentile world. The method adopted is to



examine certain selected parts of the New Testament, and to collect the testimony they bear into a single picture, with its appropriate lights and shadows. For such a work much penetrating insight is needed, together with a careful suppression of preconceptions, and a great patience in the synthesis of particulars, of which none must be overlooked, but all combined into a living and real unity. In all these qualifications Prof. Weinel shows himself a little deficient, with the result that he misses the most important formative element in St. Paul's character, which was his devotion to a Redeemer who was viewed at once as equal to the Father, as atoning on the cross for the sins of the world, and as admitting the believer into the completest union with Himself. This fatal mistake might have been avoided had our author approached his subject without bias, and treated all the available material with respect. As it is, he ventures on some statements concerning Jewish thought at the close of the last era for which no authorities are cited; and at the same time he asserts, without any attempt to prove, that the first Gospel adds to the words of Christ, that the fourth perverts His life, and that the Acts, outside the travel-journal, has no claim to accuracy. The resultant portrait cannot in consequence be classed as historical or true. It is the product of a rather free imagination drawing upon its own resources, and is painted with more vigour than skill. It does not reveal the secret of the apostle's great life and work, but is ingenious and attractive in some of its details.

The translation, especially in the early part, is rather clumsy. 'Criterium' is not an established form; 'eat' is twice used as a preterite; 'ecclesia' occurs in one place, 'ekklesia' in another. Instances of bad taste, possibly not due to the translator, are occasionally met with, such as the statement that 'ecclesiastical law is all made up of one big lie.' The style generally is vehement, and it is something of a pity that the writer did not prune his phrases when he was recasting these articles from the *Christliche Welt*.

*How to teach the Bible.* By Rev. A. F. Mitchell, M.A.,  
Vicar of St. Augustine's, Sheffield. (Williams &  
Norgate. Second Edition. 2s. 6d. net.)

Many teachers in day and Sunday schools are anxious to know how to teach the Bible. Probably no book can impart

the secret, but Mr. Mitchell's suggestions will be found helpful in no ordinary way. He shows in four lectures how suited the Bible is to the child-mind; how it may be used to train the imagination; what is meant by moral thoughtfulness, and how the Bible may be used to stimulate and maintain it; and finally, the bearing of Bible teaching on the affections and the will. Throughout we discern the work both of a thorough Bible student and of an apt and experienced teacher. We are not surprised that the booklet has earned high commendation, and that it now appears in a second and improved edition. The breadth, insight, and practical suggestions of the volume will be best appreciated by those actually engaged in Bible teaching, whether from the pulpit or in the classroom. It forms a timely contribution to a most important present-day discussion.

*James, the Lord's Brother.* By Principal Patrick, D.D.  
(T. & T. Clark. 6s. net.)

This interesting volume of 359 pages is much more than another discussion of the perennial problem of 'the brothers of the Lord'; though even on this point the writer states a strongly-reasoned opinion, as against Lightfoot, that these were full brothers—children born to Mary and Joseph after the birth of Jesus. The main argument of the book challenges the conventional judgement of the character and position in the apostolic Church of James the Just. The opinion that he was 'legalist, Nazarite, almost Essene,' is rejected as entirely contrary to the only trustworthy evidence—that of the scanty records of the New Testament. For Hegesippus, Dr. Patrick thinks, is 'largely, if not wholly, legendary and must be rejected.' 'I can form,' he says, 'no conception of a James who is at once the James of the Epistle and the Acts and the James of Hegesippus.' The deposition of Hegesippus from the place of a trustworthy witness to the character and career of James, which is, perhaps, the most thorough piece of critical work in the volume, is itself sufficient evidence of the need for fresh scrutiny of traditional views and their authorities. The result is a renaissance of the James of the New Testament writings in place of the James of legend and romance. Many of Principal Patrick's conclusions touch the unexpected. James was not elected apostle, as Hort suggests. 'The James of authentic history was not a bishop.' 'Zeal for

the law attributed to James is a delusion.' 'James's claim to the title of "the Just" has very slight historical data.' 'The Christianity of James was in essence identical with that of Paul, and the relations between these great leaders were frank and cordial.' 'That there were vital differences of conviction between James and Paul is a dream of the historical imagination.' This last is the position most open to criticism in the book, and most likely to fall short of conviction, but it is argued with great skill. The discussions of these and other equally unconventional conclusions is terse and logical. Throughout Dr. Patrick writes with decision. Thirty years' study of his subject has not only wrought strong conviction in the writer's mind, but has fashioned a singular ease and authority in using the arguments by which he commends his position to others. His conclusions may not be final, but his book was needed and will last.

*The Sacred Tenth; or, Studies in Tithe-giving, Ancient and Modern.* By Henry Lansdell, D.D. 2 Vols. (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 16s.)

There probably never has been, and is not likely to be, a fuller book than this on the subject of which it treats. Dr. Lansdell traces the practice of tithing from times almost prehistoric to the present, examining the records of Egypt and Babylonia, of the Greeks and Romans, of the Jews in all ages and of Christians in almost all lands. His conclusion is that man has from the beginning recognized the duty of offering a portion of his substance to God, which portion has generally been a tenth. This duty is urged on the present generation by pleas of both convenience and obligation, irresistible well-nigh to those who weigh them, and by examples of systematic giving that extend from Abraham to Gladstone. On this part of the theme we are in full agreement. The practice of assigning a certain portion of one's income to religious and charitable objects has great advantages. It is supported by the highest sanctions, it relieves sore perplexities on the part of men who wish to do what is right, and, if generally adopted, all the sensible forms of Christian and philanthropic enterprise in the country would immediately be rendered effective. Dr. Lansdell adds a number of chapters in relation to the alienation of tithes under Henry VIII and later kings. The appropria-

tion made of such funds may have been impolitic or even unwise, but their diversion when misused is not justly called perfidy or sacrilege; and it is far from certain that the yield of compulsory tithes is now being put everywhere to the best use. The so-called 'voluntary' principle is on both ethical and scriptural grounds to be preferred to a system of coercion; and religion would not suffer if all public tithes were turned to uses in which the people at large were interested, and the responsibility of private tithing were brought home to the individual. Meanwhile, every student of the question will be grateful for this collection of facts and particulars. In these volumes are to be found not only lists of impropiators, but a chronological table of tithe-paying going back to the thirty-fifth century before Christ, indexes of texts and subjects, a bibliography of nearly thirty pages in length, and almost every other sort of apparatus that patient industry can supply.

*The Philosophy of Christian Experience.* By the Rev. Henry W. Clark. (Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. 3s. 6d. net.)

The title of this book hardly gives a correct indication of its contents. It suggests at least a technical, possibly an apologetic treatment; but Mr. Clark's aim is to discuss and explain in a manner suitable for general readers, such matters as the need of religion, conversion, the Fatherhood of God, &c. The author has, one is thankful to say, no new theories, and aims only at a practical exposition, which is conducted, despite the familiarity of the subject, with freshness. The book is well written, although Mr. Clark is guilty of an occasional vagueness in his terminology, especially with regard to the word 'religion,' which is constantly used when 'Christianity' or even 'Evangelical Christianity' should be substituted. Apart from this, there is little to criticize in a book which manifestly is the result of careful thought, reasonably and moderately expressed. There will be few who read this book without owing their thanks to the author for a successful attempt to bring to light more of that rich store of meaning which the increasing knowledge of the time enables us to discern in these never-exhausted phases of spiritual experience.

*Symbolism.* By J. A. Moehler, D.D. Translated by J. B. Robertson. Fifth Edition. Gibbings & Co. 6s. net.)

Moehler's *Symbolik* has for half a century formed the standard exposition of the doctrinal differences between Roman Catholics and Protestants, as viewed from the Roman Catholic point of view. It is useful to Protestants and indispensable to controversialists. Needless to say, neither side goes to its opponents for a statement of its own case. When we find Moehler describing Wesleyan Methodism as a 'most egotistical exaltation of oneself in its most repulsive, appalling form,' it is easy to see that he knows little of his subject, and has simply adopted, with exaggeration, Southey's account of Wesley's doctrine of entire sanctification. But Moehler's work was epoch-marking in the history of modern Roman Catholicism, and this translation of the last edition, reprinted in clear type and convenient form, will be most useful to English readers.

*The Religion of the Crescent.* By Rev. W. St. Clair Tisdall, M.A., D.D. Second Edition. (S.P.C.K. 4s.)

These four lectures on the 'James Long' foundation—under the heads, the Strength of Islam, the Weakness of Islam, the Origin of Islam, the Influence of Islam—present a very complete, detailed and trustworthy account of the Mohammedan faith. The author has seen the system at work in Persia, and has made a study of original authorities. The chapters supply a mass of information not easily obtainable elsewhere. Numerous quotations and references are given, some in Arabic. It is significant that the author veils some references in Latin. The manual is a valuable addition to the series of works on 'Non-Christian Religious Systems.'

*Daniel and His Prophecies.* By the Rev. C. H. H. Wright, D.D. Williams & Norgate. 7s. 6d.)

We doubt whether England can show a more learned and accomplished Biblical scholar than the author of this volume. An alumnus of Trinity College, Dublin, he was a First Class Hebrew Prizeman, and Arabic Prizeman, and took the highest Divinity honours; he is an Oxford M.A.; took high honours at Leipzig. He has been Bampton Lecturer, and also Donnellan

Lecturer, Public Examiner at Oxford in Semitic Languages; and much more, besides all this, is included in the list of his attainments and honours as a linguistic and theological student. He has now taken in hand the thorny subject of Daniel and his prophecies, including a critical and grammatical commentary. He is no rationalist, but an enlightened and learned conservative commentator, as courteous as he is orthodox. The present volume, if we are not mistaken, is to be followed by another, to perfectly carry out his plan of exposition. Meantime, no student of the critical problems presented by the Book of Daniel can afford to neglect this learned, courteous, and orthodox commentary.

*The Spiritual Teaching of Christ's Life.* By Rev. Prof. G. Henslow, M.A., F.L.S. (Williams & Norgate. 5s. net.)

The nineteen chapters of the present work are faithful to the title in presenting the 'spiritual teaching' of the Lord's life in order from the scene in the Temple, through the Temptation, Parables and Miracles, to the Resurrection. The exposition is by no means complete or elaborate; it may even be described as elementary in many respects. The interest of the work lies in the fact that it represents the adhesion of science to spiritual religion. We note that the Miracles and the Resurrection of Christ are accepted as facts, Prebendary Row's argument for the latter being reproduced at length. Sir John Seeley's 'Ecce Homo' is often quoted on the teaching and character of Christ. The substitutionary aspect of atonement is altogether disclaimed; blood is explained as equivalent to life. The annihilation of the wicked seems also to be favoured. But, with whatever drawbacks, the thoughtful reader will be able to profit by the hints of so accomplished a writer.

*The Revelation of the Trinity.* By S. B. G. McKinney, M.A., L.R.C.P. New Edition. (Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. 3s. 6d.)

'No religion can be scientific which does not teach the worship of Intellect, Emotion, and Will as Three Persons in One God.' To this conclusion the author comes at the close of his study of the nature of man. His knowledge of physiology and biology is extensive, and furnishes the basis of his argument. If he does not answer all the difficulties suggested by

his references to the Athanasian Creed, he shows forcefully that 'man is a trinity in unity,' and reasons from human nature as 'the true Shekinah' to his main contention that the doctrine of the Trinity is 'essential to the completeness of the conception of God, and yet is compatible with the purest monotheism.'

*The Gift of Tongues, and other Essays.* By Dawson Walker, M.A., D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 4s. 6d. net.)

The Professor of Theology in the University of Durham here publishes four Biblical essays, dealing respectively with the gift of tongues, the legal terminology of St. Paul, his visits to Jerusalem, and the date of St. Luke and Acts. They may be described as in the main conservative, thoughtful, sufficiently learned discussions of important debatable questions, conducted in a fair and reasonable spirit. We are not ourselves inclined to accept the author's view that the gift of tongues implied a power to speak in foreign languages which the speakers did not themselves understand, as in Coleridge's story of the servant-maid who, under the stress of fever, poured forth sentences of Greek and Hebrew which she had heard a former pastor repeat. But Dr. Walker pleads ably and well for his own opinions on all the subjects named, and few can read these essays without learning something from them.

*A Reasonable View of the Old Testament Scriptures.* By a Layman. (Elliot Stock. 1s.)

This pamphlet undertakes to describe 'in plain language' the course of development from Abraham to Christian days, which has given us our Scriptures in their present form. In a personal confession, where only results or opinions can be given, much depends on the personality of the author; and this is not revealed. It is not easy to reconcile the opinions expressed. The last sentence is among the best, 'The Bible is its own witness that its words are the words of Inspiration.'

*Hebrew Ideals from the Story of the Patriarchs: A Study of Old Testament Faith and Life.* By Rev. James Strachan, M.A. (T. & T. Clark. 3s. net.)

This handbook is an exquisite study of the lives of the three great Patriarchs, artistic alike in outline and detail. The author, who studied under Dr. Davidson, popularizes the master's teaching with wonderful skill and grace. 'The great

old saints of other days' live before us. They are brought near to us in their virtues and faults, their strength and weakness. Not the least striking feature in the delineation is the wealth of apposite quotation from modern literature, both prose and poetry. Still, the work is not a foreign mosaic. The writer has the faculty of making what he borrows his own. Complaint is often made that the critical school has swept away the old literature of edification and provided no substitute. The present work is an effort to supply the deficiency. We do not see that the new standpoint affects the exposition at all. It is difficult to see where the author takes it into account. We will raise no objection, but simply express our admiration at the result.

*The Massoretic Notes contained in the Edition of the Hebrew Scriptures published by the British and Foreign Bible Society.* By Alfred S. Geden, M.A. B. & F. Bible Society. 1s. net.)

Little as we know of the Massorete editors and their methods of work, the selection of notes due to them is of considerable importance. These notes, as printed in Hebrew Bibles, are sorely in need of a key, which this pamphlet supplies. After a brief explanation of the notes, they are further expounded in detail. Lists of Queri and Kethibh and the Clausulae appended to the several books are also given. The tractate will be welcome to students who wish to be thorough.

*Tact for Soul-winning, or Tactology.* By W. H. Young, B.D., Ph.D. (Elliot Stock. 2s.)

This book professes to be 'an attempt to reduce the conversion of souls to a science.' 'Tactology is derived from the Greek *taktikos* and *legein*,' and is 'the science of tactics for soldiers of the cross. The name also happily suggests Tact,' and 'Tact is the psychologic impact of just two persons.' Philosophical terms are used with no apparent knowledge of their meaning. It is exceedingly difficult to justify the production of such a book.

*Heart Purity.* By Iva D. Vennard. (New York: Eaton & Mains. 25 cents.)

The writer gives Scripture passages bearing on this subject on one page and her own comments on the other. She is an American evangelist, and has a bright and incisive style. The



book is likely to quicken the desire for holiness in many hearts. It would have gained much if the writer had used the Revised Version before she commented on Psalm xlv. 3, or Acts xix. 2, and the last words of the note on Heb. xii. 14 are much too sweeping.

*The Culture of the Spiritual Life.* By the Rev. W. Dickie, M.A., D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

The sub-title of this book is *Studies in the Teaching of the Apostle Paul*, and the Preface, as well as the introductory chapter, leads the reader to assume a connexion between this and the study of applied Christian Ethics. We have here, however, no discussion of ethical questions from a Pauline point of view; we find what has often been said before, in various forms, on the moral questions to which Paul had to give prominent treatment; optimism, prayer, love, courtesy, humility, suffering, conscience, liberality, women, slaves, over-spirituality, over-intellectuality and the like. On these points, most of Paul's sayings are referred to, though the abiding problems suggested by his words are for the most part passed over somewhat lightly. Not a few of the phrases are happy and terse; 'on those whom Christ would honour, He confers the Order of the Thorn;' 'the can't-works must be fed; the will-not-works must be starved into labour.'

*Immortality, Whence and for Whom?* By Rev. Wm. Ker, M.A. (Stock. 6d.)

A convert to Mr. Edward White's views of Conditional Immortality here popularizes his master's teaching in accentuated fashion. The opposite doctrine is stated in the most objectionable form, with every accompaniment of crude, realistic exaggeration. Whether other writers are guilty of imposing unreal meanings on Scripture language, and wresting passages from their context, or not, the author does so when he limits eternal life and death to simple existence and extinction. This is the crux of the whole question, the rest is mere blinding rhetoric. And here the author's bald interpretation is self-condemned. He also commends the doctrine of man's natural mortality as humbling to vain man's pride.

*Manhood, Faith, and Courage* is a new edition of Dr. Henry Van Dyke's sermons to young men (Hodder & Stoughton, 5s.). They were prepared for a congregation in which there

were many young men, and were preached afterwards in the college chapels at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton. A new chapter deals with the truth that the person of Christ is the foundation of Christianity. Dr. Van Dyke believes that young men are 'really human beings,' and that the plain religion of Jesus Christ, which is good for everybody, is good for them also. His aim is to help his young friends 'to be good, which is the hardest and finest thing in the world.' His gospel is 'simply this: that the sure way to be good is to trust and follow Jesus Christ, the Son of God.' The book will make a deep and lasting impression on young readers. Its themes are great, its tone is manly, its style has a restrained power which makes it very effective.

*Ruth: a Hebrew Idyll*, by the Rev. Armstrong Black, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton, 3s. 6d. net), is a graceful and refreshing study of the lovely Bible story. Dr. Black is not quite fair, we think, to Naomi; but the aroma of the Jewish idyll has stolen over his pages, and they are a delightful introduction to a book that is 'a beatitude and a parable in one.'

Mr. H. R. Allenson has added to his capital Sixpenny Series R. E. Welsh's *Challenge to Christian Missions*, a book which has made itself a reputation; and a third selection of F. W. Robertson's sermons, which is sure to be as popular as the earlier selections.

To get Dr. Stephenson's *Some Words of a President's Year* for a shilling net (C. H. Kelly) is a great opportunity for young preachers, and indeed for all Methodists. Besides his impressive charge to newly ordained ministers, the volume contains a Wesley Centenary sermon preached at City Road, two sermons of historic interest delivered at the centenary of Portland Chapel, Bristol, and other discourses and addresses of great importance.

Dr. Moffatt's Literary Illustrations of *The Books of Judges and Ruth, and St. Matthew* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1s. 6d. net) are selected with much taste and skill. To have these choice passages thus brought under his notice will be a real boon to a busy preacher and teacher. Congregations will be grateful if these illustrative passages are used freely.

*Nunc Dimittis*, by Thomas A. Gurney, M.A. (Longmans & Co., 3s. net), is a beautiful exposition of 'the Song of the

Watcher for the Lord's Christ.' It gathers round Simeon's words many thoughts about Evensong, which the Vicar of Emmanuel Church, Clifton, prizes so much for 'its spirit of quietness, its note of subdued joy, its sense of fruition and rest.' The writer's love of his subject is manifest on every page of this graceful and devout little volume.

*The Divine Inheritance*, by John Coutts (National Hygienic Co., 6s. net), sets itself to show that Nature, Man, and the Bible are three witnesses to divine truth united and harmonious. There is ample food for thought in this volume.

Among recent reprints we may note a new impression of Mr. Arthur's *Tongue of Fire* (Charles H. Kelly, 3s. 6d.), substantially bound and finely printed, and issued at a price which should secure for this religious classic a wider field than ever of beneficent influence.

*Stories of Grace*, by C. S. Isaacson, M.A. (Elliot Stock, 5s. net.), is in some measure a supplement to the author's *Roads to Christ*. The stories begin with Mrs. Fry, and include Lord Hatherley, Captain Trotter, Dr. William Marsh, Pilkington of Uganda, and many less known names. There is a rich field here for teachers and preachers. Nothing tells more in an appeal to the unsaved than such narratives as these. They are brightly written, and put the gist of a volume into a few pages.

*Broken Ideals*. By James Thew. (Allenson. 2s. 6d.)

A volume of sermons, which has reached a second edition. The discourses are excellently adapted to the average intelligence, being simple and fresh and helpful. The thought is never over-elaborated, the illustrations are pleasing, and the teaching eminently practical and based on experience. The sermons also breathe a tender sympathy with youth and maturity in their difficulties and conflicts, and, as a whole, form excellent models of the spiritual instruction which an ordinary congregation will welcome from its pastor.

## BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL

*The Victorian Chancellors.* By J. B. Atlay. Vol. I.  
(Smith, Elder & Co. 14s. net.)

THIS is the first of two volumes, and includes the lives of Lords Lyndhurst, Brougham, Cottenham, and Truro. Mr. Atlay is himself a barrister, and is master of all the technical details presented by his subject. He has a picturesque style and an eye for a dramatic situation, so that these famous lawyers come to life again in his pages. Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Brougham naturally occupy the chief part of this volume, but the two other biographies are not less excellent, though they are on a much smaller scale. Lyndhurst has never been surpassed in the gift of grave and lucid exposition. In the House of Lords his great judicial qualities found their fitting sphere. The last five years of his sway in Chancery left 'an ineffaceable picture of dignity and of the majesty of the law.' His position in this Indian summer has scarcely a parallel. 'Contrary to all experience, his grasp and view seemed to broaden with the increase of years.' Brougham was cast in another mould. His energy, industry, and extraordinary mental capacity, his zeal for reform, his fearlessness as champion of every human right and the avenger of every wrong, made him at one time the most popular man in England; but his faults and foibles marred his influence, robbed him of the legitimate rewards of his work as a reformer, and involved him again and again in ridicule. He is one of those mixed characters whom one never tires of watching on the stage of history. Mr. Atlay has given us a singularly vivid and instructive portrait. Lord Cottenham was not a success in Parliament, but this was atoned for by his surpassing merit as a judge. His clearness of mental vision was remarkable, he allowed no fact to escape his notice and no sophism to pass undetected. Lord Truro does not stand in the front rank of Victorian Chancellors, yet he won the confidence of all who practised before him, and no career was more honourable, no character finer than his. We advise every one who is interested in English lawyers to get hold of this delightful book.

*Walter Pater.* By A. C. Benson. (Macmillan & Co. 2s. net.)

Mr. Benson is himself a master of style, and he has made Pater's exquisite literary craftsmanship a matter of loving study. A full account is given of Pater's books and essays, but the chief interest of this volume lies in its biographical details, in the descriptions of Pater's conversation, his methods of writing, his dress and appearance, his delight in his cats, and other details which bring the man before our eyes. Pater is identified with Brasenose College. 'There he lived contentedly in his little panelled sitting-room, from which a narrow passage full of cupboards led into a tiny slip of a bedroom, only a few feet wide.' The head of his bed rested on an odd projection caused by a staircase, and there was just room for a chest of drawers and a simple toilet apparatus. Here Pater spent all his college life. 'He never took afternoon tea, he never smoked. His meals were plain to austerity. He went to bed early, but in later days was an indifferent sleeper, and, to beguile the time before he could close his eyes, worked slowly through the *Dictionary of National Biography*, volume by volume.' Pater's 'work was always the result of much patient and unseen labour; but though he revised carefully and jealously enough in many cases, his richness was not derived in reality so much from these stippled effects, as from the fullness of mind out of which he wrote.' Mr. Benson's book is beautifully written, and those who want to know more about one of the greatest modern masters of English prose will be really grateful for it.

*Wesley and his Century: a Study in Spiritual Forces*  
By the Rev. W. H. Fitchett, B.A., LL.D. (Smith, Elder & Co. 6s. net.)

Dr. Fitchett's *Wesley* has been long expected, and it is what we expected—a brilliantly phrased, coruscating, epigrammatic book. It is evident that the subject has taken hold of Dr. Fitchett as it takes hold of all students. Wesley never fails to kindle the imagination of a sympathetic biographer whose pulse beats quicker as the memorable story is traced through all its stages. There are a few mistakes in this book, but they are comparatively slight and unimportant. Dr. Fitchett must have taken great pains to secure accuracy, and he has done well. The charm of the book is its style. There

is little fresh light in it for a student of Wesley, but it often approaches the subject at a new angle, and sets the Evangelical Revival in its framework of current events in a way that assists us to understand the times in which Wesley lived and laboured. The outline is good. A brief 'proem' on Wesley's Place in History is followed by five books, 'The Making of a Man'; 'The Training of a Saint'; 'The Quickening of a Nation'; 'The Evolution of a Church'; 'Personal Characteristics.' The volume closes with a short Epilogue—'The Continuity of Spiritual Impulse.' There is some little lack of ordered progress, and the life does not seem to unfold before us quite naturally. Dr. Fitchett's style is somewhat too picturesque and eloquent for such a subject. His work plays over the surface, and does not get very deep down into the matter; yet, when certain deductions are made, this is a sparkling book. People who know little of Wesley will read it with deep interest, and it will increase their admiration for the man and their wonder at the work he did for the world. Dr. Fitchett is very happy in describing 'Wesley's personality.' 'In this little, alert, compact figure, with its air of old-maidish neatness, dwelt a calm intensity of energy which has been rarely paralleled in any generation. In range, speed, intensity, and effectiveness Wesley must always remain one of the greatest workers known to mankind. He seemed to live many lives in one, and each life was of amazing fullness. He preached more sermons, travelled more miles, published more books, wrote more letters, built more churches, waged more controversies, and influenced more lives than any other man in English history. And through it all, as he himself, in a humorous paradox, puts it, "he had no time to be in a hurry!"' This extract shows the style of the book. It is full of enthusiasm for its subject, it is the work of a master of phrase and epithet, it is alive from first to last. The perfect life of Wesley, when it comes, will combine something of his own simplicity and directness with a knowledge of the times and a study of the documents to which not even Tyerman attained. Meanwhile we welcome this fine piece of work, and are confident that it will increase Wesley's ever-growing hold on the imagination and heart of the Christian world.

*The Life of John Wesley.* By John Telford, B.A. Popular Edition. (Charles H. Kelly. 1s.)

This popular edition of Mr. Telford's *magnum opus* is just

in time for the summer holidays, and those who, like Dean Bradley, are wise enough to take it with them will, like him, be 'charmed' with it. It will not encumber the most crowded knapsack or portmanteau. It is light to hold and pleasant to read. Those who may already be acquainted with it will find that it has been revised throughout, and all the statistics brought up to the most recent possible date. Even in these days of cheap reprints, it is a really wonderful shillingsworth,—a marvel of cheapness and excellence combined. Nowhere else is it possible to find so clear and full an account of Wesley's school life and his various love affairs; and the list of Wesley portraits, busts, &c., together with Fletcher's sketch of a 'Methodist Church of England,' and the splendid index, add greatly to the value and uniqueness of the work. It is written in a bright, chaste, easy style, and is packed with facts at once arresting and illuminating. Of its 400 pages, not one invites to skimming; not one may be skipped. The *Life* is full of interest from every point of view. It ought to find its way, not only into every Methodist home, but into Everyman's Library. S.

*The English Church, from the Accession of George I to the end of the Eighteenth Century.* (1714–1800.) By the late Canon Overton and F. Relton. (Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d.)

Canon Overton left a rough draft of this work in three octavo note-books written in pencil. This material Mr. Relton has used wherever possible, and has not willingly parted with a line of it, scarcely even a word. The larger half of the work is the canon's, but it has been re-cast and re-shaped with great skill by Mr. Relton. The period is divided into four sections, —1714–38; 1738–60; 1760–90; and 1790–1800. The volume is of vital consequence for students of Methodism. It is, of course, written by Churchmen, but it seeks to be scrupulously fair to Wesley and his helpers, and it is wonderfully well-informed. It is not, however, correct to say that 'the sacraments began to be administered in Methodist Chapels' in 1760. It is rather odd to find Joseph Benson described as 'Dr. Benson,' and one rubs one's eyes when one reads, in the 'authorities' for 'The Wesleyan Movement,' 'Mr. Quiller-Couch has given in his *Hetty Wesley* a living picture of the time and of the characters of the Wesley family.' There

were some devoted clergymen, of course, in the eighteenth century, but the Church system had become mechanical and dry. 'Even the ordinary parts of parochial machinery were then wanting. And in what was done there was no zeal, no enterprise. The labouring classes were neglected. Parochial visitation was the exception, not the rule. Home missions were unknown, and foreign missions did not evoke much sympathy and response.' One feels that the statement about foreign missions is much too mild. There is an excellent chapter on the six bishops most closely associated with the Wesleys, and a beautiful sketch of Bishop Wilson, the saint of the Isle of Man. The details about Grimshaw and his arrangement for his funeral are also very interesting. The book covers a wide range, but it is never dull, and those who wish for a bird's-eye view of a memorable century will find it invaluable.

*History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in South Africa.* By the Rev. J. Whiteside. (Elliot Stock. 5s.)

This volume has been compiled at the request of the South African Wesleyan Methodist Conference. The author is well known in South Africa as a writer of school books, as a head master, and as a preacher. He has resided for many years in Cape Colony, and has had full opportunity to acquaint himself with his subject. He is in sympathy with the aims of the great evangelistic organization whose working he has to chronicle. The field which he surveys is very wide, extending from Cape Town to Salisbury, and from East London and Durban to Bulawayo. He tells us he has only scratched the surface of a rich mine of Methodist lore which is awaiting the research of the skilful explorer. Well, he has certainly scratched it to good effect; and he will have honour as the first general historian of South African Methodism. He traces the great movement from its beginning in 1814, to the position which it had reached in 1905. It is natural for the story to be largely biographical; and in fortitude and endurance, in labour and achievement the heroes of this story are truly great. Many of them worked for long periods in obscurity, amid barbarous surroundings, in constant danger, under crushing loads of discouragement, and yet gained victory, recognition, and distinction at last.



Mr. Whiteside makes it clear that in most parts of South Africa Methodism has been the pioneer in evangelization. But recognition of the noble work done by the Free Church of Scotland and by the London Missionary Society is not stinted. The judgement formed by this historian of the Anglican Church in South Africa is not so favourable. At this the reader of the book will not wonder. The Anglican 'priest' in South Africa does not disdain 'to build on another man's foundation.' He can intrude into the small town whose population, already served by Methodism, cannot support two English churches. If asked to justify his action, he may be expected to allege that Methodism degrades the sacraments and disallows apostolical succession, and must be hindered!

Mr. Whiteside incidentally records his views on many practical questions touching the work of missions. He strongly advocates industrial training for the native. He regards education as the handmaid of religion. He shows that trade has followed the gospel. He has no faith in the notions of those who talk of civilizing the natives first and making Christians of them afterwards. The wonderful story which he tells proves that the gospel is the true means of salvation for the individual, for the family, and for native society. We trust this book will do something to reinspire the Church with zeal for Christian missions.

*Lectures on Early English History.* By William Stubbs, D.D. Edited by Arthur Hassall, M.A. (Longmans. 12s. 6d. net.)

This work is a masterly survey of the birth and growth of those primitive institutions which have slowly ripened into the free English constitution of modern times. As such, despite the fact that one may look in vain for the more picturesque and, perhaps, superficially impressive elements in history in these pages, the volume is one which cannot fail to be of the most profound interest to the earnest reader who is desirous of getting really at the heart of history, regarded less as a pageant or panorama of ever-changing scenes than as creative, a potter's wheel of destiny, if the expression may be allowed, which has given form and efficiency to those limiting political and juridical conditions under which successive generations have lived, and wrought, and died. It is, perhaps, hardly

necessary to say that these lectures are especially valuable as a contribution to Bishop Stubbs's chosen field of constitutional history, the factors of which are distinguished with great clearness and force. Among other important questions upon which much interesting light is thrown are the various forms of tenure, the early constitution of London, and the somewhat vexed question of the coming of Stephen. Of very special interest also are the lectures dealing with the historical origin of European law, early European constitutions, the growth of the representative principle, and early judicial systems—most acute and searching comparative studies which afford much food for thought.

It is impossible to rise from the perusal of these lectures without being again impressed by the immense learning of Bishop Stubbs; and further, that, in addition to exhaustive knowledge of the authorities and the facts, he was one of the comparatively few who are able to turn such knowledge to the best advantage. He displays throughout remarkable insight and rare power of inference from the data which he has, with tireless industry, gathered together. In Bishop Stubbs are combined the wide knowledge of facts characteristic of Macaulay and the capacity for historical inference equally characteristic of J. R. Green; and, though he is no longer with us, it is a matter for congratulation that Mr. Hassall has made it his care that we should not lose what we can only characterize as an invaluable addition to the literature of English history.

*Padri Elliott of Faizabad.* A Memorial (chiefly autobiographical). Edited by Rev. A. W. Newbould. (Charles H. Kelly. 3s. 6d.)

This book will be greatly prized, not only in this country, but in the land for which Padri Elliott lived and died. How Providence prepared him for his work as a vernacular preacher may be seen from the fascinating record, 'Through Fire and Sword in the Indian Mutiny.' The boy of five who banged the big drum in the Hindu temple and set the great bell ringing till all the angry priests stormed around him, who dauntlessly faced the native lancer who was bearing down on him at a gallop, and actually turned the mutineer into a friend, had in him grand material, and he made noble use of his gifts

and experiences in later life. His father was a non-commissioned officer in the service of the East India Company, who died a hero's death in the Mutiny. His mother was the daughter of an Irish farmer. She was a Methodist, and persuaded her son to go with her to hear Joseph Broadbent in Lucknow. That night the youth was laid hold of by the truth, and soon found rest and peace. When he began to speak in the streets of Lucknow the Mohammedans ridiculed his boyish appearance, but his tact, ready wit, and good humour never failed. He was the first Wesleyan vernacular preacher in North India. After being trained in this country, he took up his work at Benares, where he devoted himself to bazaar preaching. Thence he was transferred to Faizabad, which became his home for the rest of his life. Its name is linked with his own as a household word in Methodism. The open-air pulpit which the Faizabad municipality gave him permission to erect in the Chauk Bazaar was the scene of many a triumph. His skill in handling a native audience was unrivalled, and English reporters, who were so excited and amused that they sometimes dropped their pens when Elliott was on his feet, understood the magic that he exerted in an Eastern bazaar or fair. There are pages in this book that thrill the reader and bring him very close to the real life of Hinduism. Elliott of Faizabad still lives and speaks as we follow his story and study his own words. The charm of India lays hold on us, and we feel a new call to carry on the work which was so dear to this unique missionary.

1. *James Smetham: Painter, Poet, Essayist.* By Rev. W. G. Beardmore.
2. *David Hill: An Apostle to the Chinese.* By Rev. Dr. Barber.
3. *John Hunt: Pioneer Missionary and Saint.* By Rev. Joseph Nettleton.  
(Charles H. Kelly. 1s. net.)

1. The life and character of James Smetham remain to all who knew him a cherished memory, a permanent and dear possession still fragrant and unsubject to decay. His temperament was that of the artist, his mind that of the poet, his spirit that of the Christian. It may be that a Christian faith so definite and so fully confessed is not often found associated

with gifts and qualities like his, but when it is, how admirable is the combination, and how natural it seems! A sensitive and poetic nature, 'of imagination all compact,' nobly serious yet full of gaiety and humour, seeing far into the heart of things, feeling the beauty and wonder of the world and the richness and variety of human life—such a nature takes on the image and likeness of Christ at least as well as do men and women of commoner and more conventional type. The successful business man who is a good Christian is sure of admiration. The illiterate saint of lowly life is often portrayed for our edification. But with all their excellences, there are others beside them to be thought of. James Smetham was not a successful man, in the sense of making money, or attaining social distinction; he was not illiterate, and the portrait of him owes nothing of its picturesqueness to the dialect of the kail-yard or that of the West. But he was a beautiful soul, with delicate perceptions and refined tastes, a lover of the best books and the noblest art, a writer of great charm, and a painter of true genius, and he was withal a Christian through and through, and as good a Methodist as ever led a class or attended a quarterly meeting.

To some of his friends it was not clear whether Smetham was meant to follow literature or art. He himself had no doubt, and would have altogether resisted the suggestion that the order of his attachment to them should have been reversed. An inspiring imagination was manifest in him whether he used the pen or the brush. But the power of expression seemed even more adequate with the former than with the latter, though writing was never much more with him than a recreation, and painting was the work of his life. His *Essay on Blake*, and, even more, his letters, show how true was his vein, and how admirable his skill, as a writer. The volume of his letters is his best memorial. There you have the many Smethams that constituted the one and only Smetham, the thinker, the art critic, the high-souled idealist, the brave combatant with life, the saint, and the friend. Placed on the same shelf with the letters of Cowper, Lamb, and Edward Fitzgerald, Smetham's *Letters* are worthy of their company, and in certain spiritual qualities are superior to any of them.

Mr. Beardmore has done excellent service by his skilful and sympathetic setting of Smetham's life story. An old

friend of the poet-painter has read it with deep interest and satisfaction.

2. This is an exquisite miniature, drawn by the hand of love, and with the charm of style so characteristic of the author. It is clear, concise, musical; it touches on all the salient features of that wonderful life of devotion which David Hill led, and interests us as much by what it suggests as by what it says.

It may well be doubted whether any man ever more nearly realized the New Testament ideal of a Christian worker than did David Hill. Grace, learning, common sense, temptation, affliction, prayer—these have been said to be the ingredients of a minister; and there is much truth in the saying, though the list might be enlarged. All of these shone in David Hill, as well as humility, self-denial, unsparing diligence, practical philanthropy, and heart-searching devotion. Jesus Christ was the centre of his whole system of thought; he had no idea of attracting people to himself, but only of attracting them to Christ—and by consequence his was a most attractive personality. He was a man of great moral earnestness, and full of spiritual tenderness. His life was one of transparent integrity, unselfishness, and devotion to his Master and his Master's work. Above all, he was a man of prayer. Dr. Barber's pages abundantly illustrate these characteristics. We are admitted to glimpses of David Hill's inner life, we see him pondering and annotating his loved Greek Testament; we sit at his lowly board with its meagre fare; we share in imagination his hardships; we accompany him on his preaching journeys, and mark his compassion for the lowliest and his yearning over the lost; Shan-si and its terrible famine live before us, and Pastor Hsi crosses the stage; we get light on missionary methods, and realize the trials, and difficulties, and joys of the faithful toiler's life; the lurid fires of riot and murder are not wanting; and so we journey on to the beautiful close of this saintly and devoted life. David Hill's name cannot die, and his influence abides as a heritage of blessing indeed. Would that our young people, especially, might read this simple story and lay its lesson to heart!

3. As one chapter after another in the history of Christian missions is closed, there is danger lest the names which are conspicuous in the record should pass out of mind, and the stimulating effect of their example, which once had great influ-

ence, should be lost to the Church. This series of short biographies of worthies of a former time is therefore of great value; and no name better deserved to be called to remembrance than that of John Hunt, one of the noble group of men and women who first broke ground in the mission to the Fiji Islands. It was fitting that the memorial should be taken in hand by a successor of Hunt in the same mission; and Mr. Nettleton, within the narrow space at his disposal, has done the work well, and told effectively how, in the compass of a very few years, the rustic youth ripened into the scholar and saint; translated with marked success the New Testament from Greek into the Fijian tongue; supplied the beginnings of a Christian literature to a people whose language had only just been reduced to a written form; and in a short time, by unsparing toil, and the personal influence of a hallowed life, took a large part in laying the foundations of one of the most wonderful successes of modern missions. The little book ought to do much to enforce the call for new effort and new devotion.

Messrs. Macmillan have issued the first volume of a popular edition of Morley's *Life of William Ewart Gladstone*. By the use of thin paper three volumes are to be compressed into two without any abridgement. It is a great opportunity to get this volume of 1026 pages for five shillings net. The book is a political masterpiece, but it is much more. As statesman, orator, and Christian apologist, Gladstone will never cease to interest his countrymen. Mr. Morley had manifest limitations as the biographer of such a man, but his fairmindedness has largely helped him to surmount them, and this work will never be deposed from its place as the standard biography of one of England's greatest and best men.

The latest of Methuen's 'Little Guides' is a capital volume on *St. Paul's Cathedral* by George Clinch. It is well supplied with illustrations and plans, and packed with facts about 'the national cathedral church of England.' In making this claim for St. Paul's, Mr. Clinch somewhat excepts Canterbury Cathedral; but Westminster Abbey stands nearer to 'the affections and interests of the English people' than either of them. This is a clear and full guide, the guide for all visitors to secure. Everything about old and new St. Paul's and the monuments is here.

## BELLES LETTRES

*From a College Window.* By Arthur C. Benson. (Smith, Elder & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

TWELVE of these essays recently appeared in *Cornhill*, six more have been added which deal with kindred subjects. There is no living author who can handle such themes more suggestively. We sit down in his company as he opens his stores of thought and experience, and the end of the study comes all too soon. We wish there were more. Mr. Benson takes us frankly into his confidence. He is not afraid to open his heart and turn over the pages of his history at home, at school, at Oxford, and as a master at Eton. One of the added essays on 'Ambition' is a vindication of his choice of literature rather than of a great educational position. He is not afraid to say that he does not like games, though he is a keen sportsman and 'rather a martyr to exercise and open air.' The College window first gives us a glimpse into 'that subtle and evasive thing which we call personality'; then Mr. Benson makes us meditate 'on growing older.' 'I have a theory that one ought to grow older in a tranquil and appropriate way, that one ought to be perfectly contented with one's time of life, that amusements and pursuits ought to alter naturally and easily, and not be regretfully abandoned.' It is all so fresh, so sane, so brightly phrased that we cannot have too much. The paper on 'Conversation' ought to be read and discussed in every family circle. 'Really good talk is one of the greatest pleasures there is, and yet how rarely one comes across it.' 'The Criticism of Others' is another stimulating essay. The book will be read again and again with eager interest by all who know how to appreciate high thinking and beautiful English.

Messrs. Chatto and Windus have added Taine's *History of English Literature* to their *St. Martin's Library*. It is in four pocket volumes, each 2s. net in cloth and 3s. in leather. It is a fine-paper edition with thirty-two portraits. The trans-

lation made many years ago by H. Van Laun comes near perfection. Taine's task absorbed him for seven years, and in some respects his work is unrivalled. It has a French vivacity which makes it charming reading, and though the writer does not hesitate to say that he prefers Alfred de Musset to Tennyson, there is no lack of hearty appreciation of our great writers. It is a book that every lover of English literature will be anxious to have on his shelves.

*A History of Comparative Literature.* By Frederick Loliée. Translated by M. D. Power, M.A. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s. net.)

This book has had great success in France, where several editions have been issued within a few months. It is a unique survey of the world's literature from the earliest times down to our own century. The literary development of each country in successive ages forms a study of extraordinary interest. Such a work could only be accomplished by one who had a genius for compression; but though it is necessarily condensed, the criticism has its own distinctive note. We may quote one illustration. The writer says: 'No quainter or more untranslatable writer than Carlyle was ever known. The unexpected ideas to which he gives expression, the strange language which he wilfully adopts, his tumultuous style, abrupt, spasmodic, bristling with metaphors and exaggerated and distorted epithets, the judgements pronounced against England by this eccentric Englishman, the incoherence of his philosophy, which was a sort of cloudy pantheism, and the no less striking contrast of the determined brusqueness with his almost morbid depth of feeling, disconcert the reader at every moment while exciting his interest to the highest degree.' The book is sure to be as warmly welcomed in England as in France.

*Elizabeth Barrett Browning in her Letters.* By Percy Lubbock. With a Portrait. (Smith, Elder & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

No romance of poetry is more touching and beautiful than this real history of a poetess whose whole life and character blossomed into delight and hope at the coming of love. The letters are, of course, well known; but Mr. Lubbock has strung them on a thread of narrative which brings out their full meaning, and has given us a volume that will be a house-



hold treasure. The hardness of Mr. Barrett towards his favourite daughter is almost inconceivable. She was compelled to get married secretly, and her father never spoke to her after she left his house. He knew that marriage had transformed her from a helpless invalid into a woman who could take her place in society; yet he never relented. Robert Browning will be honoured and admired by every one who reads of his chivalrous devotion to the gifted woman to whom he opened the doors of a new world.

*Fenwick's Career.* By Mrs. Humphry Ward. (Smith, Elder & Co. 6s.)

'The prefatory word' which Mrs. Humphry Ward has affixed to her latest story claims the wide fields of the past for the artist who is bent on picturing the present. He may gather from any source, provided he does not 'draw on the conceptions or the phrases that have once passed through the warm minting of another's brain.' Mrs. Ward's own tale finds its inspiration in the story of Romney's married life. Fenwick, the painter, leaves his wife and child in Westmoreland whilst he makes his fight for fame in London. He allows his friends to think him a bachelor, and causes sad complication by this weak and unmanly concealment. The story is tragic enough. The sweetest, noblest woman of the book, Eugénie de Pastourelles, has a hard lot, though she never loses her grace and charm for the reader. Fenwick's wife goes to Canada in a fit of jealousy, and is not heard of for twelve years, when her husband's misfortunes and failures bring her home with her lovely daughter. The dramatic force of the story is well sustained, and the descriptions of the Lake scenery are gems. The book will enhance Mrs. Ward's great reputation. Its literary finish is perfect.

*The Allens of Harrock.* By Edward H. Jackson. (C. H. Kelly. 3s. 6d.)

This story of a Methodist preacher's life and training will appeal to all who want to know about the struggles and encouragements of the manse. It is evident that Mr. Jackson is chronicling his own experience. The scenes are well drawn, and some of the incidents are very tender. It is a story that many will prize. Douglas Allen is a true-hearted man, and his wife is charming.

*Brownjohn's*, by Mabel Dearmer (Smith, Elder & Co., 6s.), has a quaint humour that is delightful. Two boys of one family and two girls of another spend a holiday at the village post office. They have been brought up on a system, and the way they follow nature is a delicious satire on the anxious parents. Barbara is a charming young lady who owes her happy engagement to a young painter to the frolics of the holiday. It is a pleasant story for family reading, and Lady Harding certainly deserves to be adored by all her circle.

Messrs. Routledge are issuing some very attractive volumes in *The Muses' Library*. They are neat and handy editions, pott 8vo, blue cloth extra, full gilt back, 1s. net, or in blue lambskin gilt, silk register, 2s. net. 'Chatterton' is in two volumes, of which one contains the 'acknowledged' and the other the 'Rowley Poems.' The 'Arthur Clough' volume has a valuable memoir by Francis Turner Palgrave. 'Lyra Germanica,' first series, with Miss Winkworth's preface, will appeal to all lovers of sacred song, who will be glad to have such a cheap edition. The 'Jean Ingelow' volume contains the fine poem 'Brothers and a Sermon,' which suggested to Bishop How his noble hymn 'O Jesus, Thou art standing.' These books deserve a place on every family bookshelf.

*Pro Patria and other Poems.* By P. Paul Newman.  
(Brown, Langham & Co. 3s. net.)

Mr. Newman writes careful, graceful and pleasant verse. In the first poem, 'Pro Patria,' the author, who, we judge, is of English birth but Jewish parentage, sighs towards the homeland of his race:

'Far, far away, beyond the water of waters  
There lies another, a forsaken land.'

He cannot forget that—

'The sons of promise lack their birthright still.'

There are some nice poems for children in this little volume, and we are tempted to quote a verse from 'No-You-Don't and Yes-You-May.'

'Beautiful city of Yes-You-May,  
"Could I but find it!" I hear you say.

Ah, my child, I'm afraid you won't  
Till you've toiled through the country of No-You-Don't.'

*The Last Poems of Richard Watson Dixon, D.D., Late Hon. Canon of Carlisle.* (Henry Frowde. 3s. 6d. net.)

The poems in this little volume by the late Canon Dixon, the son of that Dr. Dixon, whose name Methodists hold still in peculiar honour, show the vigour of mind and philosophic aptitude which distinguished the father.

The poems, unattractive at first, gain in clearness and significance on re-reading. You are interested, and begin to take pains with the author's thought, and are willing to forget his awkward rhythm, and you would be glad to have some more to read. This is, really, considerable praise.

The first and longest poem is not commended by its title, 'Too Much Friendship.' Alcander is about to be married to Hypatia, and on the wedding day discovers that his friend Septimius is in love with her. Whereupon he, at once, very kindly bestows her on Septimius, 'as a gift.' Her kinsmen do not see it quite in this light. He is persecuted by them, and also by the god of love. Ultimately he becomes mad—we are not surprised—is beaten to death by shepherds, and nobody seems to mind; not Hypatia, nor Septimius, nor the reader. But some of the shorter pieces are fine, and full of a strange power. When we read in one of his hymns,

'O Lord my God, when sore bestèd .  
My evil life I do bewail,  
What times the life I might have led  
Arising smites me like a flail,'

we find the energy of the last line startling. And energy there is throughout these poems, energy of thought and feeling; and sometimes there is grace.

*A Toy Tragedy*, by Mrs. de la Pasture (Cassell & Co., 3s. 6d.), is a story of four small children whose mother is dead and their father on his way to India. They are a most engaging quartette, and after a very trying interval find a delightful home with their uncle. It is a book that gets to one's heart.

*Nyono at School and at Home*, by James Baird (Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier, 1s. net), gives the life of an African boy at school and at home. His love of eating, his power of sleeping, everything about the little brother in black is told in a

way that will delight children and grown-up people too. Mr. Baird is one of the workers at Blantyre.

*A Night on Calvary, and other Stories.* By 'Sylvester Gray.' (Stockwell. 1s. 6d.)

These stories are fresh and well written, though a few passages are rather crude and stiff. Some of the tales have a touch of pathos, they are all pitched somewhat in a minor key, but they are all worth reading.

Messrs. Chatto & Windus publish *The Pocket Dickens*, by Alfred H. Hyatt (2s. net). It consists of favourite passages from Dickens with an index that gives the books from which they are selected. Dickens comes well out of such a test. Open the little volume where you will, you find a gem. There is plenty of rollicking fun, but there is still more kindness and goodwill. It is a book that lovers of Dickens will delight in.

Messrs. Bell & Sons deserve well of all book lovers for their *York Library*. The volumes are so neat and handy, the selection is so well made that the Library ought to grow steadily in public favour. It is a great boon to have *The Essays of Montaigne* in three volumes (2s. net each). The translation is Cotton's (1685-6), revised in 1892 by W. Carew Hazlitt. Cotton's interpolations are either cancelled or given as notes. There is a brief but excellent biographical sketch. The Essays have been growing in fame ever since they were written. The Essayist was the 'leader of a new school in letters and morals. His book was different from all others which were at that date in the world.' He threw new light on many matters. He revealed the working of his own mind, and took his readers into his confidence on all subjects.

Mr. Allenson has added Emerson's *English Traits* to his sixpenny series. It is the most interesting of all his books, and every one ought to have this edition.

*Lady Baltimore*, by Owen Wister (Macmillan & Co., 6s.), is a story of South Carolina, written with such delicate appreciation of vanishing types, such gentle humour and truth of description, that it is really fine art as well as delicious comedy. It is a treasure for the holidays. Mr. Wister's scorn for the fast set of Newport and New York does one good.

## GENERAL

*The Making of Modern Egypt.* By Sir Auckland Colvin, K.C.S.I., &c., British Controller-General in Egypt, and Financial Adviser to H.H. the Khedive. (Seeley & Co. 18s. net.)

This is an extremely able book, instructive and interesting from cover to cover. Sir Auckland Colvin writes with perfect mastery of his theme. He views his subject from the centre, and his full and accurate knowledge of the course of events, often obscure and involved, his insight and sympathy, his fearlessness, his statesmanlike attitude, and his high moral feeling, make the volume one of peculiar value. To those who would form a just estimate of the incalculable benefits conferred upon Egypt since 1882 by the British occupation, the volume is indispensable. The object of the book is to tell the story of the making of modern Egypt under British influence, through all its vicissitudes and disasters to its triumphant close; to show how Lord Cromer, aided by devoted subordinates, has piloted during more than twenty years the ship of state over seas of international complications, threatened insolvency, French jealousy, Egyptian cupidity, craft, and treachery, displaying patience, sagacity, and courage of which no discomfiture could rob him, and achieving results richer and more fruitful than the most sanguine could have imagined.

There is much graphic portraiture here. The vignettes of notable Egyptians like the great Pashas, Nubar, Sherif, and Riyáz are excellently drawn. Full justice is done to their fine qualities, their capacity, loyalty, reforming zeal, charm, and their imperiousness. On the other hand, self-seeking, neglect of duty, abuse of authority, disregard of the claims of the masses, extravagance—common faults of Pashadom—are not spared. The chapter on our heroic Gordon is a fascinating study, impartial, well-balanced, discriminating, and just in its conclusions. 'To send him, not to achieve fresh success, but to withdraw from the scenes of former triumphs, and possibly to turn his back on friends who, in humbler spheres, had

shared them, was to impose on him a task for which by character as by past achievement, he was eminently and absolutely unsuited.' The tragic development of events at this period, with the evacuation of the Soudan, Sir Auckland Colvin presents in its historic setting, with its ultimate bearing on the reorganization of Egypt; the chapter on which, as well as that headed 'Post Tenebras Lux,' is full of instruction. He shows, too, how with the turning of the tide after 1885, when the baleful star of French influence was on the wane, there began the long slow years of harbouring of resources, and quiet preparation (during which time the Soudan, under the Khalifa's vile sway, was sinking ever deeper in wretchedness), which were the prelude to the extraordinary material expansion that followed. Reforms were urgent in all directions, but existing obligations, in relation to the huge public debt, swallowed up the national revenue and rendered them difficult. Rigid parsimony had to be practised, if fresh burdens were not to be imposed upon an already overtaxed people. Yet fiscal and administrative reforms were inaugurated. Forced labour was abolished. Taxation was reduced. Revenue grew. Expenditure was brought under better control. The state was restored to solvency. The police was reorganized, the tribunals raised to a higher condition of impartiality and efficiency, and conscience was infused into justice. The Nile barrage was reconstructed, at least the work was begun, canals for distributing the water were remodelled and irrigation improved. Larger areas of land were cultivated. Roads were made and light railways laid down. All this was preliminary.

But the year 1890, when the Nile barrage restoration, after six years' toil, was brought to a close, marks 'the Great Divide.' Behind it are clouds and darkness, on this side successive years have radiantly smiled. After unbroken centuries of neglect, the hour of the fellah had at length arrived, and his well-being was recognized as a trust. By 1896 the credit of Egypt was completely rehabilitated. With the recovery of the Soudan a vast new world of mystery and fascination was opened to enterprise. 'The course of events was no longer marked by rocks and cataracts, but spread out like the Nile into a smooth and fertilizing flood.'

We cannot find space for many of the figures that illustrate recent progress; nor can we linger over the Assouan dam, completed in 1903, costing £E2,500,000, and which, it was

computed by Sir W. Garstin, would add £E2,608,000 annually to the wealth of the country. £E11,000,000 have been spent on irrigation. The revenue rose from £E9,637,173 in 1885 to £E12,248,108 in 1903. The value of imports rose from £E8,989,042 to £E16,753,190; the exports from £E11,424,970 to £E19,116,192. There has been improvement all round, in care for the sick, in the training of the soldier, in sanitation, and general comfort. But much remains to be done. Eighty-eight per cent. of the population are illiterate. A laborious common-people are cursed by unthrift and suspiciousness, the result of ages of oppression and robbery. Our countrymen having set their hand to the plough will not stop short of seeking the moral and spiritual well-being of the Egyptian nation.

*The History of English Rationalism in the Nineteenth Century.* By A. W. Benn. In two Vols. (Longmans, Green & Co. 21s. net.)

The nineteenth century is awaiting its historians, and before long their number will be large. Amongst the most important surveys will be the history of religious belief, and the changes which have passed over it during the last hundred years. Mr. Benn, in the volumes before us, has furnished a valuable, though one-sided contribution to this study. He had an excellent subject, and he has handled it at length in two goodly volumes of about a thousand closely printed pages. We wish we could say that he has entirely succeeded in his important task. Of his ability as a writer there is no question, and he has made a close and careful study of his subject. Further, it is, in our opinion at least, no drawback that his own sympathies should be decidedly enlisted on one side; in favour, that is, of destructive rationalism and against orthodox religion. The author's personal predilections could easily have been allowed for by readers of different religious opinions.

But this is not a history of nineteenth-century rationalism. The first two hundred and fifty pages are but indirectly concerned with the subject. In them the author is occupied in discussing the methods of faith and reason in a general way from his own standpoint, and describing in detail the Deism of the eighteenth century. When he begins the subject proper, he handles it in an irregular and peculiar fashion, giving, for example, a long chapter of fifty pages to Coleridge, whose connexion with rationalism

is somewhat remote, and grouping together Comte, Carlyle and Mill, three thinkers as far removed from one another as they could well be. Some of the chapters are headed 'Dissolution of Pietism,' 'Reconstruction and Reaction,' and 'The Retreat of Theology,' but no one of them enables the reader clearly to trace the tides of thought which led to a diminution or an increase of religious faith. The phenomena, we know, are complex, but it is the function of the historian so to master the whole as to enable the reader to trace the genesis and decay of religious or rationalistic movements and this, we are bound to say, Mr. Benn conspicuously fails to do.

Further, his descriptions of the work and influence of leading thinkers, whether destructive or constructive, are so intermingled with his own views and arguments that it is often difficult to tell whose opinions are being cited. Such a history should, as far as possible, be sketched in dry light. We do not complain if a historian holds, and from time to time manifests, his own prepossessions, though we may not sympathize with them; as, for instance, Lecky did in his *History of Rationalism in Europe*, and Sir Leslie Stephen in his similar history of free thought in the eighteenth century. But Mr. Benn so intersperses impetuous, personal and even violent attacks upon those with whom he does not agree, as to disqualify himself from the task of writing instructive and trustworthy history. The bias comes out most clearly when a scientific student like Romanes, or a poet like Browning, modifies his religious views. A full and eulogistic account is given of the *Candid Examination of Theism*, whilst the *Thoughts on Religion* is slightly and contemptuously treated. Browning's 'Christmas Eve and Easter Day' is described as 'a screed of doggerel verse,' illustrating a 'threadbare defence' of Broad Church Christianity, whilst 'La Saisiaz' shows that the poet 'had ceased to be a Christian'—a very questionable statement, by the way—and it is characterized as 'a magnificent elegy.'

The chief deficiency of the book, however, is that rationalism is treated in such an imperfect and one-sided way. It is defined as 'the mental habit of using reason for the destruction of religious belief,' whilst 'reason' is never defined, it being always assumed that it is opposed to religion. Consequently an account is given of a miscellaneous variety of teachers, ranging from Ruskin to Buckle, and from Colenso to Herbert Spencer, who have nothing in common except that



their influence was more or less exercised against 'orthodoxy.' One chapter in the second volume includes an account of T. H. Green, the brothers John and Edward Caird, Dr. Martineau, Seeley, Shorthouse, Herbert Spencer, Cotter Morison, the author of *Robert Elsmere*, Dr. Edwin Abbott and a few other writers, the reason for their juxtaposition being apparently that in some way or other all had helped to destroy current orthodox Christianity.

We greatly regret that Mr. Benn should have, as we think, missed a great opportunity. He has read widely, he passes in review many great and notable names, and there is much to be learned from his pages. A weighty, well-balanced discussion of the changes which had passed over theological opinion from 1800 to 1900 would have been most instructive, even if written from the rationalistic standpoint which is far removed from our own. But Mr. Benn has not provided this. Instead of it he has written a discursive running commentary upon a large number of English writers of the nineteenth century, drawing from their works all the elements that are antagonistic to Christianity, and adding various destructive criticisms of his own. His book must be interesting to all students of theology and it will be found useful to all who wish to understand contemporary thought, but a history of rationalism in the nineteenth century, in the proper sense of the words, it can hardly claim to be. Ministers and others may, however, learn much from these thoughtful, interesting and carefully prepared volumes, if they make full allowance for the 'personal equation' of the writer.

*The Problems of Philosophy.* By Harold Höffding.  
Translated by Galen W. Fisher. (Macmillan & Co.  
4s. 6d. net.)

If 'a great book is a great evil,' a small one by an acknowledged master is often a great boon. Höffding's eminence and ability as a philosopher are well known, and we heartily agree with Professor W. James that this small book of his was even more worthy of translation than some of the larger works which are now familiar in an English dress. In it he sums up in pithy and telling form his views on the four Problems of Consciousness, Knowledge, Being, and Values. Students of the subject will know that these practically cover the

whole ground of philosophy—psychological, epistemological, ontological, ethical and religious. The discussion is brief—it occupies less than two hundred small pages—but it is most illuminating, and almost as instructive to those who differ from the author as to those who follow him. We cannot agree with Höffding on many points, especially his religious agnosticism. But we have read this book with great admiration of his ability as a thinker and his skill in lucid exposition, and we can heartily commend this translation of his ‘philosophical testament’ to English readers.

*Religion in the Schools.* By H. Hensley Henson, D.D.  
(Macmillan & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

These lectures were delivered during Lent in St. Margaret's, Westminster. Canon Henson never lacks courage, and he never needed it more than when he stood up to handle this national problem. He holds that we are heading towards a federation of variously constituted Churches, and believes that nothing could more advance that cause than ‘a system of national education which included in its normal course instruction in fundamental Christianity, and which was conducted throughout in the temper of the New Testament.’ He shows that the Bible is just the manual of fundamental Christianity that we need, and argues that no other agent than the State can really grapple with the problem of teaching religion. ‘The Churches have no adequate machinery; they are themselves perforce compelled to admit that they cannot take over from the State the task of teaching elementary faith and morals to the children of this country.’ In an appendix, and in his fifth lecture, he grapples with the difficult point of securing sincerity in the religious teaching. He thinks that ‘a certificate of religious knowledge and credentials of character go a very long way towards providing all the evidence of competence for the work of religious instruction which it is possible to secure. The first is a formal guarantee of intellectual efficiency; the latter is an informal assurance of moral fitness. If to these were added a statutory right vested in the teacher to decline, on conscientious grounds, the task of giving religious instruction, I am disposed to think that all the legitimate purpose of a denominational qualification would be secured.’ The book is one of first-rate importance, and the candour and sincerity of it are admirable.

*The Open Church for the Unchurched, or How to Reach the Masses.* By James E. McCulloch. (Fleming H. Revell Company. 3s. 6d. net.)

This book is a notable tribute to our Methodist Forward Movement. It deals with mission work in great towns from the point of view of 'the most suggestive and encouraging example of city evangelization in the world,' and indicates briefly the lines of development which the writer thinks the American Church should follow. After a description of the social awakening of London and the Wesleyan Forward Movement, four chapters are given to the missions in West, East, and South London and to the Leysian Settlement. These chapters will be keenly studied in America. They are full of facts and incidents, and are the result of personal investigation and intelligent study. The last part of the book is 'Lessons for America.' Mr. McCulloch says the Wesleyan Church in England is twenty years ahead of any church in America in city evangelization. In America the very term 'city mission' has become repellent. Dingy chapels or halls in back streets are open two or three times a week, and for the rest of the time have locked doors and look as gloomy and uninteresting as a graveyard. He says 'the Wesleyans have really made a discovery in this use of central halls.' Special attention is called to the splendid premises at Birmingham. The choice of specially trained and qualified missionaries is another point where America might imitate England. Lengthened service, a more liberal policy, and enlarged views of the mission of the Church are advocated not merely to save souls but bodies and minds. This wise and timely book will make a profound impression in America and is likely to bear much fruit.

*Christianity and the Working Classes.* Edited by Mr. George Haw. (Macmillan & Co. 3s. 6d. net.)

A series of essays by men who are representative of all sections of the Christian Church, and two or three of the picked leaders of labour. Nearly everybody who writes has had practical personal experience of the subject with which he deals. In his introduction Mr. Haw says, 'The working classes feel that as a class they are completely shut out from all share in the administration of the older Churches. The religious world, with its organizations, is something far

removed from the labour world with its organizations. The two are drifting farther apart from each other every year.' The letters Mr. Haw quotes to substantiate this position are painful reading. The essayists for the most part take it for granted that Churchmanship as differentiated from Christianity is not popular with the masses. They deal with the causes of estrangement in a frank and trenchant fashion. If the Churches universally would study the impeachment with equal frankness and impartiality the result must be greatly to the advantage of the Churches' mission to labour. While such different men as Dr. Horton and Father Adderley, Mr. Will Crooks, M.P., and Canon Barnett write thoughtfully, two of the best papers are by Dean Kitchin and Mr. A. Henderson, M.P., who point out the way by which 'labour's attention and goodwill' can be recovered. All students for the ministry should read this book, as also those actually in charge of churches whose ideas are not so fixed as to be incapable of adaptation. We heartily commend the volume.

*Fra Angelico.* (Newnes. 3s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Newnes' Art Library is the most attractive introduction to the great painters that we possess. The size of the page lends itself to effective reproduction, and this portfolio of Fra Angelico's work is full of beauty and rich in meaning. Mr. Edgcumbe Staley's introductory sketch places the artist in his framework at San Marco, and helps us to understand 'The Theologian of Florence.' The friar set to work with his *Imitatio Christi* in hand. The double texts on the scrolls and aureoles of saintly figures, the separate symbols of the Church's creed borne by the apostles—all the details of his art are planned with a view to bring out the chief features of Christian history. His own life was an embodiment of his saying: 'He who illustrates Christ must be Christ-like.'

*The Subjection of Women.* By John Stuart Mill. Edited with Introductory Analysis by Stanton Coit, Ph.D. (Longmans & Co. 6d. net.)

This cheap re-issue of Mill's well-known work is intended as an auxiliary to the revival of the women-suffrage question. The original work was published without headings or topical indications of any kind. The form was characteristically severe and forbidding. The present editor supplies the de-

iciency in a careful and full analysis of the chapters and paragraphs, and in a statement of the changes made in the legal status of women since 1869. The editor's introduction makes the essay far more intelligible and attractive, and will probably add to its effectiveness.

*Ancient Tyre and Modern England* (Stock, 7s. 6d. net) points out the analogies between our country and Tyre, and calls on all who love their own land to labour for its cleansing. The book is a monument of industry, but of industry misapplied. *The Spirit in the Letter of the Word*, by William Richards (Stock, 5s.), sets itself to explain the more difficult passages of Scripture and to reveal the true character of Daniel, Jacob and others. 'Jacob and Jesus are one and the same.' 'Isaac represents the Jewish Church when it was dying, when it was blind.' The explanations are harder than the things they profess to explain. *The Church and the Adversary* (Stock, 3s. 6d. net) is a present-day caveat by a layman who attempts to trace the influence of 'the enemy' on the churches. He is evidently both learned and godly, and some of the things he says deserve careful attention. Strong sense and sturdy Protestant conviction mark the work.

*My System*, by J. P. Müller (Anglo-Danish Publishing Co.), is a translation from the Danish. Mr. Müller's physical exercises can be used without any special apparatus. They aim at a really rational, normal, and harmonious development of every part of the body, and Mr. Müller claims that fifteen minutes a day spent as his book teaches will be of immense service. Seventy thousand copies of the book have been sold in Germany.

We have received *From a Sheltered Nook*, by Francis Gooddy (Stock, 1s. 6d. net). The papers are slight but tender and comforting. *Two Services of Public Prayer* (Longmans, 1s.) is a selection from Dr. Martineau's *Home Prayers*. They come very close to Christian truth, but with all their grace and sweetness they fail to touch the deepest or highest note. Mr. George Allen's cheap edition of *Unto This Last* (1s. net) will tempt many to read the four essays on political economy which Ruskin regarded as 'the truest, rightest-worded, and most serviceable things' he ever wrote. It is an attractive little volume.

*The Captive City of God.* By Richard Heath. (Headley Brothers. 1s.)

In the preface the writer describes his book as 'a voice from the crowd seeking to express the thoughts of the people about the Churches. It tries the latter by a standard which is in effect the same whether we call it the Democratic Ideal or the Kingdom of Heaven. And it attributes the failure of the Churches, when thus tried, to their having been captured by those who do not recognize any such standard.' We would strongly urge that no reader should cast this book aside because he dissents from the socialistic preconceptions which dominate it throughout. He will be sure to find much that irritates him, and much that is extravagant and grossly unfair; but, when all is said and done, the book is worth reading if only because it is so provocative of thought and self-examination. And, further, however erroneous many of his conclusions may be, the writer is one whose hopes are centred in Christ alone: to use his own words, 'the Church of God is to me the one hope of humanity, and the Lighthouse of the World. It is because I prize it so highly that I am convinced its captivity is the greatest of all evils.' The general trend of the book may be summed up in three propositions, which, although not expressly formulated as the author's theme, are never absent from his mind: (i.) That Individualism, especially as manifested in the holding of private property, is the cause of all social ills. (ii.) That the Christian Church, from the days of Constantine, has become subject to the moneyed classes; and has thereby lost all power over the people at large, who regard it as part of the great engine of social tyranny and injustice. (iii.) That the recovery of the Democratic Ideal is essential to the realization of the Kingdom of God.

This is not the place in which to discuss such far-reaching propositions, but a few observations upon them must be made. In the first place, without defending the actual state of things to-day, it must be understood that Individualism by itself is not responsible; and whatever may have been the evil of property-owning, it is a secondary, and not a primary evil. Sin finds little or no place in Mr. Heath's argument; but it is sin which has made Individualism an evil. Then, further, it is idle, and worse, to build an argument upon the equality of all men, seeing that men are not by nature equal; and a state founded upon the assumption that they are so would be a

paradise for the undeserving, and a prison-house for the active and intelligent. In his indictment of the Churches Mr. Heath has been guilty of the injustice of fixing upon the abnormal and the extravagant as though they were typical. He quotes various eccentricities of American Church-life—features repulsive indeed; he cites Bishop Potter's well-meant but ill-advised public-house scheme; he instances the dire contrast between the sermons (1) of the German Emperor and his acts; such, he cries, is the tone of the Christian Church; and on such grounds he contends that the churches are commercialized. Not one word is said about the great Central Missions and the Institutional Churches, with their philanthropic agencies associated with their evangelism. Never, we contend, was there less disposition to regard religion as merely a system or a creed, without reference to its obligations.

There is great danger in resting too exclusively upon *one* of the two elements of Christ's first law. 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God,' &c., may degenerate into a religion of sacrifices, of ritual, and of dead conformity. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' may begin and end in ministrations to man's material necessities. Neither is an adequate expression of God's will without the other. The basis for brotherly love is the recognition of God as Father. 'The rights of God,' Mr. Heath says most truly, 'include the rights of man; and the former are not fully acknowledged unless the latter are also fully acknowledged.' But where we would join issue with him is on his assumption that this can only be realized in a state with a socialistic basis.

*Notes on India for Missionary Students.* (C.M.S. 1s.)

Mr. Eugene Stock has prepared these Notes for the use of missionary study classes. The first chapter is on 'the country, the races, the languages.' Then we have some singularly interesting pages on 'the people and their homes,' followed by chapters on Indian History, Christianity in India, &c. The little book is packed with matter.

Messrs. Longmans publish an abridged edition of Bishop Creighton's *Thoughts on Education* (6d. net), a most timely book, which the Bishop of Manchester describes as the utterance of a 'British parent who knows what he wants in the education of his children.' Every teacher and preacher will find it a little book of the deepest interest and value.

*Courage*, by Charles Wagner (Unwin, 1s. net), is vigorous and stimulating. It treats great subjects in a fresh and wholesome fashion, and cannot fail to do much service to young readers. *To-day*, by J. C. Wright (Methuen, 1s. 6d. net), is a bright companion with a rich and suggestive thought for every day. It is well done. Messrs. Longmans publish two *Short Studies* (3d. net) of unusual interest and importance on Judaism and Christianity. One deals with *Sabbath and Sunday*, the other with the *Jewish Prayer-book*.

*The Official Year-book of the Church of England* (S.P.C.K., 3s.), is packed with facts and statistics of every kind. The ordinations for the year were 624, the confirmations 230,339. It gives lists of theological schools and colleges, details of home missionary, educational, foreign missionary and other work. No effort has been spared to make it complete and reliable. It is an indispensable book of reference.

*The King's English*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 5s. net.)

This book passes by rules which are seldom or never broken, and illustrates by living examples the blunders we are all apt to make. A spice of mischief may be discerned in the way the authors gibbet some of our standard writers, but this selection of passages adds much to the interest of a book which ought to be constantly in the hands of every one who wants to write 'The King's English' correctly. The writers think there is a real danger of our language being americanized, and that not merely in details of vocabulary, but in its general tone. In this Mr. Rudyard Kipling and his school are the chief offenders. The protest against the needless use of foreign words (*sans* for *without*, &c.) as 'pretension and nothing else' is good, and so is all the book.

Tickell's *Practical Guide to French Pronunciation* (Hachette & Co., 1s.) is arranged on a card which shows at a glance that all the French sounds exist in English, with two exceptions, though they are so differently written. It is a very ingenious and simple method.



## Periodical Literature

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### BRITISH.

**THEOLOGIAN**s will turn most eagerly to the paper in *The Quarterly Review* (April-June), by Mr. M. Kaufmann, on *Pascal's Apologia*, in which, by the help of much recent French literature, the writer elucidates the aims and methods of the *Pensées*. Both inquirers after, and defenders of, the truth, he thinks, will find much in Pascal amid the perplexities of modern problems to help them in their task. Of the famous *Thoughts* he says: 'As they are the outcome of a meditative genius, gifted with a kind of divine sagacity and set aglow by a burning desire to know and embrace the truth, so they stimulate reflection, and at the same time strengthen belief, by contagion.'

*The Edinburgh Review* (April-June) has a short paper on *Pre-Raphaelitism*, based exclusively on Mr. Holman Hunt's book, but branching out into criticisms of the movement of which he is regarded as the representative, and of Mr. Hunt himself. The most suggestive part of the paper is that which discusses the relation of literature and philosophy to art; but the whole is well worth reading, as is also '*In Memoriam*' after *Fifty Years*—the gem of the number. All the standard studies and comments on the poem are named, except Mr. Charles Mansford's, in many respects the best. Specially noteworthy is the writer's parallel between Plato and Tennyson, and between the *Phædo* and *In Memoriam*—those two great utterances on immortality.

*The Lighter Side of Hannah More* is attractively illustrated by Mr. Norman Pearson in *The Nineteenth Century* for May. 'Few historical figures have come down to us more awfully arrayed in the full terrors of respectability than that of Hannah More. Prim and grim, the stern apostle of a starched decorum, the very avatar of Mrs. Grundy, a sour Sabbatarian, whose narrow austerity branded every innocent pleasure as impious, and threw a chill even over that benevolence for which she was justly renowned,' there was yet another side to her character which is well brought out by tracing her relations, not with such men as John Newton and Dr. Johnson, but with Horace Walpole, who in one of his letters thus addresses her: 'Adieu, thou who mightest be one of the cleverest of women

if thou didst not prefer to be one of the best! And when I say *one* of the best, I have not engaged my vote for the second.' In accounting for the general animosity excited against her, Mr. Pearson makes a statement which should not pass unchallenged: 'The Methodists disliked her because she attracted people from their meetings to the services of the Church. The common people distrusted her because they confounded her teachings with Methodism, of which many had a superstitious dread. A countryman declared that one of his apple-trees, under which a Methodist had once preached, never bore fruit again,' &c., &c.

The *Twentieth Century Quarterly* is the new organ of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England. It opens with an admirable literary article on Miss Travers, the new poet, whom the writer (Dr. Dowden) places, along with Shelley, 'among the spirits who climb or soar.' *The Two Arcadias*, her volume of plays and poems, is favourably 'appreciated,' and evidence is given of 'a gift of song which captures the imagination, and both satisfies and makes desirous the sense of hearing.' The Bishop of Sodor and Man and Mr. Philip Morell, M.P., plead for simple Bible teaching in elementary schools; Chancellor P. V. Smith advocates the adoption of the ideal of the Lambeth Conference as a basis of re-union at home and abroad; the Bishop of Clogher attributes the new interest in religion, perceptible on every side, to the tameness and unsatisfyingness of unbelief; the Rev. G. F. Irwin describes religious thought in Germany as represented by Eucken and Harnack; and other writers deal with questions social, national, and ecclesiastical, in a temperate spirit, and from a not intolerant but thoroughly Protestant point of view. The book notices are chiefly theological. This is a substantial addition to our religious periodical literature.

With the exception of a valuable article on *Experience and Transcendence*, by Baron Friedrich von Hügel, which is of special interest to those who are familiar with Professor James's *Varieties of Religious Experience*, and kindred works, there is nothing specially striking in the body of the *Dublin Review* for April; not even the editor's dissertation on *Cardinal Newman and Creative Theology*, the outcome of which, as is usual, and, indeed, peremptory, in Catholic writers, is that thought can only safely be creative under the tutelage of the Catholic Church. But in the admirable book notices there is an epitome of a recent French work, *La Transcendance de Jésus Christ*, by the Abbé Picard, in which many of our readers would be interested. The subject is treated in a popular, untechnical manner, but with constant reference to the schools of thought represented by Renan, Sabatier, and Harnack. After a luminous introduction of seventy pages on the authority of the Gospel narratives, come sections on the life of Christ; on Christ the Master of nature; on the psychology of Christ—a section that could not

have been written before the twentieth century; on the Kingdom of God, the King, the Moral Doctrine of the King, the Continued Existence of the King, and the Mystic Union of the Children of the Kingdom. In the section on our Lord's psychology there are suggestive studies on His attitude towards science and politics; His principles as a Teacher of men; His methods of discussion; His respect for human nature, &c., &c. His transcendence is shown to be human as well as divine. He is the Son of man, a 'personal, active living realization of the perfect man.' (Plon, Nourrit, Paris. 2 vols., 1000 pp., 16fr.)

In *The National Review* for May, Major-General Baden-Powell describes the various flying machines invented by M. Lebaudy in France, and by the brothers Wright in America, and forecasts the revolution likely to be wrought in war and peace by these truly marvellous productions. *The Forum* for April details the experiments made by Messrs. Wright at Dayton, Ohio, and pronounces them a complete success. The French Government have acquired an interest in their latest machine. It really looks as if the problem had at last been largely solved.

*The Hibbert Journal* (April).—A notice of one of the most striking articles in this number—*The Divine Element in Christianity*, by Sir Oliver Lodge—will be found amongst our *Notes and Discussions*. Almost every page of the Journal appeals strongly to readers interested in theology and philosophy. Dom Cuthbert Butler criticizes with acuteness Sabatier's posthumous work on *Religions of Authority*, and contends that the 'Religion of the Spirit' which Sabatier advocates is not a working religion for mankind. A religion without priests, sacrifices and ceremonies means for the writer of this article no religion at all, and he claims that true spiritual religion is to be found rather in Roman Catholicism than in Protestantism. We should be inclined to admit that of some 'Catholics' and some 'Protestants' such a statement is as true as it is false of Protestantism and Catholicism generally. Prof. Estlin Carpenter describes *How Japanese Buddhism appeals to a Christian Theist*. The Bishop of Carlisle deals in a broad and generous spirit with the present position of the Education problem. *St. Catherine of Siena*, by E. G. Gardner, contains a vivid picture of the life and work of a true church reformer and martyr. The Principal-Elect of the Primitive Methodist College in Manchester writes on *The Laws and Limits of Development in Christian Doctrine*. He makes three restrictions which legitimate doctrinal development should not overleap—the personal needs of the human spirit, the generic Christian consciousness and the spirit of the Christian Scriptures; and concludes by saying that the three sources of doctrine—the Scriptures, feeling, and reason—must be permitted to balance and correct one another, else doctrine will lose its true perspective. The paper is a thoughtful one, but—

the well is deep. The easy generalizations of the writer do not aid much in the elucidation of the important practical problem he raises. Amongst the 'discussions,' Rev. H. T. Hooper, Wesleyan minister, contributes an interesting note in criticism of Dr. Heber Newton's article on the outcome of the theological movement of our times. Mr. Hooper well points out that 'to dictate to progress the results at which it is to arrive is to make progress impossible. Dr. Newton denounces the old habit of dictation—and perpetuates it.' There are no dogmatists so dogmatical as some destructive critics.

**The Journal of Theological Studies** (April).—There is no end to the theorizings of modern Biblical critics. In the first paper of this number Rev. R. H. Kennett denies that the prophecy in Isaiah ix. 1-7 was written by Isaiah, and that it refers to Christ, though in some sense Christ 'fulfilled' it. He would assign it to the Maccabæan period, about 141 B.C. The titles given to the Child about to be born are rendered 'Marvellous Designer, Mighty Hero, Mentor and Guide in perpetuity, and Prince of Peace.' We cannot summarize the arguments used by Mr. Kennett, but amongst them we find that 'while there is no proof that the Assyrian boots were of a specially heavy description, nailed boots were a characteristic of the Macedonian soldiery.' That versatile writer, Sir Henry Howorth, contributes an article on the *Roman Canon and Book of Esdras A*, in which he contends that the text of the canonical Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, contained in extant Greek Bibles, is not a Septuagint text at all, but that the text of another document, 'Esdras A,' in the Greek uncials deserves to be rehabilitated. He claims to prove that the Council of Florence, followed by the Council of Trent, made a serious mistake concerning Esdras I. and II., supposing these titles to mean the Ezra and Nehemiah of our Bibles, which in fact they were not. Mr. C. H. Turner continues his learned study of Niceta and Ambrosiaster, dwelling upon the importance of the investigations of Mr. Souter, now professor at Mansfield College. He considers that Mr. Souter has settled once for all the question of the identity of 'Ambrosiaster,' the author of the 'Questions' concerning the Old and New Testaments which were long ascribed to Augustine. Amongst the Notes and Studies, the longest and most interesting is by Dom J. Chapman on the *Brethren of the Lord*. The writer argues against the Helvidian hypothesis championed by Prof. Mayor's article in *Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, and in favour of the Hieronymian view, that James the son of Alphaeus, the apostle, was also 'brother,' i.e. cousin of the Lord. Dom Chapman considers it probable that James, Jude and Simeon, sons of Clopas, and cousins of Jesus, were the three apostles so named. The discussion is careful and interesting, but will hardly, we should imagine, carry conviction with it.

**Review of Theology and Philosophy** (April and May).—The most

notable article in this number is a criticism by Prof. Carl Clemen, of Bonn, of Dr. Sanday's last work on the Fourth Gospel. Dr. Clemen had criticized adversely Sanday's *Outlines of the Life of Christ*, and the author requested him to write a notice of his new work, since it virtually furnished a reply to previous strictures. But the Bonn professor is as little pleased with the conservatism of this volume as with the last. The standpoint of these two eminent critics is entirely different, and while it is interesting to compare them, they are not sufficiently in sympathy to understand one another. In discussing the question whether an eye- and ear-witness of the life of Jesus could have written as the fourth Evangelist does, Clemen slights the numerous realistic touches which the Gospel contains, and practically ignores the effect which would be produced on his mind by the lapse of half-a-century and the maturing of his experience in the light of the religious life growing up around him in Ephesus. The widening influence of the Ritschlian school of theology is shown by the publication of a French monograph on Herrmann, which Dr. Garvie reviews with sympathy but also with discrimination. Peabody's delightful book on *Jesus Christ and the Christian Character*, and Höffding's important little manual on the *Problems of Philosophy*, are noticed at some length, whilst the publication of two books on Kant furnishes a basis for a discussion of modern Kantianism by R. F. Hoernlé of St. Andrews. We never take up a number of this Review without finding theological and philosophical pabulum, often of the best.

**Primitive Methodist Quarterly Review** (April).—It is always a pleasure to note in this Review the variety and the timeliness of the subjects discussed. The last number is quite up to, perhaps above, the average. Literature is represented by articles on *Dante as an Ethical Teacher*, *The Influence of George Macdonald*, and *The Poetry of Mrs. Browning*. General church history receives attention in *Cranmer's Contribution to the Reformation*, and theology in a discussion of *The Descent into Hell*. Practical subjects of ecclesiastical importance are handled in *The Spiritual Authority of the Preacher*, and *The Church and the Working Classes*. The denominational element is well represented in *The Mentor of William Clowes*, an interesting notice of William Edward Miller, a man who ought to be better known than he is, the *New History of the Primitive Methodist Church*, and *A Chair of Evangelism for the Primitive Methodist College*, the last article being written by the veteran evangelist, the Rev. Joseph Odell. Current theological literature is dealt with as usual by Prof. Peake. His reviews and criticisms are often worth the price of the whole number.

**The Expository Times** (April and May).—Dr. Hastings always contrives to make his notes of recent exposition interesting and suggestive. But the very brevity of them, which is attractive to the natural man, gives to his deliverances a decisive tone which they do

not always deserve. It is easy to touch the fringe of a great subject in passing; it is supremely difficult to speak a 'winged word' upon it in a paragraph which reaches to the heart of the whole matter. Sometimes Dr. Hastings succeeds in the latter task, and, if he sometimes fails, he never fails to set his readers thinking. And in briefly criticizing Dr. M'Taggart's *Hegelianism*, and Prof. Burman Foster's *Finality of the Christian Religion*—a book which is being extravagantly praised on the other side of the Atlantic—the Editor's notes are as acute as they are just. Prof. Garvie's article on *The New Method of Studying the Bible* is unfinished, and we will not at present express an opinion upon it. One of the few complaints that we are disposed to make concerning this excellent periodical is that its contents are so fragmentary and 'snippety.' In two pages Dr. Garvie cannot show us where he stands in relation to so important a subject as the one specified. On the other hand, some of the notices of current theological literature are most instructive, and, whilst brief, are sufficiently long. Dr. Banks's account of Goebel's work on the *Discourses in the Fourth Gospel* is important in the light of current controversy. Scholars will be interested in the account of *A Lost Uncial Codex of the Psalms*. And, whatever criticisms may be passed upon details, the *Expository Times* continues to maintain its position as one of the most valuable theological periodicals current. For ministers in active work it is probably the most useful.

#### AMERICAN.

**Baptist Review and Expositor** (April).—Dr. Vedder's article on the Fourth Gospel is unfortunately wide of the mark at this time. He proposes to 'brush aside all questions regarding authorship, time and place of composition, and the like,' and to ask simply, What does this Gospel tell, and why? The answer to that question cannot be given without some theory as to who tells the story. If it be the work, directly or indirectly, of an eye-witness, its testimony is all-important; if it is a treatise of the second century cast into the form of a biography, the character of the 'story' is entirely changed. A mere analysis of the Gospel such as Dr. Vedder gives is of little value or use by itself. Another article on *The Essence of Christianity* strikes us as notably weak, especially coming after Dr. W. N. Clarke's able vindication of the statement that the true essence of Christianity is the Cross. 'Two massive towers reared by the Master Himself' to defend the fortress of the Church are Baptism and the Lord's Supper, says Prof. Weaver, and if the walls of the fortress should be thrown down, those two 'impregnable and time-conquering towers, reared by the Divine Logos,' would remain. Surely the writer of such sentences lives in a world of his own, apart from modern critical controversy. His insistence upon the importance of 'experience' in the Christian Church is much more to the point. The

Professor of Homiletics in the Colgate University writes ably and vigorously in defence of Persuasion, as the aim of greatest practical importance to be kept before the mind of the Christian preacher. The reviews of books in this number occupy a large proportion of the space and add considerably to the interest.

**The American Journal of Theology.**—In the last number of this Review an article by Prof. Sheldon dealt with the doctrinal changes that have taken place in Methodism in the last quarter of a century. This time it is the turn of the Congregationalists, and Dr. Williston Walker of Yale undertakes to describe the theological changes which have come over that body during the last generation. The article is full of interest, but difficult to summarize. The stress laid upon the immanence of God in creation and the Divine Fatherhood of man; an unwillingness to adhere to traditional metaphysical definitions of the Person of Christ; changes of belief as to the inerrancy of the Scriptures and the nature of their authority; a widening of hope as to the future life and a belief in the ultimate triumph of righteousness, not reaching as far as universalism—these are some of the salient features on which Dr. Walker dwells. But while he acknowledges that the period in question has been one of marked doctrinal transition, he claims that the Congregationalists of America have 'never felt the claims of loyalty to Christianity or the needs of men more than in these days of debate and re-statement.' Under the somewhat technical title of *Theology and Functional Psychology*, Prof. Ames of Chicago practically supplements the conclusions of the last article. He shows the effect produced upon theological beliefs by recent researches in psychology, very much after the fashion of James's *Varieties of Religious Experience*. There can be no question that a more complete knowledge of human nature, physical and psychical, has shed light upon religious facts and phenomena hitherto obscure or misunderstood. Prof. Ames's article is rather one-sided, but the aspects of religious life on which he chiefly dwells need fuller attention. What we should urge is that the normal, rather than the abnormal, features of religious life should be studied. Sound theology has nothing to fear from the science of mind, any more than from geology, biology, or other sciences; but the would-be religious psychologist has thus far hardly gone the best way to work, and many of his 'conclusions' are at present of a very doubtful kind, very slenderly based upon 'experience.' Two other able and instructive papers are those of Dr. Milton Terry, a Methodist professor, on *The Old Testament and the Christ*, and Dr. Powis Smith on the *Rise of Individualism among the Hebrews*. Prof. Terry's views of 'fulfilment' are sweeping, but his main contentions are sound, and his paper shows how a number of current difficulties in relation to the Old Testament may be met. An article on *Armenian Paulicianism*, in reference to the recently discovered

'Key of Truth,' and a continuation of Prof. Macauley Jackson's translation of Bernard's poem, *De Contemptu Mundi*, complete an excellent number. We should add, however, that it announces a scheme for raising a million dollars to found a library in memory of Principal W. R. Harper of Chicago. To the indomitable enterprise of this able and much lamented scholar the foundation of the *American Journal of Theology*, as well as a score of similar important undertakings, is due.

**Bibliotheca Sacra.**—'The proposed Union of the Congregational, United Brethren, and Methodist Protestant Churches' is the subject of an article, in the April number, by Lucien C. Warner, M.D. As the result of negotiations, which have been in progress for several years, over two hundred delegates recently met in conference at Dayton, Ohio, 'for the purpose of effecting an organic union' of these three Churches. Sub-committees prepared a creedal declaration, a statement on polity, and a report on vested interests. With slight alterations these were adopted. Details will be worked out during the year, and early in 1907 it is anticipated that the union will be accomplished.

The Methodist Protestant Church was a split from the Methodist Episcopal Church (1828), the cause of its separation being 'the demand for lay representation.' The 'United Brethren in Christ' became the name of an organized Church in 1800; it was made up chiefly of members of the German Reformed Church, who came together 'for greater evangelistic and aggressive work rather than from any difference of doctrine.' In polity, these two Churches resemble each other closely; but both differ, in important respects, from the Congregationalists. The creedal statement proposed as a basis of union is described as general rather than specific. 'The doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, the Trinity, sin, atonement, repentance and salvation are recognized and accepted, but no attempt is made at elaborate definitions.' In polity, provisions new to the Congregational Church are suggested, but there is a disposition to recognize that this Church 'has suffered great loss in the past for lack of more effective organization.' If, as seems likely, a united church be formed, it will have over a million members and nearly ten thousand ministers.

### FOREIGN.

**Theologische Literaturzeitung.**—Dr. Paul Drews notices in No. 10 an interesting study of *Early Christian Graces and Eucharistic Liturgies*, by Freiherr von der Goltz. The inquiry is an attempt to show that in both these forms of prayer there are developments of expressions used at meals in Jewish households. Sabatier and Spitta hold that the eucharistic prayers in the *Didache* contain



elements derived from Jewish forms of prayer preserved in the Mishnah. In the judgement of the reviewer, von der Goltz has succeeded in showing that the 'roots' of ancient Christian liturgies are often found in Jewish table-prayers. On some details Dr. Drews is not convinced, and suggests that Syriac as well as Greek liturgies should be examined. On one point author and critic are agreed; both hold that in the *Didache* reference is made to a twofold keeping of the eucharistic feast, viz. a private celebration at home (c. 9f.), and a public celebration on Sunday (c. 14). As late as the year 400 A.D., in the Nestorian Churches, the Lord's Supper was partaken of in private houses. This survival casts light on the language of Ignatius, who expresses the Church's disapproval of the practice.

**Theologische Rundschau.**—In the May number, Professor Cornill's instructive article on *Prophetic Literature* notices, with special praise, Kleinert's *Die Propheten Israels in sozialer Beziehung*. The social teaching of the prophets is rightly said to be a timely theme, and it is handled in this able monograph in such a way as to cast light on modern problems. Kleinert emphasizes those features in Deuteronomy which distinguish it from the Code of Hammurabi; he shows the importance of Hosea's contribution to 'the social question'; Hosea does not regard 'justice as a sufficient basis for social welfare, but lays stress on love,' whereas in Amos 'lovingkindness' (*chesedh*) is lacking; moreover, in Hosea there is at once a restriction of the prophetic outlook, and an intensifying of the religious significance of the prophetic message. Malachi deals most thoroughly with the marriage problem, whilst Micah is the first to direct attention to the problem of the towns.

Cornill quotes the following passages as illustrative of Kleinert's insight, and of his ability to express suggestive generalizations in short formulae. 'In Amos justice is the centre of the social system, in Hosea love. . . . 'Isaiah makes social welfare to depend on social peace and social order.' Again, 'The inauguration of written prophecy is Amos's dirge uttered over the ancient nation; the climax of prophecy is attained in Jeremiah's insistence on the incomparable worth of human personality'; this truth is 'a light for the future,' and enfolds 'the germ-principle of social well-being.'

A cordial welcome is given to a new writer, who is one of Prof. Oettli's pupils. Wilke's *Jesaja und Assur* is 'an exegetico-historical investigation of the politics of the prophet Isaiah.' Sometimes Isaiah speaks as the friend and sometimes as the foe of Assyria. Wilke, with whom Cornill agrees, holds that 'the anti-Assyrian speeches are clustered around the year 701, and find their origin in the time of Sennacherib.' From that time Isaiah described graphically the overthrow of Assyria and the deliverance of Zion (cf. x. 7 ff.); the reason for the prophet's change of attitude is that he counselled submission to Assyria, 'only so long as he saw in Assyria an instrument

for accomplishing the divine purposes.' Of some of Wilke's theories Cornill expresses disapproval, but the first effort of this young author is said to awaken favourable expectations of future work.

In a few sentences introductory to a review of Professor Whitehouse's volume on Isaiah i.-xxxix., Dr. Cornill speaks with hearty appreciation of the enterprise of the publishers and editors of the *Century Bible* series. 'We must, without envy, yield the precedence to our cousins on the other side of the Channel.' The introduction to, and the expositions of, the *Proto-Isaiah* are said to be in every respect praiseworthy; excellent features in the little volume are the full treatment of the theology of Isaiah, the attention given to both lower and higher criticism, and the unbiassed statement of theories which the author does not accept. It is a good omen that 'our cousins on the other side of the channel' are coming to recognize more adequately the value of the work that is being done by biblical and theological students in this country and in America.

In reviewing recent literature on the History of the Church in the Middle Ages, Prof. Ficker mentions a new study of *St. Francis of Assisi*. The aim of its author (G. Schnürer) is to give 'a correct picture of the saint,' who is regarded as representing an 'idealized Catholicism.' The value of Sabatier's researches is fully realized, but Schnürer seems right in refusing to see in St. Francis, as Sabatier does, 'a forerunner of modern, non-dogmatic, religious subjectivism.' Points dwelt upon are his submission to the Church, and his tact in avoiding conflicts. Nowadays it is becoming 'the fashion to over-rate' him. Protestant authors, like Hauck and Hegler, have given the best, because the truest and the most human portrait of the saint.

The *Mercure de France* (April 15) reproduces the letter from Heinrich Heine to Heinrich Laube in 1850, recently discovered in the archives of the Burgtheater at Vienna. Among other interesting matter, it contains a declaration confirming the reality of Heine's return in later life to the God of his early days and ancestry. 'I have renounced the God, or rather the divinity, of Hegel,' he says, 'and replaced It by the dogma of a real, personal God, who exists outside nature and the human heart.' The letter was dictated from the poet's 'mattress-grave,' but bears his well-known signature. The number for May 1 contains a graphic sketch of Beau Brummel. The English dandy has seldom been so vividly portrayed.