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# The London Quarterly Review.

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# THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

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APRIL 1910

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## HOW TO DEFEND ENGLAND

This appeal to the patriotism of Nonconformists I make in the pages of the LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW for the reason that—since the days of John and Charles Wesley—Methodism has done noble service among soldiers, and has, in fact, won national recognition by its zeal in caring, not only for the bodily, but for the spiritual welfare of the two great Services on which the safety of our country and the Empire depends. As a contributor to the LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW under the direction of the Rev. Dr. Rigg, the Rev. Dr. Watkinson, as well as under himself, the present Editor has, with great courtesy, allowed me to give full expression to my views ; but I need hardly say that to those views and to the perhaps startling arguments at the end of my paper, neither he nor the REVIEW is in any way committed.

**T**ALKING recently with a neighbour and friend of mine—a Nonconformist minister for whose earnestness, ability, and sincerity of purpose I have every respect—I asked him why it was that so many Nonconformists take so little interest in the cause of Imperial defence—a cause which in no sense of the words is either party or denominational, but intimately concerns every citizen no matter what his political or religious belief. He demurred at first to my statement that the Free Churches are inclined to stand aloof, but when I reminded him that here in Hastings, where he and I reside, though invitations to attend a public meeting, called in the interests of National Defence, were issued to every Nonconformist minister in

the district, not a single one accepted, he fell back upon the supposition that they were averse from associating themselves with what he called 'detestable Jingoists.' I agreed with him in his denunciation of Jingoism, but added that for my own part I was equally averse from seeking to dispose of political opponents—not by proving them to be wrong, but by casting at them the mud of some cheap and music-hall-made contemptuous catch-name.

Against the use of such terms as 'Little Englandism' or 'Jingoism' as applied to certain cast-iron, colour-blind political prejudices which are open neither to reason nor to conviction, but see every question through the distorted medium of party-spectacles, no objection can be made. 'Little Englanders' and 'Jingoites' there undoubtedly are in this England of ours, just as similar types are to be found in other countries under other names. But as applied indiscriminately without reason to the individual, merely because he happens to see some national issue from another standpoint than ours, is grossly unfair; and for the advocate of National Defence to shout down the other side as 'Little Englanders,' or for the other side to howl 'Jingo! Jingo!' is a method of controversy to be deplored by every fair-minded man. To denounce a political opponent as Little Englander or as Jingoite costs nothing and counts for less. Your true Little Englander, be he Liberal or Conservative, is the man who would belittle England by urging her—either to refrain from doing what it is her manifest duty to do, or to do that which is unworthy of her great traditions as a nation.

I do not for a moment suppose that Nonconformists are one whit less patriotic than any other great religious body; but I fear there is some misconception on their part—due no doubt to the intolerance and the exaggeration of some of us who champion the cause of National Defence—in regard to our aims and our purpose. It is in the hope of removing some of these misconceptions that I pen the present paper. And, first, I would emphatically say that the National Service League is not, as some mistakenly

suppose, seeking to introduce conscription into England. On the contrary, it is to prevent conscription that we are working, for unless we have a Territorial Army sufficiently large and sufficiently trained to defend our shores, conscription—and on the hated continental lines—will sooner or later inevitably come. All that we ask is that every able-bodied man within certain ages shall train himself to defend his country (he will be worse than useless if he be not trained) in the event of invasion. This surely is no great hardship in view of the immunity from conscription and the security from invasion which only Universal Training can insure. Mr. Gladstone declared as far back as 1859 that—

The privileges of freedom and the burdens of freedom are absolutely associated together; to bear the burdens is as necessary as to enjoy the privileges, in order to form that character which is the great ornament of freedom itself.

And speaking in the House of Commons in 1900 another great Liberal leader, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, said—

The personal duty of the defence of the sanctity of our country and homes ought to be the duty of every man capable of carrying arms.

Here, surely, is our case in a nutshell. Farther than this the most enthusiastic advocate of National Defence would find it difficult to go. We assert, moreover, that Universal Training will once and for all make an end of the 'irresponsible Jingoism' which, as Lord Roberts has aptly said, 'shouts for war on the slightest provocation, the shouter knowing full well that he will not have to risk his own skin.'

Under a system of Universal Training, the 'Jingo' will be irresponsible no longer, for if he have not already benefited (as we are positive he will benefit) by coming under the salutary influence of discipline, and of learning in drill-hall and lecture-room the lessons of obedience and self-restraint—if he have not already formed a higher ideal

of patriotism than that of the pothouse and the music-hall, he will, at least, know better, if only for his own skin's sake, than to shout ignorantly for a war in which he will be compelled to take a part. We believe, indeed, that Universal Training—which means no more than joining the Territorial Army—will materially assist towards the extinction of Hooliganism. Idleness, ignorance, and street-loafing are at the bottom of half the hooliganism, and surely a lad will be better employed in undergoing a course of drill and physical training, and in coming under the moral influence of discipline, than in prowling the streets or soaking in a public-house! In the Territorial Army there will be ample scope for the employment of the superabundant energies which now run to waste, to mischief, or to vice. The slouching hooligan of the street will, we believe, in course of time be replaced by well-set-up and soldierly young fellows, taking a pride in the smartness of their appearance, as well as in the efficiency of the company or battalion to which they are attached, and, by discharging their duties as citizens, learning to respect themselves.

Another common misconception is that the tendency of drill and discipline—both in the Territorial and in the Regular Army—is to reduce the soldier to the level of a mere human machine, of whom no more is expected than that he should ignorantly and unthinkingly obey orders. This may have been so in the past, but to-day, on the contrary, to every soldier, from the last recruit upward, the why and the wherefore of his work are patiently and laboriously explained. He is taught and encouraged to think, to observe, and to act on his own initiative, so that should he in action be cut off from his comrades and his commanding officer, commissioned or non-commissioned, or should some fact in regard to the movements or dispositions of the enemy come to his knowledge, or some unexpected responsibility be thrown upon him, as might happen even to a private soldier while engaged in reconnaissance or scouting, he may, without losing his

head, know how to act in the best interests of the unit in which he is serving.

All this, which is common knowledge to every one with even the smallest acquaintance with the army, is unknown to a large section of the public, which is as unaware of the true state of the case as it is of the fact that the whole trend of training, both in the Territorial and in the Regular Army, is to encourage steadiness, industry, and sobriety, and to develop character.

Yet another objection which is frequently raised against us is, that we are seeking to foster what the objectors call 'a dangerous and pernicious military spirit.' Is there any danger in a young fellow being taught to fear God, to honour his king, to obey those who are set in authority over him? That Socialists and Anarchists, who would destroy authority of every sort, should declare themselves invincible foes of such teaching is not surprising, holding the views they do; and, implacable enemy of such views as I am myself, I have no quarrel with those who hold them for their hatred of the military spirit, and, indeed, accord them some measure of respect for consistently acting upon honest, if, in my opinion, deplorable beliefs—or rather disbeliefs. But that God-fearing, king-honouring, authority-respecting and patriotic Englishmen, as many of our opponents undoubtedly are, should be of the same way of thinking, is difficult to understand.

Next to the fear of God there is nothing which it is so imperative and necessary should be instilled into a lad's mind as that he should love his country and honour his king. Even if he be not naturally a religious or God-fearing boy, by teaching him this you are training him on lines that will at least make him receptive to the influences of religion. Love grows by love, reverence comes of reverence; and by bringing these cardinal points home to him, by starting him in life with at least something and some one outside himself and outside his immediate interests to love and to honour, you are—in these days when so many of us love only ourselves and honour no

one—going further to make a man, a Christian, and a gentleman of him than you can in any other way of which I know.

That the military spirit makes for respect and obedience to those who are set in authority I do not deny. On the contrary, I rejoice that it is so. The late Rev. Hugh Price Hughes once said to a Wesleyan minister who had preached a flabby and feeble sermon of the whining order, 'Don't plead with sinners to come to God: command them!'

It was well said. If there were more commanding and less cheap-jacking of religion, the churches would be better filled and by more truly reverent congregations, and this applies to other matters besides religion. With no wish whatever to interfere with the just rights and liberties of the subject, I fail to see why a take-it-or-leave-it-as-you-like principle should be permitted in regard to the manifest discharge of our duties as citizens. We all clamour for our rights, but few of us remember the responsibilities which the very enjoyment of these rights entail upon us. The danger to-day lies not in undue stress being laid upon authority, but in our ceasing to have any respect for authority at all. The tendency now is not to obey the law, but for all of us—men and women alike—to constitute ourselves a law unto ourselves. Observance of decent discretion and restraint in conversation, in the novel, and on the stage, concerning the relation of the sexes, the sanctity of marriage, the purity of family life, allegiance to the State, respect for old age, reverence for religion—all these and many other matters of like import, which might be instanced, are perceptibly on the wane; and he is a bold man who says that the change makes for national righteousness or for the individual good.

Next let me say that the military spirit makes for patriotism, and had I twenty sons I would point out to each of the twenty that the great of this earth and of all times—those who are honoured not only in the history of England but in the history of the world—were

**PATRIOTS.** The mean-natured little creatures, at whom History points the finger of scorn, are they in whose cramped soul there was no room for thought of king and country but only of themselves, and these are they in whom patriotism there was none.

And by patriotism I do not necessarily mean soldiering. I am not thinking only of such men and women as Mettius Curtius, leaping armed and horsed into the gulf that had swallowed up so many of his countrymen, and that was never to close till there had been cast into it the most precious thing in all Rome; nor of Joan of Arc, mere girl that she was, leading her countrymen to victorious battle against the invader; nor even of our own Nelson, who by example, and by no more than eight brief words, has nerved Englishmen to do their duty for all time. It is not a man's occupation, not the scale of the scene in which his part in life's drama is cast—for a private soldier may be as true a patriot as a Field-Marshal, an artisan as a Prime Minister—that we estimate the degree of his patriotism. It is by the sincerity of his convictions, by his steadfast determination to form those convictions, and to view public questions, whether national or merely parochial, not as they affect his own petty interests, but from the larger standpoint of what is best for the community and for the country, and by his readiness at all times to make personal sacrifice, to sacrifice, if need be, life itself, for the sake of king and country and to hold this great Empire inviolate—these are the signs by which we may know a patriot from one who is none.

Platitudes, you tell me. Possibly, but platitudes that need newly to be driven home to the generations that are coming on. The pointing of the needle to the pole is a platitude, but we do not for that reason neglect to instruct the would-be mariner in it, nor ignore it when steering our own course. Patriotism is Christianity on a national scale. The patriot not only loves his neighbour as himself, but loves his nation more than himself. It lifts a man out of himself as nothing else, except religion, can.

Kindle, even in the heart of a self-centred man, one spark of patriotism—and that spark shall soon be fanned into a flame and is like to become a passion. Thereafter that man will cease to be self-centred and to think only of himself. Just as a soldier ceases to be A., B. or C., becoming instead part of his company, his battalion, or his regiment and of the British Army, so a patriot forgets himself and his narrow little personal and parochial interests in his zeal for England and the Empire.

I say again that the great souls of all time have been patriots, the mean souls those who were none. I say that patriotism is the first duty and noblest quality of Christian manhood, and that a pagan, who is capable of the sublime self-sacrifice and consecration of true patriotism, has more of God in him, and comes nearer to Christianity and to Christ, than that poor apology for a man and a Christian in whom patriotism there is none.

A picket frozen on duty,  
A mother starved for her brood,  
Socrates drinking the hemlock  
And Jesus on the rood;  
The millions who, humble and nameless,  
The straight hard pathway trod—  
Some call it Consecration,  
And others call it God.

Lastly, I admit that the military spirit makes before all things for discipline, but there is, unhappily, so little discipline in civilian life to-day, that in writing of discipline, and in attempting to show how salutary is its influence in the formation of character, I must speak of it, I fear, as it applies to soldiers. If, for instance, a young fellow of my acquaintance, who knowing nothing of soldiering or even of drill, had just taken a commission in the Territorial Army and came to me for advice, I should, I think, put the matter to him somewhat in this way—

'You have a lot to learn, but there is one point in the making of a good soldier in which even now, and new as you are to the work, you have it in your power not

only to set an example to others, but to shine. Even if socially you happen to be, we will say, in a superior position to any of your brother officers, even if there are subjects on which possibly you could instruct your Commanding Officer himself to his advantage, you must remember that as a soldier you are a raw recruit, and that your first business must be to learn to obey. It is true that you come in as an officer, but while you are in the ranks, learning the work of a private, you are in a sense under the command of the sergeant-instructor, and you have to show the rank-and-file recruits that an officer, until in due time he comes to command, knows better than any one else how to obey. The men will treat you with increased rather than with less respect, because you and they stood side by side together to learn the first lesson of the soldier. It will be entirely your own fault if they do not. In your relations with your brother officers—all of whom will necessarily be your seniors—your first duty must be unhesitatingly to obey. I do not, of course, mean that I counsel blind following of orders, slavish obedience to commands. Even a beginner who happens, for instance, to know a certain stretch of country, may be able to make a useful suggestion to a superior officer who does not; and in such a case—were I that beginner—I should not hesitate respectfully to put forward my views. It would be discipline, not a breach of discipline, to do so.

'But with discipline as discipline, there must be no half-heartedness. Loyalty to one's superior officer is imperative upon every soldier. Even in the mess-room, though there, of course, the formality of parade is dropped, you would do well to remember that you are junior subaltern. If, for instance, there is a knock and no servant happen to be present, you should go to the mess-room door, and if an officer be wanted by his orderly, or by any one else, you should carry the message to him. Punctiliousness in such matters and upon such points as following, not preceding, your senior into the mess-room, and in taking your place at the foot of the table, may

seem to you trivial, but they all tend to the maintenance of the army equivalent to fine manners; the good breeding not merely of the mess-room, but of the battlefield—Discipline.'

We build our barracks with guard-house, gymnasium-hall, and mess-room; we lay out the open spaces into drill-yard or review-ground; we attend camp or appoint annual courses of training, with one thought and one place only in our mind—the battlefield. All the rest—drill and parade and review; the gay uniform, the glitter of accoutrements, the saluting and the ceremonies; the trooping and carrying of colours, the march past and the clash of music, are in themselves worth nothing, except in so far as they serve to the end, by right of which, and by right of which only, they are of any worth or of any meaning—to train and to teach the soldier to fight.

In the drill-hall, or the parade-ground, it had seemed a waste of energy and time, day by day, over and over again, to be put through this routine of drudgery and detail, until monotonously, almost meaninglessly, we obeyed the command to close or to extend, to fire by sections, to advance in lines of skirmishers, or to retire man by man. But shift the scene from drill-hall and parade-ground to battlefield, and this mechanical obedience to orders, which comes only of perfect discipline, counts for more than even courage; for it can re-assemble scattered and demoralized troops, retrieve disaster, and compel victory out of what seemed like assured defeat.

✓ There are murderous gaps all along the line. The broken ranks—disorganized almost to a rabble—are reeling and staggering under a bloody hail of fire. If left to themselves, with none to control and to command, the men might stampede like a flock of frightened sheep. Were they untrained and undisciplined, they *would* stampede like frightened sheep; but suddenly, just as in the drill-yard or on parade-ground, rings out the familiar word of command. Perhaps for an instant there is hesitation,

but they have never disobeyed in the past, and discipline will not let them disobey now. Automatically, mechanically, they obey—steadied and rallied already by finding their ranks reformed, comrade standing again with comrade, and the responsibility taken out of their hands.

As in the drill-yard and on the parade-ground, sound the accustomed rattle of rifle, the accustomed shuffle of feet. The very familiarity of it all gives them confidence. Again the word of command, helping them, holding them together, if only by its very masterfulness; and off they go—perhaps to be warily and wisely withdrawn to safety—affording cover, perhaps to be led and urged to the final charge which, coming at the crisis of the engagement and when their advance is supported by a covering fire, may carry the enemy's position, turning disaster into victory, and setting all England ringing with their fame.

But whatever the result—whether they return home in triumph to be hailed as heroes, fêted and entertained and decorated; or whether theirs be the greater honour and glory of a soldier's grave, it was discipline which came to their assistance in the crucial moment; it was discipline which won for them the glory and the fame.

It may be dull work—this sowing the seeds of discipline in the drudgery of the drill-yard or parade-ground; but when discipline, that flower which blossoms in such perfection on a hard-fought battlefield or on the deck of a sinking ship, is seen in all its grandeur, the sight is one to move men and women to worship and the very angels of God to wonder.

That it is scarcely possible to fire a lad with enthusiasm for discipline without inspiring in him something of the military spirit, which some hold to be pernicious and dangerous, I may not in honesty deny, for discipline is the outcome of the military spirit, and, as I have said, is all too rarely enforced in civil life. But military spirit or no military spirit, can any father who loves and wishes the best for his son, can any woman who would be the mother of men, and proud thereafter to have borne them,

say truly that her son will not be the finer fellow in after life for having been taught and trained to discipline while yet he was young? This is the spirit, I admit, that makes soldiers, but it is not the spirit that makes wars. In England, at least, soldiers have no voice in the making of war. It is by civilian-firebrands, not by the fighters but by financiers, politicians, so-called statesmen, greedy, it may be, for national aggression, and possibly with some selfish end or ambition of their own to serve, that wars too often are made. Speaking in the House of Lords last July, Lord Roberts said—

As one who has seen more of war than most living men, and who can therefore fully appreciate the inevitable horror and misery inherent in it, I consider it as a terrible evil, to be guarded against with the same precautions that a man would take to prevent a fire in his own house, and never to be entered upon except the national honour and national interests are at stake; and I would earnestly impress upon those who fear that military preparations may induce a warlike spirit, that the want of preparation is the surest way to bring upon themselves and their country the war they so much dread, with all its attendant evils.

And in Clifford Harrison's *Stray Records* (p. 127) some words of John Ruskin's are quoted which sufficiently prove that he—man of peace as he was—did not believe that the soldier spirit made for war. 'All my life,' says Ruskin, 'I have inveighed against war as possibly the most entirely wicked and inhuman thing in the world. I have called it and its ministers the worst of names, and have evolved the most tremendous theories about it and them; and I am bound to say that some of my dearest friends and many of the men who have best fulfilled my ideal of gentle manhood—simple, strong, godly and true—have been soldiers.'

The soldier-spirit is not, I contend, unchristian, or why should St. Paul and other New Testament writers, in describing Christian life and experience, so frequently use the soldier as the symbol of what is noblest in manhood?

I yield to no one in my horror and hatred of war—not because of any selfish and cowardly dread for my own skin, but because I recoil from the very thought of it as I would recoil from a shameful disease or foul and deadly sin.

Yet even out of war, as out of sin and suffering, good has come, for though war has been the cause of incalculable misery and bloodshed, it has also been the means of calling forth deeds of such self-sacrificing patriotism, such God-like endurance and such sublime Christian courage and heroism as mankind is ennobled merely to think upon,—deeds which must continue as an example to this England of ours and to the world for all time. And since God has for some inscrutable reason, which we may not understand, permitted war to come into this world—just as He has permitted sin and disease—the soldier's seems to me as necessary, as noble, and as honourable a profession as that of the doctor or the minister of religion. He takes greater risks, he is more likely to lose—voluntarily to lay down—his life for others than they, and in that sense, at least, the soldier-spirit may, without irreverence, be said to have something in common with the spirit of Christ.

It is the infusion of the soldier-spirit into the religious life of to-day which has inspired the Church Army to chivalrous warfare on behalf of the fallen, the outcast, and the lost. It was by seeking to arouse the soldier-spirit among his followers that that great and honoured hero of Christ and Field-Marshal of God, General Booth, has waged a lifelong and victorious campaign against sin, misery, and evil, and has made the Salvation Army one of the greatest powers for good that has ever arisen in our land. To those who would quote, as a reproof of the soldier-spirit, and of physical resistance in every shape and form, the words spoken to Peter in the Garden of Gethsemane, '*Put up thy sword into its place, for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword,*' I reply, that it is not so I read our Lord's meaning.

That there *are* times and occasions when physical

resistance may or ought to be employed by Christians, He who Himself made a whip of small cords with which to drive out, and with violence, the money-changers from the Temple, has shown us by His own example. But the betrayal in the Garden was not such a moment, as is made clear by the very next sentence which falls from the lips of Christ. *'Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to My Father, and He shall presently give Me more than twelve legions of angels?'* Then He goes on to give the reason why neither He nor Peter must offer physical resistance. *'But how then shall the Scripture be fulfilled that thus it might be?'* The saying, *'They that take the sword shall perish with the sword,'* was not, as I read it, spoken in reproof. It was merely stating a fact that every soldier accepts and admits as part of the fortunes of war. *'If you fall back upon physical force, if you try to settle the question by an appeal to arms,'* Christ said in effect, *'you are more like to lose your own life than to save Mine. You do not need reminding of this, for every brave man and true soldier must be ready, and is ready, to face even death itself in a righteous cause. But here such sacrifice would be idle, since I am determined to offer no resistance and command you to offer none.'*

To me the mere fact that Peter *was wearing a sword* seems proof in itself that Christ's words convey no condemnation either of Peter's courage and chivalry in wishing to defend his beloved Master, or of those who draw the sword in a righteous cause. Else, since a sword is not easily concealed, Christ would surely have seen it earlier in the evening and rebuked His martial disciple. But He did not say, *'In my service there is no need for the sword. Cast it away!'* What He said was, *'Put up thy sword into its place,'* as if admitting that a place for a sword at Peter's side there should be, but that this was not the occasion on which to draw the weapon. I go further even than this, and ask whether it be not possible that Peter was carrying a sword in direct obedience of Christ's own command, seeing that on the very night preceding

the betrayal in the garden, our Lord's solemn charge to the assembled disciples had been (Luke xxii. 36), '*But now he that hath a purse let him take it and likewise his scrip, and he that hath no sword let him sell his garment and buy one.*'

No one shrinks more than I from the irreverence, the dishonesty, and the disloyalty of seeking—in order to make out a case—to force upon the actual words of Christ a meaning which we cannot be positive those words were intended to convey. The Eastern races speak a language in which poetry, figures of speech, and symbolism abound, and much of our Lord's teaching was pure parable. But here surely is neither figure of speech, poetry, nor parable. Here are plain, direct and practical instructions to the disciples to see that they come provided with purse, scrip, and sword; and why, I ask, should Christ thus charge them to arm, unless He held that there are occasions when even by His followers the sword must be drawn?

In saying this I am not forgetting Christ's own words, 'Resist not evil, but whoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also,' nor His subsequent exhortation, that to him who would take from us our coat we are to yield our cloak also.

Were a Christian man whom a street hooligan had struck on the right cheek to turn to him his left cheek, and the fellow from very shame had dropped the upraised fist and turned away, I should say that the Christian was justified of his Christianity. He would have attained his end by what I may call divine diplomacy, he would have given the soft answer which turneth away wrath; he would have overcome by love, and have acted in accordance with the spirit in which the words 'Resist not evil' were spoken. To know the mind of Christ we must not insist upon a slavish and literal interpretation of His every word; what we must insist upon is an exact and literal interpretation of, and obedience to, the Spirit in which the words were spoken.

But if the street hooligan, of whom I am speaking,

were blackguard enough so to take advantage of a defenceless man as to strike a third blow, and the other received it unresistingly, I should say that that other was neither a good Christian nor a good citizen, but something of a poltroon and a cur. He would, in fact, be injuring his fellow citizens and the community by encouraging a blackguard to commit unprovoked assaults in the hope of getting off scot free.

Similarly, if a man tried to rob me of my coat, and I, seeing him to be insufficiently clad and in dire necessity, spoke him gently and pitifully, pointing out the retribution which must come of evil ways and gave him of my own accord to relieve his necessities—not only my coat but my cloak also—it would be a Christian act on my part, and if the man sincerely expressed his sorrow and promised to amend, I should be justified in forgiving him the wrong he sought to do me. But if I, knowing that man to be a thief and criminal, weakly allow him to carry out his nefarious purpose, I become in a sense an accomplice in the crime. I wrong not only him by encouraging him in criminal courses, but wrong also those whom he may thereafter seek to wrong and to rob, as he has wronged and robbed me.

To put upon the words '*Resist not evil*' an interpretation which condones and encourages violence and crime, would be to make an end of all law and order and to set up in its place a reign of anarchy. Such an interpretation is a direct contradiction of the Christ-spirit which, infinitely pitiful and forgiving as it is to the repentant sinner, is inexorable in the sternness of its attitude (how could it be otherwise, seeing that Christ was the Incarnation of divine justice, no less than of divine mercy and love?) to all who of deliberate and malignant purpose injure their fellow creatures or otherwise break the laws of God.

And as with individuals so with nations. If some great Power seek to do us—or possibly to do some smaller power for whose protection we are responsible or whose independence we have guaranteed—an injury or a wrong, it is our

duty as a Christian nation to show a spirit of reasonableness and conciliation, and to use every means at our command to bring about a peaceable solution of the situation. But if that Power reject our overtures and persist in perpetrating inhuman atrocities or in the committal of a national injustice or a national crime—and so compel us to the last resort of arms—that last appeal to arms there must be.

Unchristian, inhuman, and wholly damnable as I hold the waging of war, merely for the purpose of aggression, to be, yet I say deliberately that there have been, and may be again, occasions when the waging of a righteous war in defending her own children, in defending a great principle, or in defending the defenceless against the aggression of a monster and a tyrant, has left no alternative to a Christian country.

I say, too, that the one and only way to avert such war is to be ready for war. It is when a country is known to be unready, that unscrupulous rulers of some other power, jealous, it may be, of her prosperity and her supremacy, seek for selfish and aggressive ends to force a quarrel upon her, or perhaps set out to crush some weaker State under her protection. 'When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace,' says the Founder of Christianity. He spoke not for one time, but for all time, not to one nation, but to all nations; and these words of His have a direct meaning—are, I believe, a direct message—to us as a nation here in England to-day.

England as 'a strong man armed' means more merely than England prosperous, and her people and the goods of her people protected. It means England and possibly Europe at peace, and the lesser States of Europe enjoying like peace, security, and prosperity. But for England to be weak, unarmed, and unready is to bring bloodshed and misery untold to England, to Europe and to the world.

## AFTERWORD

That many will laugh at me for the seriousness with which I write I am well aware. I do not grudge them any gaiety they make at my expense. So long as they only laugh at me and not at the cause I am advocating I shall not grumble. To be in earnest is always to make oneself ridiculous in the eyes of somebody. It would be a comfort if I could take high ground under ridicule—could strike an attitude and say, 'Away with you! You are they who hold England's honour, England's safety, and England's manhood lightly, and to such as you I will not condescend to reply.' It would be consoling to one's dignity so to say, but so to say would not be true; for many of those who will differ from me, and who will laugh at me, are every whit as well-meaning, as anxious for England's welfare, and as honest as I. But they are—and this I say with intense conviction—unfortunately, even fatally, blind to England's needs and to England's danger. How shall it be with them and with England, if the opening of their eyes come only by disaster, and when it is too late?

COULSON KERNAHAN.

## THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

*The Origins of Christianity.* By the late CHARLES BIGG.  
(Clarendon Press. 1909.)

*The Conflict of Religions in the Early Empire.* By  
T. R. GLOVER. (Methuen & Co. 1909.)

*Early Church History.* Two vols. By HENRY MELVILLE  
GWATKIN. (Macmillan. 1909.)

THE study of Church history is popularly supposed to introduce us to a gloomy region of prejudice and partisanship. The atmosphere is darkened by the *odium theologicum*. The reader, like Aeneas, threads his way with uncertain steps *sub luce maligna*: and he is frequently conscious of dullness and irritation, those conflicting emotions which are awakened by the contemplation of dogmatic controversy and internal corruption, the corruption of the best, which is always worst. There is something to be said for this opinion; but if it implies a demand for strict impartiality in the treatment of ecclesiastical history, it asks for an impossibility. 'The demand of some,' says Prof. Gwatkin, 'that personal opinions should not be discoverable means the abolition of everything that can reasonably be called history.' No record of the past is worth anything if the historian's intelligence is not suffused by the warmth of sympathy. Moreover, the history of the Church, in spite of its blots and disfigurements, is yet a powerful argument for the faith. This is true of every period; but there is a special fascination in the study of the origins of Christianity. The spring which issues from the mountain side to form a pure and silvery stream among its rocks and ferns, has a charm which is lacking to a river, however majestic, that has lost its earliest transparency and freshness. The triumph of Christianity in

the Roman Empire, by whatever cause or causes it is to be explained, is a wonderful and impressive event. The wonder and impressiveness are not diminished, but rather deepened by repeated study. Many a potent inspiration, many an ennobling vision is sacrificed by those who neglect the closer study of Christian progress in the earlier centuries. Who, for example, can read the story of the sufferings of Perpetua and Felicitas, or of Blandina, the slave-girl of Lyons, without a purifying compassion and a burning sense of the divinity of the faith for which they died? We have made great advances towards the understanding of the first ages of Christianity since Gibbon wrote under five heads his notorious rationale of the progress of the faith. Several of the ablest contributions to the study of the period from the pens of German historians like Harnack, Von Dobschütz, and Pfeiderer, or writers on Roman manners like Friedländer, are now accessible in translations to English readers; there are also the masterly volumes by Sir Samuel Dill, who has presented so vivid and picturesque a record of the religious and social life of the Western Empire. The numerous monographs which have appeared in this age of specialized research are mostly in French or German; but British scholarship is well represented by several studies of great value, among which we may mention Dr. Workman's *Persecution in the Early Church*. The works of the writers named at the head of this review are among the most recent additions to the growing literature of the period, and constitute a further call to the modern Church to study the conditions which prevailed when the first Christian missionaries laid the foundations of a new world.

In the year 27 before Christ, Octavian, called Augustus, became the first Roman Emperor; and about ten years before Augustus died Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem. The synchronism is for ever suggestive. The establishment of the Empire was the opportunity and auxiliary of the faith of Christ. Enclosing the vast territory which stretched from the Firth of Forth to the Persian Gulf, the

Empire contained within its bounds every seat of ancient wisdom, every form and phase of religious worship. Roman commerce penetrated to *ultima Thule* in the far west and to distant China in the east. An army of twenty-five legions held the world and maintained the *pax Romana*. There was free intercommunication between nation and nation. Education was open to all. The colonies were not countries, but great cities like Carthage, Corinth, and Philippi, which tended to become replicas of Rome itself. Society was divided into *honestiores*, free subjects of the upper and upper-middle classes, and *tenuiores*, which contained freedmen, and even freemen who lived by the smaller trades—a vast body to which the majority of the first Christians belonged; then below these came the slaves, who were absolutely without rights until the days of Hadrian. Slavery was the worst blot of Roman society—a society which, however, we must not suppose on the one-sided evidence of writers like Tacitus and Petronius to have been wholly without conscience. The old civic virtues were indeed declining. The gods were gods of nations, not of humanity. The ancient faith was undermined by Greek philosophy and by the new religions of Isis, Mithras, and the Greek mysteries, which were vain attempts to heal the conflict between faith and reason. In the general picture there are clear resemblances with the society of to-day, while there are also striking divergences. In this ancient civilization we note the depopulation of the rural districts, the growth of great cities, unemployment and poverty, unrest and scepticism, endeavours to stimulate the weariness of a *blasé* world by superstitions and spiritualisms, by fashionable foreign cults, by mysterious ritual, and by ethical coteries. It was a brilliant, many-coloured life; but brilliant with autumnal hues and cankered by the ever-encroaching, insidious processes of decay.

We know the strategic points of the Empire, where Christianity established itself for its first advances: in Asia—Galilee and Jerusalem, Antioch, the splendid city

where the followers of Jesus first came into contact with the Gentile world, and Ephesus; in Europe—Thessalonica and Philippi, Athens, Corinth, and Rome. No one knows how or when the Christianity depicted in the Epistle to the Romans came into existence: it was already flourishing when Paul wrote in the year 58. Pomponia Graecina had been acquitted only a year before on a charge of high treason. Christianity was even then making its way into the higher circles, and, judging by Tacitus' expression 'a great multitude,' the Christians must have numbered about two or three thousand at the time of the Neronian persecution. In the first instance, no doubt the average Roman confounded Jews and Christians. Christianity appeared to be a sect of the Jews. Now, Israel was satirized and despised; but, as Prof. Gwatkin says, Israel was the only living nation within the Empire, and a Jewish national movement under a great leader might easily have been victorious; but the Jewish nation, however powerful and vivifying its patriotic hopes and ideals, was unequal to the tasks of empire. The death of Jesus proved that the Jew was unable to emancipate himself from his religious and national insularity. It was Paul who saved Christianity from a deadly Judaic exclusiveness. He proclaimed the Church's independence of the synagogue. Judaism was the first foe Christianity had to overcome, and the victory, won by the genius and spiritual insight of Paul, resulted in an accession of Gentile life to the Christian movement in Asia Minor and the Balkan provinces. The first encounter of Christianity with its environment had issued in a demonstration of its universality. Paul was followed by Ignatius, who sounded the strong note of Paulinism in his dictum, 'to use the name of Jesus Christ and yet observe Jewish customs is absurd.' To him succeeded Justin Martyr, whose point of view was deliberately adopted for convincing the Greek as well as the Jew. Alike in his *Apology* addressed to Antoninus Pius and in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, he aimed at proving that the Christian was the eternal dispensation, of which the Jewish was

only a type. The Old Testament scriptures were the only ancient literature on which he could base his appeal on behalf of the new faith, and both Jews and Greeks would be convinced if he were to succeed in establishing his contention that Christianity was rooted in the past. So while he related his exposition of the Logos to Stoicism, he endeavoured, as Mr. Glover clearly shows, 'to give Christianity a historical background and a prophetic warrant.' The unknown author of the charming *Epistle to Diognetus* was less conciliatory, and dealt with Judaism from the standpoint of a critical outsider; but the Apologists generally appealed to the scriptures and based their vindication of the new faith upon psalmist and prophet. Thus, though in one sense Christianity meant a distinct cleavage with Judaism and involved a clear emancipation from the bondage of the past, certain permanent elements like the sense of sin, the conception of duty, the truth of the Divine Oneness were carried over to the common Christian stock. Even if the method of interpretation adopted by the Apologists and perpetuated for centuries in the Church is now discarded as defective and misleading, it bears witness to the instinct, which has never perished, of the eternal significance of Jesus and His pre-incarnate presence in humanity.

In addition to the strategic points already mentioned, there were other great divisions of the world which early Christianity was to reach, such as the west of Italy, Gaul, and Africa, 'Latin in outlook, but with strong local variations'; the Hellenistic regions of Asia Minor and Greece; the Graeco-Jewish community of Alexandria; the Jewish Christian societies of Palestine, and the Christendom of Syria. Up and down this various world moved individuals, 'not many mighty, not many noble,' with their message of 'good news' and their testimony to a common experience which involved a new relation to God in Christ. Sometimes their emotions were expressed in unintelligible language and their doctrines were strange; but their lives were serious and withal joyous with a joy the world knew not.

They were as men transfigured—transfigured by Jesus and a Holy Spirit.

It is obvious, as Mr. Glover notes, that an explanation of this new type of life and experience would be coloured in diverse ways by local influences of race and thought. There was a common substratum; but religious experience even then had many modes of expressing itself. The marvel is that any sort of unity was attained; yet unity there was in the whole body of Christians inspired by the common reconciliation with God, the power of a Holy Spirit and devotion to Jesus Christ.

It was the universalism of Christ that captured the Greek. To the *Graeculus esuriens* the Jew was a poor, scrupulous creature; but the 'Greekling' was typical of the best intellects of his race and insisted on something larger than an amalgam of Judaism and Christianity. The Greek intellect secured the triumph of the new faith by eliminating the tribal and temporary and by 'setting Jesus before the world as the central figure of all history and of all experience.' Indirectly, too, by his very speculativeness the Greek was thrown back on the simplicity of the gospel. Tatian, who early in the second century wrote the *Diatessaron*, the first harmony of the Gospels, tells how, when he was disgusted with the paganism of Greek art and mysteries and was seeking for truth, he lighted 'upon some barbarian writings, older than the dogmata of the Greeks, divine in their contrast with Greek error; and it befell, too,' he adds, 'that I was convinced by them because their style was simple, because there was an absence of artifice in the speakers,' and so on (see Glover, p. 145). Finally he repudiated the Greeks. 'Saying good-bye to Roman pride and Attic pedantry (*ψυχρολογία*), I laid hold of our barbarian philosophy.' Tatian is indeed a remarkable figure: here we find him insisting on the historic basis of the faith; while Prof. Gwatkin regards him, by virtue of his ideal of one ruler and one law amid the endless variety of racial customs and opinions, as a herald of the Holy Roman Empire.

In addition to the Greek, there was the Roman type—grave, pragmatic, lawyer-like—very much in earnest about organization and government, much more so indeed than about metaphysics. We may take Cyprian and Tertullian as the best exponents in the early centuries of the particularly Latin temperament, the former especially being the first great administrator and statesman of the Church; both forerunners, however, of Augustine and the Latin Fathers who construed Christian life in terms of a relationship to a Divine Sovereign.

In Rome at least the immediate result of the growing influence of the Christians was the hostility of the authorities. Persecution became an imperial policy, which with certain periods of respite was to endure from Nero to Diocletian. So far as the first attacks were concerned, they were not part of a deliberate plan. Nero found the Christians the most convenient victims to expiate the devastation wrought by the great fire; but, as Prof. Gwatkin remarks, 'the popular hatred which made them the most convenient victims was not an accident.' The Jews escaped as 'licensed nonconformists,' though they were hated and known to be the nation from which Christianity had sprung. We agree with Mr. Glover that there has been a tendency to over-praise Marcus Aurelius, that 'saint of agnosticism,' who hardened the easy-going policy of Trajan against the Christians and mercilessly punished them. Undoubtedly he had a serene and beautiful spirit; but even his Stoicism did not avail to give him a glimpse of the true motive of the Christian martyrdoms. 'This readiness—' (to die, he means) 'see that it comes from your own judgement, not in mere obstinacy as with the Christians, but reflectively and with dignity, in a way to persuade another, with nothing of the actor in it.' Probably individual Christians were aggressive. We have records of fanatic acts like upsetting altars and tearing down proclamations or seducing soldiers from service; possibly, too, on occasions the martyrs in the moments of death failed in dignity or serenity of bearing. Nevertheless, the

enmity between the Empire and the Church was deep-rooted. The Christian could not and would not worship the genius of the Emperor: this was irreligion; still more was it high treason or *maiestas*. His faith was a condemnation of existing society and a menace to its security. He practised secret, some said immoral, rites. There were also secret societies composed of the lowest of the people, atheists and magic-workers. The fact of persecution is intelligible enough; also we can readily see how the blood of the martyrs became a seed of the Church; but we must not forget that persecution has its demoralizing side; in that respect, as Prof. Gwatkin reminds us, it is like slavery, of which the worst mischief is not the suffering of the few, but the demoralization of the many.

It is one of the chief merits of Mr. Glover's study that he enables us vividly and with crisp, clear-cut impressions to discern the various aspects under which Christianity presented itself to its contemporaries. His volume displays the critical insight as well as the felicity of expression which makes him a worthy successor of the late Gaston Boissier as an interpreter of the ancient life and letters, combining as he does the accuracy of a scholar and the art of a practised littérateur. Our authorities for this side of early Christianity are of course the Apologists; but their witness needs to be supplemented by the opinions of outsiders like Lucian and Celsus. Lucian is a universal sceptic who dissolves every philosophy and religion into laughter, marvellously witty, and the product of a rhetorical training which tended to develop the superficiality and hardness of his nature. His wit is without a tinge of tenderness: nothing is sacred to him, nothing worthy of reverence—least of all the gods. In *Zeus Cross-examined* he makes Zeus fall easily into the traps set for him by his contemptuous heckler. With fatal amiability the first of the gods admits that Destiny is really supreme, and presently ensnared in the argument beyond recovery, he cries: 'You leave us nothing!—you seem to me to despise me, for sitting here and listening to you with a thunderbolt on

my arm.' 'Hit me with it,' comes back the reply of his relentless adversary, 'if it is so destined—I shall have no quarrel with you for it, but with Clotho.' The references to the Christians are incidental. 'You know,' says Lucian, 'they still worship that great man of theirs who was put on a gibbet in Palestine because he added this new mystery (τέλεστην) to human life.' Religion is merely silly to him; therefore we cannot speak of him as a second-century Voltaire. That title may more justifiably be attached to Celsus, a bitter and merciless critic of the new faith. He regards Christianity as an offence against patriotism, the tastes of the educated, and the religion of his fathers. Writing about the end of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, he protests fiercely against the private judgement and particularism of the Christians. Both Jews and Christians are too anthropocentric: they talk as if God had made the world for them. He pours withering scorn on them both as 'an ecclesia of worms'—worms which cry from their corner of mud, 'God forsakes the whole universe and the course of the heavenly sphere to dwell with us alone.' The Christian propaganda is to the vulgar, the uneducated and sinful. He inveighs against the idea of God's descent. 'Why should God come down? Did He need to learn what was going on among men? Or was it to show off like a *nouveau riche*? And why not long before?' Celsus perhaps had listened to Christian preaching, because he derides its 'Only believe' and 'Thy faith will save thee.' As for the miracles of Jesus, they were mere quackery learnt in Egypt. His teaching is but a medley of Greek literature. In fine, the whole thing is 'faction'—faction that split Christians up into sects. The worship of one God is merely *σπασίαζω*—to make factions. Why not worship the orthodox hierarchy of gods, demons, and emperors? More especially the emperor, to whom all authority has been given by divine ordinance?

In fact, there is a good deal in Celsus which is still echoed in 'sixpenny rationalism.' He is clever, cool, candid; but contemptuously dogmatic, vain, and ignorant.

His portrait of Christ and Christianity is of the nature of a caricature. His failure to understand the Incarnation is fatal. He is sublimely unconscious of the widespread yearning for a Redeemer to be communicated with by sacrifice—a yearning to which eloquent witness is borne by the vogue of that great rival of Christianity, Mithraism, with its sacramental rites and its awe-inspiring process of purification from which the initiate emerged, *taurobolio in aeternum renatus*. Moreover, Celsus is blind to that supreme argument for Christianity, namely the transformation wrought by Christ in human life. 'The sheer weight of the Christian character bore down the school of Celsus and the more powerful school of Plutarch, Porphyry, and Plotinus, and abolished the ancient world, and then captured and transformed the Northern nations.'

The inability of Celsus to understand the godhead of Jesus reminds us of a further rival of Christianity in its early career. This is what Prof. Gwatkin calls Orientalism—a comprehensive term which covers the whole range of Asiatic forces like demon-worship and soothsaying, Syrian asceticism and licentiousness, Egyptian mystery and ceremonial, and, above all, Persian dualism. These forces crystallized into the Gnostic sects, which represent the Hellenizing of Christian doctrine—a process of which the earliest witnesses are the Pauline Epistles. Gnosticism is an attempt to explain the origin of evil. God is good, but evil is inherent in the universe. God, being good, cannot therefore be the creator of the world: that is the work of an inferior being—a Demiurge—who has emanated from the Deity. A Redeemer who has come in the flesh is an impossibility: for flesh is matter and therefore evil. The views of Cerinthus, Valentinus, and Basilides, Marcion and Tatian are variously affected by Judaic, Hellenistic, and Christian influences; but the bond that unites them is 'the perversion of Christianity by learning and speculation.' On the other hand, Montanism, the first great Puritan movement of the Church, is 'Christianity perverted by fear of learning and speculation.' It is the recoil

from philosophy to life, from metaphysics to conduct. The author of this movement was a converted priest of Cybele : its home—Phrygia, the classical centre of religious enthusiasm and excess. Speaking generally, it was an outburst of exuberant revivalism based on a vivid belief in the immediacy of our Lord's return and in the ever-present operation and energy of the Holy Spirit within the Church ; further, it represents an endeavour to restore prophecy and to institute a rigorous asceticism. There are not a few points of contact with early Methodism. There were excesses and errors, but on the whole as much sanity and earnestness as in the eighteenth-century revival. If the spirit of Montanism had captured the Church, the course of Christianity would have been altered. Tertullian made a valiant attempt to save it ; but the movement was rejected by the Church, with the result that the way was paved for Catholicism. 'The entire mediaeval system,' says Prof. Gwatkin, 'from the Papacy downward is no more than a natural development of the unbelief which knows no working of the Spirit, but is transmitted by outward ordinances from a distant past, and to this development the failure of Montanism gave a greater impulse than the defeat of the Gnostics or the conversion of Constantine.' Further results of the failure of the movement were the distrust of prophetism and the consequent thrusting of preaching into the background. It was not the preacher who dominated the Christianity of the next thousand years, but the priest, who said masses and was the official director and pastor of pious souls.

One of the recent gains of the closer study of Christian origins is the truer recognition of the genius of Tertullian, one might almost say his rehabilitation. Mr. Glover rightly protests against Gibbon's unfair prejudice against the greatest Montanist in history. Matthew Arnold's words about the 'stern Tertullian' and 'his un pitying Phrygian sect' have tended to fix the popular conception of his character. Born in Carthage about the middle of the second century, he was shaped in mind and character

by the influences of law and Stoicism. His conception of the fixity and regularity of Nature was the basis of his favourite argument concerning the *testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae*, the testimony of the soul, which is in its ultimate and true nature essentially Christian. It was the spectacle of Christian martyrdom—possibly the death of the Scillitan martyrs—which deeply moved him. 'That very obstinacy with which you taunt us is your teacher.' The martyrs created misgiving in him. Their great endurance had a cause. 'Look into it . . . and when a man has learnt the truth, he instantly follows it himself as well.' Christians do not retaliate. 'We are but of yesterday, and we have filled everything, cities, islands, camps, forum—all we have left you is the temples.' Such is the tone of the great *Apology* written with the fire of a Carlyle. Impatient of mere speculation and the refinements of Gnosticism and Docetism he cries: 'Let them look to it who have produced a Stoic and Platonic and dialectic Christianity. We need no curiosity who have Jesus Christ, no inquiry who have the gospel.' We are beginning to realize the greatness of the man who so mightily influenced Western Christianity. 'That the gospel could capture such a man as Tertullian and, with all his faults of mind and temper, make of him what it did was a measure of its power to transform the old world and a prophecy of its power to hold the modern world too, and to make more of it, as the ideas of Jesus find realization and verification in every generation of Christian character and experience.' It captured Irenaeus, too, who stands midway between the sub-apostolic school and the Alexandrian. Of Irenaeus there is a lucid account in Dr. Bigg's interesting volume, of which the exposition of Christian thought and doctrine is a bright outstanding characteristic, as might be expected in an historical sketch from the pen of the author of *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*. Irenaeus is 'a deeper thinker than Justin Martyr,' and the first systematic theologian of the Church, who, though born in 130, treats of the doctrines of the

faith with an intelligence and insight which evoke the admiration of the modern student. Above all, Christianity captured Clement of Alexandria, whose identification of the Incarnate Logos with Jesus was an immense advance on his teacher Philo, and altered for ever the significance of Christ's person. He is the converse of Tertullian in his gentleness, his philosophic serenity and breadth of vision, and his feeling for the brighter and more joyous sides of the Christian faith: yet he, too, can be very much in earnest. 'Sail past the siren's song,' he exclaims, 'it works death; if only thou wilt, thou hast overcome destruction; lashed to the wood, thou shalt be loosed from ruin; the word of God will steer thee and the Holy Spirit will moor thee to the havens of heaven.' By the 'wood' he means the Cross. If one simple formula may sum up the secret of Christianity's triumph in the Empire, it is this: Christianity conquered because Christianity is Christ. But we must add something else. As we review the complex forces arrayed against the new faith, and note how it superseded old religions and philosophies and transformed the home, the municipality, and the state, we see how the power of the gospel is the Cross. 'Between Christ and Mithras,' says Prof. Gwatkin, 'is the gulf of death;' and Dr. Bigg was never weary of emphasizing the Cross as a supreme factor in the victory of the Church. If you look for a representative of Mithraism, you will light on the Emperor El Gabal; if you look for the fruits of the Cross, you discover them in the myriad transfigurings of character and ideal, of which the first stages of Christian progress give ample evidence. Mr. Glover thus concludes his thoughtful study of Clement: 'If Christianity had depended on the Logos, it would have followed the Logos into the limbo whither went Aeon and Aporrhoia and Spermatikos Logos. But that the Logos has not perished is due to the one fact that with the Cross it has been borne through the ages on the shoulders of Jesus.' Stoicism, Gnosticism, Neo-platonism—all failed, because either they averted their gaze from the fact of sin or overlooked the

remedy for human degradation supplied by the death of Calvary.

Such, then, in brief outline are some of the alluring vistas of inquiry that open before the student of the earlier generations of Christianity in the Empire. As we pass from the glow and creative beauty of the apostolic writings, we are apt to be chilled by the meagreness and imitativeness of sub-apostolic literature as, for example, the Roman Clement, the Shepherd of Hermas, Barnabas and others. But the necessity of self-vindication and self-interpretation soon produced a Christian literature of a nobler order, and slowly the faith of Christ emerged from its struggle with its environment, enriched as to its content and power by the influences of ancient thought and literature. Prof. Gwatkin's two volumes have already been noticed in a recent issue of the LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, and there is no need to add to the praise they have justly won for themselves. One may, however, express a deep satisfaction that the learning, the courage, the capacity for unconventional judgement, the freshness of treatment which have made the Professor's lecture-room famous for nearly a generation of Cambridge theological students, have been placed at the disposal of a wider circle by a work which is likely to become a standard in ecclesiastical history. There is a chapter entitled 'Christian Life' in which the student will find an answer to his inevitable query: Can we arrive at any true picture of the inner life of the Church within the limits of the first two centuries? Can we gather an accurate conception of the development of Christian institutions? It need not be said that the material for such an inquiry is inadequate. Our authorities deal with Christianity as a system of thought rather than as an institution. We get scandal and controversy, aspiration and ideal, the record of struggle and persecution; but only glimpses and hints of the inner life, worship, and fellowship, of the Christians. It is obvious that the vastness of the Empire, the distinction between east and west, the differences of locality, climate,

and race must have produced a large variety into the types and features of early Church life. 'Outwardly Christian churches may have been very like heathen clubs,' with stated meetings, officials, and collections, but open to all grades of society. They sang hymns to Christ, not to Cybele, nor Serapis. The general atmosphere was that of a brotherhood in which self was merged. The law of charity prevailed. Contributions were sent by the Gentiles of Macedonia to the poor Jews at Jerusalem. Gifts and collections were not always, or perhaps mainly, in money, but in kind. The bread and wine for the Lord's Supper came from this source; offerings for the poor were a chief part of the Holy Communion. Christian life began with baptism, of which the supreme element was confession of the faith before men: its mode, immersion. The baptism of infants, however, was practised in the apostolic age. The services were non-liturgical, and included extempore prayer, the singing of hymns like the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and reading from the Old Testament, or the reading of an apostolic letter. Early in the second century the Gospels or the New Testament was read. A sermon followed like the so-called Second Epistle of Clement. Then there was the Lord's Supper as we see it in the New Testament or in the *Teaching*; it was the solemn grace that closed the evening meal. As early as the time of Justin Martyr (c. 150) it had already been separated from the Agape or Lovefeast and transferred to the Sunday morning worship. An apostle or prophet conducted the worship, and there was a local ministry of bishops and deacons. Doubtless the conception of a leading bishop would develop with the necessity of the administration of communion by one person. Christian meetings and worship took place in private houses. Ignatius insisted that all these small churches should be under the charge of one bishop. These churches were private property until the reign of Severus, who issued an edict under whose terms churches were enabled to hold property. Gradually the element of mystery—a heritage from the heathen world

—entered into the worship, rites, and sacraments of the Church, with the inevitable result that Christians began to look on themselves as favourites of heaven, with the visible Church as the only escape from hell and the only sphere of salvation.

On the whole it is the note of joy that sounds out in this early type of Christian life. We note the change in Clement's tone from the *Stromateis* to the *Protrepticus*, where he breaks into a hymn which for purity of feeling is unmatched in early Christian literature. The Saviour is 'my Singer,' 'our new Orpheus.' It is in Clement, too, that we discover the idea of the sanctification of home life as contrasted with the gloom of asceticism and celibacy which clouded the Christianity of later days; for it was a harsh and unnatural asceticism rather than persecution that marred the gladness of Christian experience. Augustine's conception of the saint as *non dissolute hilaris* remained for ages unrealized, until Francis of Assisi recalled the lost sunshine of the faith. 'Who,' says Clement of Alexandria, 'are the two or three gathering in the name of Christ, among whom the Lord is in the midst? Does he not mean man, wife, and child by the three, seeing that woman is made to match man by God?' Here we have the new note of Christianity, the transformation of domestic life with the elevation of womanhood and the nurture of children. The practice of exposing children received its deathblow, like many another evil custom of Roman society, from Christianity, the faith that saved the children with all the helpless and oppressed of humanity.

To sum up, the earlier life of the Church leaves upon us a deeper impression of charm, simplicity, and power than the developments of the third, fourth, and succeeding centuries. There we watch the growth of the catholicizing tendency, the appropriation of pagan elements, the love of mystery and mysteries, the gradual evolution of the sacerdotal idea with the mechanical transmission of grace and other forms of externalism not untinged by heathen superstition and custom. However much we may regret

the form which Christianity began to take in the third century, we have to remember that Roman imperialism could not but affect the constitution and organization of the Church, and actually made for that compactness of order and discipline which was to be a bulwark of the Church while the Empire was slowly disintegrated by barbarian invasions and internal dissidence. No doubt it is a pleasant exercise to speculate on the course which Christendom might have taken if, say, the spirit of Montanism had prevailed; but the truer philosophy is to accept the facts and to believe that the overruling Spirit of God was fashioning the Church into the form, which it ultimately assumed. There was a divine purpose in Catholicism; but the ultimate issues of that purpose have yet to be realized. Moreover, with this admission, we must go further and believe that every reforming impulse of religious history, every effort to return to the simpler faith and practices of early Christianity by such movements as Lollardy, Hussism, Puritanism and Methodism are equally to be ascribed to the operation within the whole body of the faithful of the Lord and Giver of life.

R. MARTIN POPE.

## DR. SVEN HEDIN'S EXPLORATION OF TIBET

*Trans-Himalaya. Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet.*  
By SVEN HEDIN. Two Vols. (Macmillan & Co.  
1900.)

**D**R. SVEN HEDIN has written a great book to describe a great achievement. The two volumes are admirably printed, and are illustrated with nearly four hundred beautiful pictures, some of which are coloured. There are ten maps (three large and seven small), while the value of the work is further increased by an elaborate index. The style of the narrative is clear, graphic, and picturesque, and the work will be an abiding monument of heroic and successful exploration in regions some of which were absolutely unknown.

Dr. Sven Hedin left Stockholm on October 16, 1905, and after a brief visit to Simla, proceeded to Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir. From this place he journeyed across the barren mountains of Kashmirian Tibet, for a fortnight, until on August 1, 1906, he reached Leh, which is the capital of the dominions of the Maharajah of Kashmir in Tibet, and from which the final start into the unknown regions of Chinese Tibet was to be made.

Leh stands at the head of an open valley, about three miles from the Indus, and at an elevation of 11,500 feet above the sea. It is the starting-place of all expeditions into Tibet, and the centre of a great commercial traffic, for all the important trade routes meet there. Christian missions are conducted by the Moravians and Roman Catholics, and it contains a population of about 4,000 souls. We note with pleasure that Dr. Sven Hedin speaks in the highest terms of the zeal and devotion of the Moravian missionaries at Leh, and especially praises the good work done by their hospital.

All preparations being completed, Dr. Sven Hedin, at the head of his caravan, left Leh on August 17, 1906, and prepared to plunge into the unknown regions of Chinese Tibet, knowing that he would be turned back as soon as his entry into that forbidden land had been discovered. Immediately after the start, the caravan crossed the pass of Chang La, which is 17,585 feet above the sea, and leads over the mountain range which divides the Indus from the Shyok. The pass is difficult, as the ascent and descent are over almost precipitous granite blocks, and those who cross it suffer much from mountain sickness. The descent leads first to Tanksee, and then to the Pang-gong lake, which, like so many Tibetan lakes, is slowly drying up. The old channel by which it formerly discharged its waters into the Shyok may still be seen. The water is salt, but is clear as crystal, the mountains which overhang it are brilliantly coloured although barren, while snowy peaks rise here and there, their dazzling white sides and summits beautifully contrasting with the deep blue waters of the lake.

Crossing the Marsimik Pass, 18,343 feet, the great Chang-Chenmo valley was entered, which leads direct to the Tibetan frontier, which it crosses by the Lanak Pass.

Turning to the north, the caravan crossed the Karakorum range, and descended into the vast desert plain of Ling-shi-tang. A more awful solitude does not exist on the face of the earth. The plain is 17,600 feet above the sea, and is a waste of clay, gravel, and sand, without any vegetation, while it is surrounded by mountains, the higher summits of which are capped with snow and their lower slopes are indescribably barren. A haze accompanied by a mirage constantly hovers over its surface, and it has well been called by Captain Drew 'a weary waste, expanding to the skies.' East of this plain, Dr. Sven Hedin's party entered the Aksai Chin, or 'White Desert,' which well merits its terrible name, for to the traveller it is a region of death. Lakes Lighten and Yeshil-Kul were examined, and the explorer sailed over

them in a little boat. On the latter of these lakes he had a perilous adventure. He and his two companions were unarmed, and to escape the jaws of the hungry wolves on the shore, were compelled to put to sea in the teeth of a rising storm. The waves were terrible, but at last they landed in safety.

In the beginning of October the explorer entered the great waste called the Antelope Plain, a name given to it by Captain Deasy, and which it well deserves. In his journey through Northern Tibet, Captain Rawling witnessed an extraordinary spectacle. From the top of a ridge he beheld the plain at his feet covered with innumerable antelopes, stretching away as far as the eye could reach. A continuous stream of fresh herds could be seen approaching in the distance. There could not have been less than 15,000 or 20,000 visible at one time.

Dr. Sven Hedin now turned to the south-east and crossed the great Central Plateau, which is called the Chang. It is a vast table-land bounded on the south by the Trans-Himalaya range, on the north by the Kuen-lun Mountains, and on the west by the 80th parallel of longitude. It is uninhabitable save by wandering pastoral tribes, it has no towns, its rivers all run into lakes, and it is utterly barren. Its surface consists of desolate plains and broad sterile valleys, while it is crossed by numerous mountain ranges. Its average elevation is 15,000 feet above the sea. On its southern margin rises the vast Trans-Himalaya range of snowy mountains, after crossing which the traveller descends into the valley of the Tsangpo or Brahmaputra.

It took Dr. Sven Hedin more than four months to cross this great Central Plateau. For eighty-three days not a single Tibetan was seen, although traces of them were occasionally observed. At last he encountered wandering nomads, and on December 29 he met the governor of the district, on the banks of a lake called Ngangtse-tso. Sven Hedin had seen this Tibetan in his journey across Tibet in 1901, so that they were old friends.

The governor received him kindly, but refused to allow him to advance. Strangely enough, however, he altered his mind, and next day Sven Hedin was permitted to proceed. For this kindness the governor was afterwards fined and deprived of his office. The explorer hurried on as quickly as possible, and it was well that he did so, for he afterwards learnt that special messengers from Lhasa were in pursuit of him, and had they overtaken him he would have been compelled to retrace the terrible route by which he had come.

On January 28, 1907, the gallant explorer gained the crest of the Trans-Himalaya range at the pass of Sela-la (18,064 feet), of which he says: 'I perceived clearly that it must be situated in the main chain, which, further east, bears the well-known peak Nien-chen-tang-la on the south shore of the Nam-tso or Tengri-nor, and has been crossed by a few Europeans and pundits. It is one of the greatest and grandest watersheds of the world, for from its northern flank the water flows down to the undrained lakes of the plateau, and from its southern flank to the Indian Ocean. The course of this watershed and the configuration of the mountain system crossed by our route between the Nangtse-tso and Yesung on the Tsangpo was, till this January of 1907, as unknown to geographers of the European race as the side of the moon turned away from the earth' (I, 267).

Still crossing barren ranges, Sven Hedin at last, on February 5, beheld the valley of the Tsangpo, and for the first time for *six months* he saw at length houses, temples, fields and gardens. Two days later he reached the great river and drank of its holy waters, and on February 9 he embarked on its broad surface. The voyage down the river was delightful. The green waves danced in the sun, and the river was covered with boats, which were full of pilgrims, who were hastening to be present at the great Buddhist festival of the New Year, to be held at the magnificent monastery of Tashi-lunpo. On the evening of February 9 Sven Hedin entered the

important city of Shigatse, having safely escaped his pursuers.

Shigatse is, next to Lhasa, the principal city in Chinese Tibet. It lies in a barren valley surrounded by mountains, in 29° N. lat. and 89° E. long., a little to the south of the Tsangpo or Brahmaputra. It is 11,880 feet above the sea, and is a busy hive of human beings, while it is dominated by a great fort which stands on a high rock above it, and contains accommodation for a garrison of a thousand soldiers. But the glory of the town is the splendid monastery of Tashi-lunpo, about half-a-mile from the city. This wonderful colony of monks (or lamas) is the most beautiful and most important of all the Buddhist monasteries in Tibet, and contains in ordinary times 3,800 monks, but in the times of the great festivals the number reaches 5,000. It is the residence of the Tashi-Lama. Dr. Sven Hedin paid a visit to this Pope of Lamaism, and was received with the greatest kindness. There are two supreme Popes of Tibetan Buddhism. The first is the Delai Lama of Lhasa, and the second is the Tashi-Lama of Shigatse. The former is the more important, and rules over an extensive portion of Tibet. The Tashi-Lama is more especially a teacher, and his authority is exercised over a comparatively small district. When the British entered Lhasa in 1904 the Delai Lama fled into the wilds of Mongolia, and so lost much of his reputation, whilst the Tashi-Lama, who remained in his residence, much increased his popularity by courteously meeting the British invaders. The glory of the monastery of Tashi-lunpo is the tombs of five of the Tashi-Lamas which it contains. These were visited by Dr. Sven Hedin, and are described by him in the most picturesque manner. They are splendid shrines, the tombs being adorned with gold, silver, and countless precious stones. The tombs very much resemble each other, but that of the first Tashi-Lama is perhaps the most magnificent. This splendid shrine is one of the greatest wonders in Tibet.

Dr. Sven Hedin attended the Buddhist festival of the

New Year (the greatest of all the Tibetan festivals) in the monastery of Tashi-lunpo. He was conducted by lamas to a balcony overlooking a vast courtyard in the monastery, in which at least 6,000 worshippers were assembled. Then the blowing of trumpets and the distant chanting of hymns announced the approach of the Tashi-Lama, and the wonderful scene that followed shall be described in Dr. Sven Hedin's own words :

' The gallery is now concealed by heavy black curtains characteristic of all lama monasteries. Invisible choristers, among whom we seem to distinguish voices of men and youths, now intone a mystic chant. It is subdued, deep, and slow ; it quavers in religious enthusiasm beneath the dark vaults of the gallery, and seems to proclaim with full conviction—

In every land the whole world round.  
This song of praise shall soon resound.

The murmuring voices are silent and the chant swells up crescendo and then falls again, and seems to die out in some distant under-world, as though the singers had reached the portals of Nirvana. Enthralling, mystical, full of yearning and hope is this wonderful Losar hymn in Tashi-lunpo.

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' Above this gallery is a second, which is open to the Dojas-Chimbo, as the court is called. Only the middle is covered with a curtain of yellow silk with red stripes, and with heavy gold fringes and tassels at the bottom. Behind this curtain the Pope takes his place ; he is so holy that his whole person may not be exposed to the gaze of the multitude, but a small rectangular opening is made in the curtain that he may be able to watch the proceedings. After an interval long copper trumpets give forth a new signal ; the holy one has left the Labrang, and is on his way to the performance. A procession of high lamas enters the gallery, each bearing some of the

robes and pontifical insignia of the Tashi-Lama. A low, reverential, and subdued murmur is heard, the multitude rises on the tip-toe of expectation, all is still as the grave, and all eyes are turned towards the gallery through which the procession enters. He comes, he comes! Then there is a murmur more reverential than before among the crowd, who all rise and remain standing, with their bodies bent and their hands on their knees, inspired with deep devotion at the approach of the Panchen Rinpoche. He walks slowly to his place, sits down with crossed legs on a couple of cushions, and then only his face can be seen through the opening in the silken curtain. Apparently he is rather a young man; on his head he wears a large yellow mitre, which, however, resembles a Roman helmet or a French infantry helmet; his pontifical robe is of yellow silk, and in his hand he holds a rosary. At his right hand sits his younger brother, Kung Gushuk, the Duke, our host, in a dress of red and yellow, and at the right hand of the latter we see three other secular lords in yellow. To the left of the Tashi-Lama sits the Minister of State, Lobsang Tsundo Gyamtso, a little fat cardinal with a head like a billiard ball, and beside him the tutor of the Tashi-Lama, Tonsin Rinpoche, and his deaf and dumb mother Tashi Lamo, a little woman with a shaven head and a red and yellow dress embroidered with gold. . . . In the semi-darkness behind them is a row of high lamas, all in yellow garments—their ordinary dress is red. It is truly an imposing scene. We seem to have before us the whole conclave of venerable cardinals of Buddhistic Catholicism' (I, 308-9).

The ceremony consisted of dances by masked performers, some of whom represented demons, who were put to flight by the power of the lamas, and at the close, paper was burnt to signify the passing away of the sins of the people; after this the Tashi-Lama left, and the spectators departed. The ceremony is evidently intended to increase the power of the priesthood, by showing the people that the lamas alone can protect them from the

demons. Buddhism was introduced into Tibet from India by a monk in the eighth century A.D., and the new faith incorporated into its system the Shamanism, fetishism, and devil worship (or Bon religion) which prevailed in Tibet before Buddhism entered the country (I, 312-329). In the Bon religion spirits haunt the mountains and lakes.

Dr. Sven Hedin left Shigatse on March 27 for the north, and in the monastery of Tugden Gompa saw a statue of the Hlobun Lama, who was represented as 'a regular bishop, with mitre, cassock, and crozier.' Nunneries were also passed, and in one monastery the explorer found 235 folios of sacred and canonical books. He now went up the beautiful valley of the My-chu, which is full of monasteries, and crossed the Trans-Himalaya by the pass of Angden-la, but he was forbidden to visit the holy lake of Dangra Yum, although he saw its position from the top of the mountains. A splendid range of snowy mountains with glaciers, called the Targo-Gangri, which is considered most holy, rises near the venerated lake.

Dr. Sven Hedin returned to the valley of the Brahmaputra (Tsangpo) and crossed the Himalayan watershed into Nepaul. The ridge which forms the watershed is but twenty miles south of the Tsangpo, and only 300 feet above the level of that river. This is a remarkable fact, and Dr. Sven Hedin states that if a great trench were cut across this insignificant ridge the Tsangpo would be diverted, and would pour its waters into the Upper Ganges! Bengal would gain an increased water supply, but Assam would be dryer, and the Tibetans would be very angry. In the course of future centuries, however, the head waters of the streams may so cut back that Nature may effect the bifurcation, and then extraordinary physical changes will occur. Dr. Sven Hedin now journeyed westwards up the Brahmaputra, until on June 30 he discovered the source of the mighty river. It rises amidst a group of vast glaciers and majestic snow-clad mountains, the source being 15,958 feet above the sea. He gives a fine panoramic illustration, showing the glaciers

and great snowy mountains amidst which the river takes its rise.

Crossing the watershed between the Sutlej and the Brahmaputra, he reached the holy lake of Manasarowar. This extraordinary lake is one of the most wonderful places in the whole world. It lies in (roughly speaking)  $31^{\circ}$  N. lat. and  $81^{\circ}$  E. long., is 15,098 feet above the sea, and is about twenty miles in length, and the same in breadth in its broadest part. It is equally venerated by Hindus and Buddhists, and myriads of pilgrims visit it every year. Eight monasteries stand on the mountains overlooking the lake, and a great fish-god is said to have his home beneath the waters. The view around is sublime. To the north rises the holy peak of Kailas (21,818 feet high), beautiful in form, and clad with everlasting snow, and the holiest mountain in all Tibet, while on the south appears the snow-covered giant of Gurla, which attains an elevation of 25,348 feet. Four great rivers rise from the neighbourhood of this holy lake—the Indus, the Sutlej, the Kali (affluent of the Ganges) and the Brahmaputra. Hence this lake may be considered to be one of the greatest water-partings in the world, and a marvellous phenomenon in physical geography.

The accounts which Dr. Sven Hedin gives of his boating excursions over the Holy Lake form delightful reading. In the daylight and moonlight he sailed over its placid waters, and he gives a beautiful water-colour picture of the venerated expanse. He visited the Buddhist monasteries on its shores, and from their roofs in company of the lama monks he gazed down upon the clear waters below. He went round the lake, and ascertained that there is a subterranean connexion between it and the Sutlej river on the west; he also visited the neighbouring lake of Rakas Tal. Here is the graphic description of the view over Lake Manasarowar from the roof of one of the monasteries:

'We ascended to the roof of Gossul-gompa (i.e. monastery). It is flat, as usual, with a chimney, parapet, and streamers. No language on earth contains words

forcible enough to describe the view from it over the lake. It was, indeed, much the same as we had seen from various points on the shore, but the light-and-shade was so enchanting and the colouring so wonderful that I was amazed, and felt my heart beat more strongly than usual as I stepped out of the dark temple halls on to the open platform. Tundup Sonam said in his simple way that the lake with its encircling mountains seemed like the sky with its light clouds. I, too, was the victim of an illusion which almost made me catch at the parapet for support. I wondered whether it was a fit of giddiness. . . . The day was perfectly calm and the lake like a mirror, in which the sky was reflected; both looked exactly the same, and were of the same colour, and the mountains, which in consequence of the distance, were all blended into a dark shadow, were like a girdle of clouds. The air was not clear, everything was of a dull, subdued tone, there was no colour to speak of, but all was grey, sky, land and water, with a tinge of blue, a fairy scene of glass, with decorations of white gauze seen through a thin blue veil of incense rising from the altar of the mighty god of the lake' (II, 148, 149).

Having fixed the source of the Sutlej and examined the lake of Rakas Tal, Dr. Sven Hedin made a circuit around the Holy Mountain of Kailas. This peak is one of the holiest mountains in the world. Hindus, Buddhists, and Mohammedans all believe it to be the Home of the Gods. Thousands of pilgrims visit it every year and make a circuit round it, while from all parts of Tibet pilgrims' roads converge upon the Holy Mountain. The devotees wearily walk round the mountain, muttering prayers and fingering the beads of their rosaries. 'It is' (says Sven Hedin) 'incomparably the most famous mountain in the world. Mount Everest and Mont Blanc cannot vie with it. Yet there are millions of Europeans who have never heard of Kang-rinpoche, while the Hindus and Lamaists all know Kailas, though they have no notion where Mont Blanc lifts up its head.'

Captain Ryder says of this Mount Kailas: 'Wonderful

is the appearance of this mountain in the early morning when its roof of spotless snow is touched by the rising sun and changed in hue to a soft but vivid pink, whilst the ravines below still hold the blackness of the night. As the light increases so do the mighty walls brighten in colour, and form a happy contrast to the blue waters of Manasarowar rippling in the morning breeze, changing gradually as one gazes, from purple to brightest blue' (*The Great Plateau*, pp. 262, 263).

Leaving the Holy Lake the explorer discovered the source of the Indus, and then reached the important trading centre of Gartok. Here, however, the Tibetan authorities forbade him to go eastwards, to establish the continuity of the Trans-Himalaya; he resolved, therefore, to enter the Great Plateau again from the north, and once more to cross its whole extent from north to south. He descended the Indus in a north-westerly direction nearly as far as Leh, and meeting at Durguk a new caravan which had been prepared for him at Leh, left Durguk on December 4, 1907. He went northwards up the narrow valley of the Shyok, and entered the great Dapsang plain, which is 17,500 feet above the sea, and is well called 'The roof of the world.' The route was fearful. Dead horses lay about in appalling numbers, at one place during two hours' ride sixty-three bodies being counted. Having reached a point between 35° and 36° N. lat., and 78° E. long., Sven Hedin now turned to the east, and again crossing the Ling-shi-thang and the White Desert of the Aksai Chin, traversed once more in the depth of winter the whole of the Central Plateau of Tibet. His route crossed the plateau in a south-east direction, about 150 miles to the west of his line of march in the previous year. The journey was simply awful. The thermometer fell to 70° of frost (Fahr.). The snow-storms were endless, one of them lasting without interruption for several weeks, and on the banks of a lake, called Shemen-tso, matters became so bad that it seemed as if the caravan would be snowed up for the rest of the winter.

At length the terrible plateau was crossed, and in the end of April 1908 the explorer once more looked down upon the great valley of the Brahmaputra or Tsangpo. In the neighbourhood they were met by the Tibetans, to whom the traveller gave himself up, and by whom he was treated with great kindness, and permitted to travel northwards, exploring the unknown ranges of the Trans-Himalaya. For more than two months he journeyed amidst a perfect maze of mountains, barren valleys, and salt lakes, until at last, in July he reached Tokchen near the eastern shore of the holy lake of Manasarowar. Here political difficulties delayed him a short time.

As a whole chapter is specially given by our author to a description of the vast mountain-system of Trans-Himalaya, from which the book derives its name, we will briefly indicate the characteristics of this gigantic watershed. The Himalayas themselves run parallel to the plains of India, but consist of several ranges. The great Himalayan rampart is broken through at its western end by the Indus, and at its eastern extremity by the Brahmaputra. Several large rivers penetrate it, and rise behind it in Tibet; such as the Sutlej, and the Gunduk and the Cosi, these last two being affluents of the Ganges. At the back of the Himalaya, to the north of the range, flow the Indus and the Brahmaputra, which divide the Trans-Himalaya on the north from the real Himalayas on the south. The Trans-Himalaya may be said to begin at the junction of the Indus with the Shyok in (roughly speaking)  $35^{\circ}$  N. lat. and  $76^{\circ}$  E. long. Thence it runs south-east, north of the Indus, until it reaches the neighbourhood of the holy lake of Manasarowar. It forms the southern rampart of the great Central Plateau of Tibet or Chang, and makes a division between the basin of that table-land on the north and the basin of the Brahmaputra (or Tsangpo) on the south. After passing to the north of Lhasa, it divides the valley of the Salwen from that of the Brahmaputra, and turning to the south it finally turns into the hill ranges of Burma. The whole length

of the Trans-Himalaya must be more than 2,500 miles, and while the passes over it average 2,000 feet higher than those of the Himalaya, its loftiest peaks are, on an average, from 4,000 to 5,000 feet lower than the highest pinnacles of the Himalayas to the south.

Dr. Sven Hedin left Tibet by the valley of the Upper Sutlej. The country on the banks of this river consists of a great alluvial plain, which was formerly the bed of an immense lake. The whole region is traversed by vast rifts and chasms many hundreds of feet in depth, at the bottom of which flow the rivers. In these deep chasms, which resemble the cañons of the Colorado, are situated the villages and the monasteries, which seem as if they were buried in the depths of the earth. The routes run down these chasms or cross them, in which latter case the march of the traveller is fearfully trying. Shipki is the last town in Tibet, beyond which a high pass leads over the Himalayas into British India. From this lofty elevation, at the top of the pass, Dr. Sven Hedin bade farewell to Tibet; and with his reflections as he gazed on the mysterious land for the last time, our notice of his travels may fitly close.

'Shipki is the last village in Tibet. From this garden oasis begins the steep ascent to the Shipki-la, which is reached after attaining a height of six Eiffel Towers one upon another. Here we stood on the frontier between Tibet and India. I turned and let my eyes roam once more over these awfully desolate and barren mountains where my dreams had been realized, and my lucky star had shed a clearer and more friendly light than ever before. Farewell, home of wild asses and antelopes, holy land of the Tashi-Lama, of Tso-mavang and the Tsangpo, into whose mysterious valleys the stranger has found his way only by enduring two Arctic winters, and by driving a flock of refractory sheep! I seemed to take farewell of the best of my youth and the finest chapter in the story of my life' (II, 417).

D. GATH WHITLEY.

## THE CHRISTIAN CONVENTICLE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

**L**UKE was an 'external' historian. He contented himself with the statement of facts without discussing their inner meaning and future consequences. He did not stay to expound the 'philosophy of history,' but left his readers to draw their own conclusions. Yet it would be a mistake to rank him with mere annalists who jot down incidents without any understanding of their relative importance. All his modern readers agree that he took care both in the selection and presentation of his materials, and are at pains to discover on what plan he proceeded. Perhaps the truest theory is that he was first of all a man of his own times, and set down chiefly the things that would help contemporary Christians to solve their own problems and vindicate their faith against its foes. He wrote for Theophilus and such as Theophilus; he took the point of view of his age.

The 'Acts of the Apostles' is a book of origins. It is remarkable how much attention Luke paid in its writing to the story of the way in which the various Churches arose and how little to the way in which they developed. Hence his omission of all reference to Paul's letters and the circumstances that called them forth. For instance, how would a few of his verses have illuminated the obscure story of Paul's relations with Corinth between the writing of his First and Second Epistles to the Church in that city! In the same way he told nothing of what happened at Philippi after Paul left him there (Acts xvi.). On the other hand, he turned aside from Paul's history to that of Apollos when the latter illustrated the origin of the Church at Ephesus (Acts xviii. 24 ff.).

But Luke's main interest was not in all Christian

origins, else the early story of Judaistic Christianity had been continued in his book. His main interest, seen already in the catalogue of 'tongues' in the second chapter, lay in the origin of *Gentile* Christian Churches, and in these as *independent of Judaism*. This is what might be expected from a Gentile writer of his time. For, if he wrote, as usually supposed, soon after the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, the outstanding 'external' fact in contemporary Christianity was its final and complete separation from Judaism. The Church at that crisis committed itself to separation. Henceforward it took the standpoint of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Even the Christians of Jerusalem withdrew to Pella before Titus finally invested the city, confessing by the act: 'We are not merely a kind of Jews.' This was clearly understood on both sides. There might in the future be still a few in the East who tried to be both Jews and Christians, but they were now obviously a sect. The Church as a whole was from this date an entirely separate and even a rival institution. In every city it competed with Judaism for the adhesion of the 'devout persons' among the Gentiles. To Luke, the only Gentile among New Testament writers, and to his contemporary Gentile readers, it must have been of pre-eminent interest to understand the gradual process by which this came to pass, while in discussions with Jews it would be of great moment to be able to show that separation was thrust upon the Church. Luke would surely have an eye to these things in writing his history. The 'internal' movement by which Christians grew to know that they were not, and could not be, only a kind of Jews has been carefully distinguished in our day by the long study of the Epistles of Paul and of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Can there also be marked in the New Testament, and especially in the Acts of the Apostles, any signs of the 'external' process? In other words, are there traces therein of the origin of the Christian 'conventicle'?<sup>1</sup> And

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<sup>1</sup> This term is used as the most convenient to denote the assemblies of a new religious body *at the moment* of its separation from an older one ;

in particular, are there any traces how the Christians came to make a distinct public appeal or to hold distinct gatherings for public worship? For such things strike the public eye far more than any internal tendency, however marked. The 'man in the street' of those days would not think of Christianity as being more than a new Jewish sect<sup>1</sup> until it was something separate from the synagogue. The world sides with 'external' historians.

On the day of Pentecost the apostles may easily have hoped that all Israel would adopt the new faith, and we can readily understand that, devout Jews as they were, they would only very slowly abandon this hope. It was soon clear, however, that the conversion of Israel must be a long process. Opinion could only differ as to how long. Meanwhile, the Church might take either of two attitudes to the synagogue. It might be content to be practically a private society within Judaism, conceding to the Gentile convert much the position conceded by the Jew to 'proselytes of the gate,' or it might sever its connexion with the synagogue altogether and take its stand as a new and independent organization, holding its own public services and making its own public appeal. Here lies the external correlative of the internal agitation so vividly depicted in the Epistle to the Galatians. A scrutiny of Luke's narrative shows that he gave particular attention to the process by which Paul came definitely to take the second attitude. It was to the great apostle's example that he traced the beginning of a movement that, at least outside Judaea, was already complete when he wrote.

Before turning to note the clear tokens of this process in the account of Paul's journeys, it is worth while to trace the more obscure hints in the Acts of the Apostles that the Churches of Judaea, adopting on the whole the other position, were content to remain both Jewish and Chris-

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its slightly contemptuous connotation may perhaps serve to reproduce ordinary contemporary opinion in this as in other cases.

<sup>1</sup> The new name 'Christian' (Acts xi. 26) does not involve more than this.

tian, and that orthodox Judaism tended to acquiesce in this. It is to be noted first of all that there is no sign of any separate *public* worship on the part of the Judæan Christians. The descriptions in the early chapters of the Acts give the impression that the only distinctive public acts of the first Christians were open-air appeals. Their acts of common worship are described as 'continuing steadfastly with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread at home' (ii. 46). In other words, they joined in the Jewish public worship, while their peculiar rite was private. It is also remarkable that, in spite of their large numbers, we have no sign of any indoor gatherings of Judæan Christians except in private houses. And, *so long as they conformed to Judaism*, the Jews soon consented to tolerate them. The general impression given by the narrative is that after the first persecution (chaps. iii.-v.) the advice of Gamaliel was taken, and that tolerance became the rule while persecution was spasmodic (ix. 31). The rapid growth of the Church supports this view, for it is usually true that a persecuted Church grows quickly in the intervals between its persecutions and not at the time of persecution itself. But the qualification italicized above is important. It cannot be doubted that the Palestinian Church conformed in the main to Jewish worship and that it reckoned itself a Jewish organization. Its ordinary members 'contended' with Peter over the case of Cornelius (xi. 2, 3). Those of 'the sect of the Pharisees who believed' took such action against Paul and Barnabas as showed that they reckoned themselves Pharisees still (xv. 5). Years afterwards, the 'many myriads among the Jews of them which have believed' were still 'all zealous for the law' and deeply suspicious of Paul (xxi. 20, 21). The concessions made to Gentile Christians in the cases of Cornelius (xi.) and of the appeal of the Church at Antioch (xv.) were due rather to apostolic influence than popular desire, and it was much easier to 'glorify God' that He had 'granted to the Gentiles' away in Caesarea 'repentance unto life' than to take the practical conse-

quences of such doctrine when face to face with Gentiles (cf. Gal. ii. 11 ff.). To reduce a disputant to silence is one thing, to induce him to turn his life upside down is another. As the other apostles lagged behind St. Paul, so the ordinary Jewish Christians lagged behind them. Hegesippus represents James himself as a Nazirite to the end, and as so constant in Jewish devotion that he was revered even by the unbelieving Jews. Further, every persecution after the first seems to have arisen upon the suspicion that the Nazarenes, after all, were not faithful Jews. This is clearly the case with the persecution that 'arose about Stephen.' Saul, his great successor, surely urged a similar doctrine (ix. 15, 29). The sinister reappearance here of Stephen's enemies, the 'Hellenists' or 'Grecian Jews,' is to be noted, for it was their bitter hatred that pursued Paul to the end of Luke's story. Herod's persecution arose in time of famine (xi. 28), and popular discontent may as often have craved victims. Herod found them in the Nazarenes, and it is significant that just at this moment Barnabas and Saul were again at Jerusalem (xi. 30; xii. 25). Was it not their distinctive teaching that made the sect unpopular again at the moment when the Tetrarch was looking for appropriate victims of the populace's hate? It seems probable, then, that the Jews tolerated the Christians in Judaea so long as they held no separate public worship and so long as they bore themselves as only a new sect of Jews. The older apostles, having admitted Paul's principle, would have little occasion for its application in Judaea, and, being pre-eminently 'practical men,' would be little likely to urge the mere theory. The few Gentile Christians in Palestine, at least outside such Gentile cities as Caesarea, perhaps contented themselves with such small advance upon the position of 'proselytes of the gate' as the compromise of Acts xv. gave them when reduced to practice, and the outside Jewish world probably classed them with such proselytes. Luke could find no beginnings of a Christian 'conventicle' here. As the subsequent story will show, he would surely have set

it down if there had been in Jerusalem a separate Christian 'Synagogue.'

The application of the last term to a place of Christian assembly suited the prevailing temper of the Palestinian Church. Hence in the Epistle of James it is used of a Jewish-Christian meeting, or place of meeting, among the Dispersion (ii. 2), and Epiphanius is quoted on that passage to show that the Ebionites still used the term so late as his time. But it was apparently never used by Gentile Christian meetings, and hardly could be. 'Church' (*ἐκκλησία*) superseded it there. Indeed, it would be in place to describe Acts xiii. 13—xix. 22 as a 'History of the Separation of the Church from the Synagogue.' This part of the book shows clearly how Paul was driven step by step to take the second of the two possible positions indicated above, and to establish Churches as distinct from Synagogues and even as their rivals.

It is an old remark that throughout the story of Paul Luke paid special attention to his relations with the Jews. He so selected his facts as to show that Paul always began his work in a city by preaching Jesus as 'the Christ' in the Synagogue. Indeed Luke, early Gentile Christian as he was, never uses the term 'Christ' except in relation to a Jewish environment.<sup>1</sup> The uniform consequence sooner or later—alike at the Pisidian Antioch, at Iconium, at Thessalonica, at Beraea, at Corinth, at Ephesus—was the rejection of the new gospel by the Jews and their vindictive pursuit of Paul from city to city. At Lystra the apparent absence of a Synagogue alone distinguishes the catalogue of events. Philippi and Ephesus are the solitary cases of persecution on the initiative of Gentiles. The cure of the Pythoness at Philippi, and at Ephesus—as will appear presently—Paul's own deliberate act of separation, anticipated the usual Jewish catastrophe. Gentile Athens contented herself with philosophic scorn. The Jews were everywhere else the bane of the Church.

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<sup>1</sup> See a note by the present writer in *The Expository Times*, vol. xix. p. 45 (October 1907).

Still Paul abstained for long from definite separation. When driven from the Synagogue, the apostles apparently fell back on open-air appeal (e. g. at Lystra, xiv. 9). The gatherings of Christians for distinctive worship were held in dwelling-houses, and were private. So far Paul's practice had not deviated from that usual in Judaea. The Jewish attack upon the 'house of Jason' at Thessalonica, and the finding of 'certain brethren' there, seemed to Luke so natural as to need no explanation (xvii. 5, 6). When, however, in the near sequel he came to describe Paul's work at Corinth, he did so in peculiar and carefully chosen terms. Acts xviii. 4-11 marks an epoch in his story. It is worth while to study this, and another leading passage, xix. 8-20, in more detail.<sup>1</sup>

In xviii. 4, Luke states that Paul followed at Corinth his usual custom of preaching in the Synagogue. Then in ver. 5 he describes a certain 'constraint by the word' that befell the apostle, and adds that he thereupon 'testified to the Jews that Jesus was the Christ.' The last clause no doubt grammatically stands as explanation of the 'constraint.' But surely Paul's previous preaching at Corinth (ver. 4) had not omitted this! And surely he did not need a peculiar 'constraint' to testify so much when he had preached it constantly for years! It was to something else, new and startling, that he was 'constrained,' something that he had probably long felt must come sooner or later, yet that he even now delayed until Silas and Timothy rejoined him (ver. 5). This was nothing less than the setting up of the first Christian 'conventicle.' Luke proceeds to describe it (vers. 6-8). The 'conventicle' was held, as first 'conventicles' usually are, in a private house. But the meetings 'in the house of Titus Justus' were not merely parallel to those in 'the house of Jason' and others previously mentioned. Else it, too, had not been particularly described. The eighth verse shows that what is meant is a place of public worship

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<sup>1</sup> xxviii. 15 ff. is the third cardinal passage in this connexion—vide *infra*.

and appeal, the ninth and tenth that the momentous step received specific divine approval, the eleventh that it proved at once helpful for Christian evangelism. Here significantly falls Luke's first hint of the apostle's prolonged stay in any one city. It is quite certain that he did not preach the new gospel for eighteen months in the Synagogue. A pulpit of his own provided an opportunity hitherto unique. Paul's was no longer the evangelism of a fugitive.

Luke proceeds to narrate the story of the origin of the Church at Ephesus. At first Paul's reception in the synagogue there was not unfavourable (xviii. 20), and on his return from Jerusalem he found it possible to preach in it for no less than three months (xix. 8). But he was now used to the supervening of hatred on toleration and even on friendliness. When he saw that the usual consequences of Jewish opposition were imminent, he remembered his successful experiment at Corinth, hesitated no longer, 'separated the disciples.' This new phrase again marks a new thing. The Christian worship was not now held in a private house, and could not colourably be represented, as at Corinth, as being of at least a semi-private nature. A 'school' (σχολή) was a public hall. Paul made the 'school of Tyrannus' a public place of Christian worship and preaching. Luke once more goes on to show that this provided an opportunity for a continuous ministry (ver. 10), that it was followed by special signs of God's approval (vers. 11-16), and that it proved a mighty means of missionary enterprise (vers. 10, 17-20).

At this point we may ask whether it is quite certain that Sir William Ramsay is right in assuming that Luke's readers would not be familiar with the term 'School of Tyrannus.'<sup>1</sup> He may not have been 'addressing an Ephesian audience,' but the name of their

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<sup>1</sup> 'There is not the remotest probability that the writer of Acts was addressing an Ephesian audience, to whom the School of Tyrannus, an obscure place belonging to a private person, was familiar' (Hastings' Bible Dictionary, iv. p. 822).

first public preaching-place might spread far and linger long among Gentile Christians. The 'Neutral' Reading (N A B with some minuscules and versions) omits 'one' (ἓν) in the phrase 'the school of one Tyrannus,' while the 'Western' and 'Syrian' authorities insert it. Is the 'shorter' and 'harder' reading wrong for once? A parallel may help decision—an ordinarily well-informed Methodist in America to-day would quite well understand such a phrase in a Methodist history as 'In this year Wesley began to preach at the Foundery in London,' while a Methodist in Japan a century or two hence might easily copy or quote this as 'at a certain foundery in London.' If this passage in Acts is important as marking the origin of separate Gentile Christianity, at least on the 'external' side, the name might be familiar in all early Gentile Churches. Nor would the adoption of the 'Neutral' reading prejudice the reliability of the further 'Western' addition, 'from the fifth to the tenth hour,' for it has different manuscript support from ἓν, and it may well show, as Ramsay argues, that the Christians in their poverty shared the hall with another, or perhaps rather that Paul, suiting the hours of his preaching to the convenience of his hearers, held his services when 'business' was over, as is still done on weekdays.

To return—it seems, then, that Luke clearly traces the gradual separation of Church from Synagogue through the stages of private meetings in dwelling-houses, expulsion from the Synagogue and open-air appeals, separate public worship in a dwelling-house, and finally a 'conventicle' proper.<sup>1</sup> He stays to emphasize the last stage. His 'external' history corresponds with the familiar internal controversy within the Church. At the time of Paul's preaching in 'the school of Tyrannus' he was busy with the 'Judaizers' of Galatia. At the moment when he was drawing fully out the great new theory that to be a

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<sup>1</sup> It would be easy to show how the early history of Methodism furnishes an almost exact parallel. Here, too, there was an 'internal' history correlative to the 'external.'

Christian a man need not become a Jew, he was 'separating the disciples' and forming the first Christian 'conventicle.' Here began the process of separation that was practically complete when Luke wrote.

If *argumenta ex silentio* were not so precarious it would be tempting to ask here whether Luke's omissions are not due in part to his preoccupation with this and other phases of the history of the relation of Gentile to Jewish Christians. For instance, why is his account of Barnabas and Saul's evangelism in Cyprus so cursory? (xiii. 5, 6). It is easy to say that Luke had not been there, but neither is there any evidence that he had been in South Galatia, nor any within New Testament times that he had been in Achaia. He perhaps knew Barnabas, and certainly met Mark (Col. iv. 10, 14). May not the answer rather be that the relations of the Cypriot believers to the Synagogue remained such as were usual in Palestine?<sup>1</sup> To leave such surmises, however, it is to be noted that the most determined of Paul's enemies belonged to the two neighbourhoods where he had decisively separated the Church from the Synagogue. Luke gives a hint of the hatred felt for him at Corinth (xx. 3), while the 'Jews from Asia' pursued him with implacable rancour even at Jerusalem (xxi. 27; xxiv. 18). Luke gives a detailed account of the riot they raised against this particular Christian in that city, now long used to tolerate multitudes of Christians (xxi. 20 f., 28). Why was this? Doubtless Paul was the known enemy of the 'Judaizers,' but the unconverted Jew would know little and care less for the disputes that arose in the new sect so long as they were internal, and so long as the Christian, whatever views he held, conformed to Synagogue worship and Jewish custom. But the 'Jew in the street,' so to speak, could not miss the meaning of a separate and successful 'conventicle.' So that, while

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<sup>1</sup> The 'North Galatian' theory requires a similarly summary account of evangelism there (xvi. 6). Did that Church, too, remain connected with the Synagogue, and did this give the 'Judaizers' there a vantage that Paul determined they should not have at Ephesus?

the disturbances against the apostle at Antioch or Philippi were spasmodic and temporary, the Jew at Corinth and Ephesus nourished his enmity. To see the new 'Christians' and their hearers trooping week by week into the house of Titus Justus within sight of the Corinthian synagogue itself (xviii. 7), or to note the undiminished popularity of the 'school of Tyrannus' at Ephesus, kept aflame the Jews' hatred of Paul in those cities, and he could not revisit them in safety.

So, too, the crowd that mobbed Paul at Jerusalem listened in silence as he told them that he was a follower of Jesus, for this was common in their midst, but the mention of 'Gentiles' instantaneously renewed the riot (xxii. 8 f., 22). Paul was accused, not of being a Nazarene, but of treason to his race, and they were 'Jews from Asia' who brought the charge (xxi. 28). Nothing induces religious fury like the 'conventicle' of a 'separatist.'

If the wider subject of the relation of the Jews to Paul and to his Gentile movement were under discussion, it would be necessary to dwell on the way in which Luke, in the succeeding chapters, and especially in his reports of Paul's speeches, brings this topic, so interesting and even vital to his readers, into prominence. He quietly provides them with a complete defence of their own position. But the course of his story excludes the narrower subject of the origin of separate Christian 'conventicles' until Paul's arrival at Rome.

The particular position at Rome was perhaps typical of many Churches among the Dispersion. It seems clear that, at least in some places, the enmity of the orthodox Jew to the 'brethren,' after a first fierce outburst, smouldered rather than flamed, and that this tended to be so where the new movement did not emerge in a public 'conventicle' (e.g. xvi. 1-5). At Rome this appears to have been the case before Paul's arrival. There is no hint in the Roman letter of heavy or sustained persecution.<sup>1</sup> It has

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<sup>1</sup> Rom. xii. 12, 14, implies less than this. Contrast 2 Thess. i. 4. Rom. v. 3; viii. 35 ff., are noticed below.

often been noted that the list of names in chap. xvi. falls here and there into groups, as though 'the Church in the house' of Prisca and Aquila (ver. 5) were a type of the condition of Roman Christianity. Had most of the Christians there embraced the faith elsewhere? Were they still content with private meetings in some of the larger dwelling-houses? Were they hesitating to evangelize Rome? Did each newcomer merely join one of the household groups? There are signs that all these questions should be answered 'Yes.' Paul writes as though there were no leader at Rome, as though indeed it were virgin soil. He says that he will not 'build on another's foundation,' yet he longs to preach in Rome (Rom. xv. 20 ff.; i. 15). There is 'some spiritual gift' that he feels he can impart unto them (i. 11). What is it? There is a hint in Phil. i. 14. On Paul's arrival in Rome 'most of the brethren in the Lord, being confident through [his] bonds, [were] more abundantly bold to speak the word of God without fear.' The Roman Christians hitherto had lacked boldness. They had not been sufficiently missionary. They were at least in danger of being 'ashamed of the gospel' (i. 16). That was one reason why Paul insisted so strongly on his own eagerness to preach in Rome (i. 14, 15—note τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ and πρόθυμον 'eager'). The Roman Church had not been eager to evangelize. There is perhaps a hint of remonstrance in Paul's apostrophe at the height of his great argument, 'Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?' (viii. 35).<sup>1</sup>

To ask, 'Why did the Roman Christians thus hesitate?' leads back to our topic. At the time when Paul wrote to Rome, the civil power was not as yet the foe of the Church. The apostle himself experienced its protection through Gallio. The danger of the hour was from the Jews, and there is evidence that the Jews in Rome

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<sup>1</sup> Similarly with viii. 17, 18 (noting especially the use of *σὺν*, *σὶ* *guidem*), and v. 3.

were a large and factious body.<sup>1</sup> Evangelism would inevitably rouse their enmity and might even lead to riot, ending perhaps in the expulsion of all 'Christians' from the city (cf. Acts xviii. 2).<sup>2</sup> Perhaps an open-air enterprise would hardly have been tolerated in the Capital. The 'brethren' could plead impotence. The idea of a separate 'conventicle' would not perhaps even occur to them, or they might think it indefensible. If they had heard of the action of Paul at Corinth or Ephesus they might well falter where he had needed special 'constraint' to action. They were not prepared to break with the Jews, and so evangelism was narrowly circumscribed. Or perhaps they were as yet rather hesitant than delinquent, not seeing with any clearness what they were to do. They had probably done all that was possible under the old conditions.<sup>3</sup>

Paul could sympathize with those whose circumstances were so like his own. He knew how much it cost to form a 'conventicle.' At the same time he knew that a time came when the work of God required it, that God had specifically endorsed it at Corinth and Ephesus, that it opened a 'great door and effectual' for Gentile evangelism. Oh, that he could be with the leaderless and hesitat-

<sup>1</sup> e. g. Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, Introd. § 2.

<sup>2</sup> See the passage from Suetonius quoted in the next note.

<sup>3</sup> A different reconstruction of the story suggests itself if the passage of Suetonius usually quoted on Acts xviii. 2 (*Judasos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma [Claudius] expulsi*) refer to riots raised in the Capital on the first preaching of the new faith. The two passages would prove that the outsider did not yet distinguish the Christian as other than a kind of Jew. Perhaps the first Christians in Rome pursued a bold evangelism: hence riots arose, and some of the ringleaders, including Christians, were expelled. After a while Aquila and Priscilla returned to find the Roman Church quiescent. With convictions strengthened by association with Paul at the time of his drastic act at Corinth, they advocated a renewal of the former boldness. This policy was opposed in various ways—as sure to lead to persecution and perhaps expulsion again, as involving a schism from Judaism. Aquila and Priscilla admitted that the last was probable, and quoted Corinth, whereupon a host of objections was urged which they sent on to Paul. The Roman letter contains his answers. Hence its peculiar form—vide *infra*.

ing Roman Christians! Since that was impossible, how could he help them? It was impossible that he should outright advise secession. On his own principles this must be a last and enforced step. None save those on the spot could decide whether and when it became necessary. He must, moreover, be loyal to the other and older apostles. He could not advise separation as a general and universal policy. It must be a last resort. The critical stage had not yet come in Rome, but fearful hearts saw that it might come, and hung back from the bold preaching in the Synagogue that would precipitate it. Further, he must not assume any right to direct the Roman Church. He had just had long and bitter experience of the difficulty of controlling a distant Church in the case of Corinth, and, besides, he was not the father of the Church in Rome. Signs are not wanting in his letter that he already feared he had written too strongly (i. 11, 12; xv. 14, 15). What could he in a letter do? He did the one wise thing—he provided the Roman Church with a full and complete exposition of the grounds of Christian independence of Judaism, he showed that the Jews were temporarily reprobate, he answered the two great questions that every believer would ask and would be asked: 'Can there be any true righteousness outside the old Law of God?' 'If there can, is not this to deny the divine call of the Jews?' In this connexion the opening of chapter ix. is of interest. The first question being finally answered in the affirmative in chap. viii., Paul proceeds as though he heard some one at once urge the second and call him a traitor to his race. As elsewhere in the Epistle,<sup>1</sup> he replies to the challenge of an unseen critic.

So that the Epistle to the Romans contains not only a doctrine hammered out in controversy with the 'Judaizers,' but a defence of the drastic measure of 'separating the brethren' if nothing else would do. The Synagogue must not be allowed to choke evangelism.

The difficulty of finding a sufficient account of the reason why Paul wrote his *magnum opus* to Rome is

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<sup>1</sup> See Sanday-Headlam's note on iii. 1.

well known. Some treat it as a general manifesto addressed to the Capital as representing the world. But more and more it becomes clear that neither Paul nor any other New Testament writer wrote anything 'general.' Their books met the specific need of particular Churches. And, even if Paul wrote a manifesto on this subject, it would be addressed not to the Capital of the *world*, but to a representative and central *Church*. Jerusalem, Antioch, even Ephesus, at this time answered to this description rather than Rome. For Christianity Rome still lay a small outpost 'at the limit of the West,' to borrow Clement's well-known phrase. It is more to the point to say that Paul wrote against the 'Judaizers' who, while not yet in Rome, might be on the way there.<sup>1</sup> But it has appeared above that Paul's conflict with them and his establishing 'conventicles' are complementary sides of the same process. The latter, then, may take its place as one of the reasons that led him to write to Rome.

On returning to Luke's narrative of Paul's arrival at the city there are signs that sustain the view of its Church taken above. At first sight a reader might almost conclude that hitherto there had been no Christians there. At any rate, it is impossible to imagine that Jews accustomed to being challenged in their own Synagogue by the new gospel would say, 'But we desire to hear of thee what thou thinkest: for as concerning this sect, it is known to us that everywhere it is spoken against' (xxviii. 22). The Jewish leaders show the same curiosity about the new doctrines that Paul was accustomed to on first preaching in a Synagogue, and they speak of the believers in Jesus as a Jewish 'sect,' using the same word as the spokesman of the Jews of Jerusalem in Paul's trial before Felix (xxiv. 5). Evidently the Roman Christian had not been aggressive; evidently, like his fellow Christian in Judaea, he seemed to orthodox Jews to be but a new kind of Jew. His witness in the Synagogue cannot have been such as to make much

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<sup>1</sup> Sanday-Headlam, for instance, hold that this plague had not yet reached Rome (*Romans*, Introd. p. xliii.).

impression. Perhaps he had not testified there at all, but had confined himself to his own household assemblies. And when the Jewish leaders came to Paul's prison in answer to the call of a fellow countryman who was a Roman citizen and apparently a man of standing—as certainly they had done for no other Christian—he began with a defence, not of the new doctrine, but of himself. He knew that they had tolerated Nazarenes, but he was doubtful whether they would tolerate *him*. Had the intimation 'This is the traitor' come concerning him from Jerusalem? Was he to experience at Rome also the peculiar and personal rancour felt against the founder of a schismatic 'conventicle'?

It will be said that this assumes that Paul's letter to Rome had been ineffectual. Does it not rather prove this? And there is other evidence. First, there is a peculiar phrase in ver. 15: 'The brethren, when they heard of us, came to meet us as far as The Market of Appius and The Three Taverns, *whom when Paul saw, he thanked God, and took courage.*' Does this mean that the cheer of the brethren encouraged the shipwrecked company? Then it would have continued in the first person: 'Whom when *we* saw, *we* thanked God.' Or is Paul to be thought of as especially disconsolate? Throughout the whole voyage he had been the one hero of hope. Or, does it mean that the handful of Roman Christians buoyed him to meet Caesar's judgement? Up to this point Caesar's judgement was not his fear but his defence. The true explanation is that Paul was not sure of a welcome from the Church at Rome. Men who had refused to be aggressive up till now might well be suspicious of the great aggressor. Would they suspect him, as did so many of the Judæan Christians? (xxi. 20 f.). Would he himself be more welcome than his letter? Would they not hold aloof from one whose past showed that a bitter quarrel with the Roman Jews was now all but certain? The Roman Christians proved nobler than his fears. At last a great leader had come, and 'most' of them rallied to him (Phil. i. 14). They were bold enough to follow, if

not to lead. The first token of this was their greeting at the Forum of Appius, and the apostle 'thanked God and took courage.' That his fears were not altogether groundless appears from Phil. i. 15: 'Some indeed preach Christ even of envy and strife.' Were these those who maintained that the policy of separation, which, as will presently appear, Paul immediately adopted, was a mistake, and that the 'brethren' should cling to Judaism? This view, at any rate, gives a clear meaning to the difficult verse 17: 'The other proclaim Christ of faction, not sincerely, thinking to raise up affliction for me in my bonds.' 'Faction' (*ἐπίθελα*) is a word used uniformly of divisions within the Church. This might well in itself be an added 'affliction' to the apostle, but the context shows that he meant that somehow this 'faction' might affect the length or rigour of his imprisonment, and might even prevent his acquittal before Caesar (vers. 20, 25). How could a 'faction' within the Church do this? How could its 'preaching of Christ' endanger the apostle rather than its own members? In one way—some Christians were protesting in the Synagogue or to the Jews that Paul was wrong, that a 'Christian' was only a kind of Jew, that they believed in Jesus without believing in Paul, that the old peaceful relations between the Synagogue and Church would return if only he were out of the way. Perhaps they were bolder to preach Jesus in this way to the Jews than ever before, protesting that a man could be, as they themselves were, both a 'Christian' and a Jew. The Jews may not have been slow to take the hint, and may have been using their not small indirect influence to secure from the Court not the persecution of 'Christians,' but the condemnation of Paul. Hence he was not so sure of acquittal at 'Caesar's judgement-seat' as he had been.

That the Roman Jews had now an incentive to persecute the new sect appears from the remaining paragraph of Acts (xxviii. 23-31). Paul summarily took the bold step from which the Roman Church had so long shrunk. The Jews gathered 'in great number' at 'his lodging' to hear him on an 'appointed day' (ver. 23), and he at once

flung down the gage. Either they must accept Jesus as the Christ or they were reprobate. He quoted the great passage from Isaiah that perhaps became classic in such secessions and turned to the Gentiles. Whereupon Luke chronicles the founding of a third 'conventicle.' It had its own habitat—meeting neither in a home as at Corinth, nor in a 'school' as at Ephesus, but in a 'hired' house that was a prison. That was the only possible place. But it was a distinctly *public* assembly, as Luke expressly points out (ver. 30). The 'secondary' reading that adds 'both Jews and Greeks' after 'all that went in unto him' is not mistaken. The Synagogue no longer choked evangelism in Rome. The apostle's 'boldness' (ver. 31) again found the way of escape. He did not long hesitate. A third time he founded a conventicle, though he knew that it was at the risk of his life. No man 'forbade' him, but some set themselves to a roundabout way of killing him.

If this act at Rome were so decisive from the point of view of Luke's readers, it becomes easier to understand why he ended here, for it means that, after all, Paul in Rome built on no 'other man's foundation,' but was the true founder of the Roman Church as they knew it. Luke set out to trace Christian origins. In his later chapters he confined himself to the origins of such Churches as were founded by Paul. Probably this subject was now concluded. Further, Luke the Gentile especially noted the places where Paul initiated a process complete in his day—the separation of the Church from the Synagogue. Corinth, Ephesus, Rome form this list. If it is asked why Luke did not more clearly indicate what he was doing, the answer is three-fold—much would be obvious to his immediate readers that later ages, in a different environment, can only laboriously discover; it was enough for him to have vindicated Paul and to have furnished Gentile Christians with a sufficient defence of their separation without hurting the feelings of Jewish Christians; he was an 'external' historian.<sup>1</sup>

C. RYDER SMITH.

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<sup>1</sup> To be concluded by an Additional Note on the New Testament use of the term 'Jew.'

## CONFUCIUS AND HIS MESSAGE

**I**T is hardly necessary to say that the name by which we call China's greatest sage is the latinized form of the Chinese syllables, K'ung Fu-tzu. Of these K'ung is the surname, in English *Hole*, and Fu-tzu stands for anything higher than *Professor*.

So numerous have been the references to Confucius in our later literature that perhaps, without any definite study of his sayings, we have all formed a more or less focused impression of the man himself. And perchance our impression is that he was a formal and pedantic character, of ultra-correctness in his personal conduct, of rigid precision in his notions of ceremonial, a maker of copy-book maxims, and a tutor of manners for mandarins.

On the other hand, we may recall the fact that the French encyclopaedists, in their efforts to disparage the religion of their land, described him as the most subtle and penetrating intellect of the ages, the prince of philosophers, the loftiest of moralists, under whose guidance the Chinese had become the greatest and happiest of nations. While in China itself he has been called for centuries, 'Co-ordinate with Heaven and Earth.'

Both these facts have militated against the forming of an unbiased estimate of the real man. In the West these unmeasured eulogies were followed by disillusionment, when his sayings had been translated; and in China itself the native assumption of superhuman perfection has seemed to invite a spirit of unkindly criticism among religious apologists and 'defenders of the Faith.'

Confucius was the chief promoter of that *chiao*, or *system of instruction*, known as Confucianism. But from his days onwards the word *chiao* has not at all necessarily meant *religion*. As we shall see by-and-by, Confucius was a devout man, but not a teacher of religion in our sense

of the word: for which we may take that definition of Cicero, *Justitia erga Deum, religio*, 'The discharge of our duty to God is called religion.' His teaching was rather directed towards the discharge of man's mundane duties in the sight of Heaven. His task was to arouse the conscience towards right-doing that was mostly attested by the sense of duty within; his aim was to be a guide, philosopher, and friend to the various rulers of a divided land; and, when rejected by them, to inspire a band of young men, his pupils, concerning the paramount claims of *principle*, and the absolute necessity of sincerity, earnestness, and goodness; given which, he argued, there would be a capacity for governing if called to office, and an influence which would make for national felicity in any unofficial position they might fill. The central sentence of his teaching for young men was, 'Do your duty as a son and a brother, and these qualities will make themselves felt in the regulation of the realm. The holding of a government post need not be considered an essential.'

The latest English text-book prepared by Chinese for use in Chinese schools generally, says, 'Confucianism was never a religion but a system of morality'; and as Confucius absolutely disclaimed the giving of advice on religious matters, except so far as the matters in question had ancient precedents, but confined himself to his own definite programme, I have never myself been able to see the logic in any 'comparisons of Christianity and Confucianism,' any more than I should see the feasibility of comparisons of Christianity and Socratism, or, to come to modern days, Carlylism. He was a conversational preacher of obvious duty, and a guide to his followers as to what was the fundamental basis of the duties of man to man.

Having cleared the ground with a perhaps necessary introduction, let us try to conjure up the living personage Confucius, standing forth in the midst of his historical surroundings. Those were certainly mottled and murky. China was then a land divided against itself; and in the

fourteen or more States lawless deeds were rife among the various clans.

The division of the realm into rival States followed the generous action of the founder of the Chou Dynasty (1122 B.C.) in giving dukedoms to his comrades in the war he had waged with an unspeakable tyrant. From the middle of the ninth century B.C. we have the spectacle of monarchs on the down-grade, and the allegiance of the provincial dukes was loosening. In the year 761 a ruler succeeded to the throne who became ere long bewitched by the fairy charms of a damsel who had been born in an altogether weird fashion and nurtured in secret. For her he broke the law of Heaven recorded in the fifth book of Moses (xxi. 15-16), for he 'made the son of the beloved the firstborn before the son of the hated, which was the first-born,' and he drove out his firstborn and made him an alien. Then, to gain a smile from the woman who had bewitched him, he lit the beacon fires when there was no danger; at which the various chieftains assembled in hot haste. And lo! the woman laughed at last. But the experiment soon proved itself to have been a costly one, for the aliens among whom he had driven his son prepared war against him. Then, when the beacon fires were lit in earnest, no chieftains came to the rescue, and king and court were massacred.

The firstborn gained the throne under the title of the Upright Monarch, but only as debtor both to chieftains and aliens, and he had to confer costly favours on both. Then, fearing the future menace of these alien tribes, he removed his capital from near the frontier, surrendering that post, with all its bracing necessities of vigilance, to the State of Ch'in—inviting the eventual swallowing up of the realm by that State, which happened in the year 255 B.C., giving us, by the way, our word *China* for the whole empire.

During the reign of the Upright Monarch, one favoured chieftain usurped the imperial prerogative as patriarchal high priest; others were insurgent; and there arose a

Socialist talker, one Mo Tzü, who proclaimed the doctrine of indiscriminate regard. At length the Upright Monarch died, and his widow was fain to beg funeral expenses of the State of Lu. And even that boon was denied her! Thus low had royalty fallen in the year 718 B.C.

It was in this State of Lu that Confucius was born, 551 B.C. And the fact of that State being his birthplace was connected with an outrage upon his ancestral clan. His great-grandfather had been a fugitive to Lu under the following circumstances. A senior in his family, an officer of loyalty and probity, had married a beautiful wife, whom the chieftain of a more powerful clan seized by force, after murdering her husband. She remained faithful, committing suicide on the way to the fortress of her capturer; who then collected his retainers and ravaged the lands of the K'ung family.

Then, within a few decades of Confucius' birth, there happened a tragedy similar to that which preceded the play of *Hamlet*. The victim was the Duke of Lu, the perpetrators his wife and (must we say it?) her brother-paramour of an adjacent State. With such deeds as specimen occurrences in those dark ages, well might Confucius have exclaimed:

The time is out of joint;—O cursèd spite,  
That ever I was born to set it right!

But, with a heroism which has certainly not been over-appreciated among Western writers, he unflinchingly attempted what he felt to be his heaven-appointed mission.

Confucius was the son of a rather aged magistrate, who is said to have had nine daughters by his first wife. He must have been a man of some note, for on the death of his wife, he asked the Duke of the State of Yen to bestow one of his daughters on him in marriage. It is said that the duke carried the proposal to his three daughters, saying that the proposer was of low stature, ungainly in figure, with a severe temper, and an old man. The two elder daughters promptly declined, but the younger agreed

to marry this notable magistrate. Confucius was born within a year, but his father died before he was three. His mother then removed to the city of Ch'u-fu, which has been the home of the K'ung family ever since. At the age of eighteen he married, none too happily, for the connexion was dissolved in later years. He had one son, on whom he bestowed the name Li (the *li* fish, or carp), from the fact that the Duke of Lu sent him a complimentary present of a carp fish. At twenty he was entrusted with a minor post in connexion with the grain administration. After filling this post for four years his mother died, and he retired from office for three years to mourn for her. He had the body carried some distance to be buried beside his father, saying that 'It is right that those who in life were united by the same bond should be undivided in death.' During the three years he devoted himself to the study of historical and archaeological subjects, and the practice of music—for China has at any rate one sweet instrument in the silken-stringed harpsichord, with notes like those produced from a piano with a very soft pedal. When the period of mourning was over, and he appeared again in public, his reputation began to attract visitors, among them a messenger from the Duke of Yen, after which he travelled to the chief city of that State, introducing various reforms in the laws and customs there, and leaving behind him the parting advice, 'The ruler who meditates changes in his government should first gain all the information he can from the practice of neighbouring States'—a good motto for China at the present juncture of affairs. His visit seems to have impressed him with the benefits of travel, in enlarging the mind and preserving it from narrowness of view. On his return to his native State he made his house a college of instruction, attracting to himself a number of ardent young followers from both richer and poorer classes. At the age of thirty his fame found its way to the capital, from whence the sovereign sent an official to invite his presence. He went thither the next year, attended by thirteen of his most devoted followers. Arrived

at court he found much that was open to criticism in the administration, and much that was interesting to a student of archaeology in the relics and archives preserved there. The keeper of those archives, too, was a most interesting man, fifty-three years his senior, by name Li Erh, commonly known as Lao Tzŭ, the 'Venerable Philosopher,' whose mystic book, the *Tao Te Ching*, deals with the infinite force immanent in Nature—under the name of *Tao*, from whence we get the word *Taoism*—and whose philosophy is just the philosophy of the vegetable world applied to human affairs. An interview is reported between the two, in which Lao Tzŭ, with his philosophy of quietude, seemed to regard the younger man as decidedly fussy; and the younger man regarded the aged philosopher as comparable to the soaring dragon in his mysticism. On his return he was welcomed by the Duke of Lu, but from the advice of intriguing ministers, who feared his near presence, he was appointed to the post of District Magistrate, and removed from the centre. His success in that capacity was so notable that the succeeding Duke of Lu raised him to the post of Minister of Justice. After ten years' influence as magistrate and minister, the State prospered so markedly as to arouse the jealousy of a larger adjacent State, the duke of which adopted the device of sending his rival a gift of some attractive singing-girls and a fine stud of horses. Whereupon the Duke of Lu neglected all public business, and Confucius retired from his office in protest.

Then began a period of thirteen years' homeless wandering from State to State, where he proffered advice to such dukes and officials as would listen to him. He was mostly neglected, and at one time in peril of his life. It was on this occasion that he exclaimed, 'Heaven produced what is good in me, what can So-and-So do unto me?'—surely a near approach to, 'If God be for us, who can be against us?' At the age of sixty-eight the Duke of Lu invited him to return, when he wrote in terse jottings the history of the State of Lu for 240

years back; collecting also the ancient lyrics, annals, and ceremonial observances forming the *Book of Odes*, the *Canon of Traditional History*, and the *Book of Rites*, which became classics. At the age of seventy the reported discovery of a fabulous kind of unicorn, taken in connexion with the disorder of the times, impressed him that his end was approaching. And within two years he died.

Fairly copious personal particulars have been recorded by his immediate followers, as well as an unassorted collection of his sayings. From the former we can picture him as carefully dressed, of orderly habits, grave, dignified, and calm when there was business in hand, and cheerful and smiling in hours of leisure: a personage who inspired respect and affection among those who were at all susceptible to his influence. In seeking information 'he gained it because he was so genial and good, so full of deference and modest regard for others.' His sympathetic attitude was shown by his dining quite sparingly if sitting next to any one who was mourning for a parent. He would rise from his seat when a blind person or any one in mourning approached. And if any of his acquaintances who were without home and kindred died, he made a point of attending the funeral as a mourner.

We catch the tones of mingled loneliness and encouragement in his words, 'Is he not an exalted character who feels no discomposure when none pay attention to him?' And, 'Is it not delightful to greet those from distant parts who are already friends by reason of their attraction to one's teaching?'

Not long after his rejection by the Duke of Lu, as Confucius was nearing the frontier, a well-disposed prefect of a border town asked for an interview, which, being ended, Confucius said to his followers, 'My sons, why grieve at your master's fall from power? The empire has long been lying in evil ways, but now God is going to make me His herald to arouse the land.'

There is here, surely, something other than a stiff-starched maxim-maker and platitude-producer. We see

before us an upright, kindly, and sensitive man devoting his life to the service of his distracted country in the sight of high Heaven.

A few years ago, in the Chinese newspapers, there was advertised a life and sayings of Socrates, done by Chinese for Chinese readers, under the title, *The Confucius of the West*. We will not stay to compare and contrast the two philosophers, but from our English biographies of the sage of Greece we may take two sentences which apply in a modified form to Confucius. 'To his fellow citizens he seemed to be the critic of existing institutions (in the case of Confucius those connected with superstition), when he was really trying to ascertain what durable basis they might be resting upon'; and, 'Eventually he was accused of impiety and religious innovation.' This latter charge has been laid against him by a few superficial writers of the West, as though, forsooth, he abolished the ancient worship of God, and put the worship of ancestral ghosts and other spirits in its place.

Let us try to see what his attitude really was. First of all, apart from a meagre reference or two, in the earliest pages of China's history, to the worship of the Supreme by various rulers, we are entirely indebted to the books which Confucius collected or edited for all our knowledge of the ancient patriarchal religion of China. In accord with that religion the chieftain of the tribe or district offered sacrifice and prayer to the Supreme, sometimes in cases of emergency, and at stated intervals on behalf of the people—as was the usage of Job and Melchisedek. And to those patriarchal sacrifices, which had long become an exclusively royal prerogative, he seems to have looked back with much fondness. In the compilation of his sayings a passage is cited from the *Canon of History*, where the chieftain is priest to his people, and invokes the Divine, saying, 'I, the child Li' (using his child-name), 'presume to offer a dark-coloured ox in sacrifice, and dare to announce to Thee, O most majestic, imperial God, that if I myself have committed sins, they are not to be attributed to the

people of the land; and if the people have committed sins, they must rest on my person.'

Such worship, however, had never been strictly monotheistic; lesser worship was offered to the elements of nature, and the spirits of hills and streams, and to the ghosts of ancestors. The direct worship of the Supreme by the people themselves had never been on record, and it apparently never entered Confucius' mind as a possibility. He said of himself, 'I am no original genius, but one who is fond of antiquity, and earnest in seeking out its knowledge. I am a transmitter, not a maker.' On the worship of those spirits which were popularly invoked he held a suspended judgement, 'having,' as he said, 'no foregone conclusions.' Then, in ancestral worship, as the *Book of Rites* says, 'the object is not to pray.' Rather was it reverently to associate the spirits of the departed with the affairs of their descendants, and to secure the blessing of Heaven upon the filial representatives of the family.

I think we can now understand why Confucius quoted with approbation the ceremonial worship of God by rulers and chieftains of old; why he said that deceased parents should be served as though they were living; and why he was semi-agnostic towards the rest of the 'spirits and demons' generally, saying, 'Respect the spirits (if you will), but keep aloof from them.' And, 'Absorption in the study of the supernatural is most harmful.' Also why, when he himself was sick, he did not encourage prayer to those spirits. This latter incident is thus recorded, 'The master being very sick, one of his disciples proposed the offering of a prayer. He asked, "Is there a precedent for this?" "There is," replied the disciple; "in the Eulogies it is said, 'We pray to you, O spirits of heaven and earth.' " The master replied, "My praying has been for a long time"; meaning, we gather, a devout attitude toward all-seeing Heaven.

Here is a lack of focus which contrasts with that of the scriptural psalmists and prophets; the conception of God

as 'My God' had not dawned upon him. In its absence he felt that the need of the times was not more religiosity, but an arousal to the definite claims of duty, as written on every man's conscience; and that this would command the blessing of Heaven upon the man, the family, and the realm at large. There was evidently much superstition current in his time, and mere religiosity does not connote virtue. Neapolitans, for instance, are far more religious than Londoners, but some statistics of a few years back proved that in Naples there were more murders than burglaries in any London district of the same size.

Confucius sought for a definite programme and found it. In some comments on an ancient work of Geomancy, which he either himself added or found written there, there is the following striking sentence: 'Father father, son son, elder brother elder brother, husband husband, wife wife, and the household system rectified; rectified households, then all under heaven established.' Meaning, 'Let the father be indeed father, and the son a true son,' and so on.

Now this is not religion, but it is absolute moral philosophy, when we consider the underlying principle. But so careful have some writers been lest Confucius should have more than his due, that this point has been somewhat overlooked. For instance, an able Japanese student a few years ago, who had read thirty standard works in Chinese, English, and German on the subject of Confucius and his teaching, composed a thesis of some ninety pages, for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Yale University, since printed for wide circulation in Japan, in which he says, 'The study of traditions and customs must culminate in a sound moral philosophy. In this respect the ethics of Confucius are very defective. He scarcely paid any attention to the philosophy of conduct, but insisted on conforming to the rules of propriety according to past ages.' The writer, in making this criticism, had evidently failed to see the wood for the trees. He had missed the underlying principle, so obvious in Confucius' teaching when once pointed out. For what is the ultimate basis of

duty and virtue? Not as Hume and Bentham affirmed, 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'; nor as some modern rationalistic writers understand it—a mere accordance with what society has found to be most convenient, making it a mere majority vote. No. Happiness or no happiness, convenience or no convenience, right down at the bottom of things are the divinely fixed human relations of parent and child, brother and sister, husband and wife, and the various human relations outside the family circle. Duty and virtue are found in the fulfilment of these relations, as Confucius pointed out. This basis of morals is so sound that upon it can be superadded all that is taught in the Old and New Testaments concerning those things that were unrevealed to Confucius. To the question, 'Why should we love and serve God?' the answer of Moses and the prophets was, 'Because He is the Lord *your* God, the Sovereign of all, in a definite relatedness to you.' Thus Old Testament virtue is the fulfilment of the relations of a subject to the Most High. To the question, 'Why should we live lives of prayer and self-sacrifice?' the New Testament reply is, 'Because, in Christ, you are related to the Spirit of God who is the Spirit of Prayer; and because you are related to Him who loved and gave Himself for you and for all men.' There has been no real duty or virtue throughout the ages which has not been just the fulfilment of some definite relation either to man or God, or to both.

Confucius, we may say in passing, did show a remarkable fondness for the rules of propriety according to past usages. Yet he does not seem to have advocated ceremony for its own sake. One of his observations was, 'They say it is in accord with the rules of propriety, do they? Are gems and silken robes all that is meant by propriety? Are bells and drums all that is meant by music?'

His system as applied to government was, for the people, the extension of filial relations to the rulers; and for the rulers, the fulfilment of patriarchal relations toward the whole populace. This system would have been perfectly

normal in the days of old when the Chinese tribes were under actual patriarchal rule. And the three rulers of old, Yao, Hsun, and Yü, of whom the scanty records are all glowing ones, and whom Confucius made his ideals, have been described by Mr. Ku Hung-ming, in a footnote to his clever translation of the sayings of Confucius, as the Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob of Chinese antiquity. They had been regarded as exalted fathers of the whole tribe, and Confucius himself in his ten years of office had evoked much the same feeling toward himself from the populace of Lu. And, as Plato says, 'If philosophers were only kings, and kings philosophers, the State would be an ideal one.' It would at any rate have shown an approach to the ideal, in Confucius' day, had each several ruler been a Confucius. He tried to make these rulers philosophers, and to revive on a large scale the patriarchal condition which he had succeeded in reviving for a time in one of the States. His failure arose from the lawlessness of the rulers, in their greed and grasp, their self-indulgence and intrigue; and also from the fact that the meagrely-salaried magistrates became money-makers, even as the semi-classical chronicle called the *Tso Chuan* says, 'The depravity of the officials is the ruin of the realm, and the officials being lost to virtue is from their fondness for bribes'; in a word the failure of Confucius arose from the rulers and magistrates being so unconfucian, rather than from any inherent fault in his system as applied to his own times. Nowadays, with the approaching 'rise of the people' in China, and the spread of education (which Confucius himself said tended to nullify distinctions), that part of his system is ceasing to be of further practical value, and Young China is vigorously discarding it, in many cases making Rousseau their idol instead! But, however the world may move on, through constitutionalism towards virtual republicanism, the main dictum of Confucius remains perpetually true, namely, that in the security of the family bond lies the stability of the nation. Confucius bent his chief energies towards the strengthening of the

family bond—in this respect excelling all the philosophers of ancient Greece and Rome. Those nations rapidly rotted away when all family sanctities came to be discarded; while China, through numerous dynastic changes, has preserved herself from disintegration for a thousand and a half years after their fall, largely through that strengthening of all family relations as the outcome of the sage's continued influence. And to-day it is a truth that Young China, Young Britain, and Young America, and the youth of every other land need to take to heart that every sin against the family is a blow struck at the heart of the nation. Only as the family sanctities are conserved can the nation be consolidated. The wholesale rejection of the family relations of life always has been, and always will be, damnation to the individual and ruin to the State. And in many a land the rising generation might do far worse than study the permanent elements in the teaching of Confucius.

Over the two doors of every one of the temples where, twice a year, he receives the homage, but never the prayers, of the officials, there are two inscriptions. One is, 'Virtue co-ordinate with the Universe.' That, we read as an Orientalism. The other is, 'Doctrine co-extensive with the ages'; and when we have eliminated all excrescences, there is a very large residuum of which that sentence is literally true—personal renovation the secret of a well-ordered family; the family bond intact, an essential of a prosperous nation; and the many sayings in elaboration of these vital principles.

Whilst inviting the reader to a personal study of the life and teaching of China's great sage—so meagrely presented within the limits of this paper—we may say of him in conclusion that he stands out from China's darkest ages as the embodied conscience of his times.

W. ARTHUR CORNABY.

## CHRIST AND CEREMONIAL

**T**HE inner life of our Lord contains one section which is seldom explored with the care and interest due to it—His attitude towards the law and religion of His people. Whether this neglect is due to the supposed inherent difficulties of the subject or to the impression that the truth is a matter of little moment, it were not easy to say; but the writer would venture to suggest that the subject has important implications, while the truth is by no means beyond discovery in spite of the paucity of the evidence to be found in the Gospel memoirs.

One or other of three courses must have been followed by Jesus. 1. 'There is the way of compromise which has been stated thus, As a man He kept the ceremonial law, but as a teacher He inculcated a larger view. This seems to involve our Lord in a disharmony of mind and conduct which was surely impossible to Him who was 'the way, the truth, and the life.' If His spiritual perceptions transcended ceremonial religion He would be indisposed to observe it. Formularies are never relished but by souls half dead of religious materialism, and intuitive genius rebels at being hampered by 'the mortal coils of corrupt and unholy formalism.' By one so divinely illumined, and breathing the airs of spirit and truth, attention to stated times and elementary forms would be felt as a profanation. Of course, such *a priori* conclusions must give way if there be proof to the contrary.

2. Our Lord may have adhered to the Jewish law in its widest compass both in word and in deed. Thus judge Baur, Neander, Schmid, Weiss, Baden Powell, Mackintosh with considerable qualifications—some of these going so far as to say that He held all the law to be divine and possessed of immutable stability. Pfeiderer says Jesus committed Himself to the perpetual validity of the Jewish

law, and never dreamt of a Gentile Church free from bondage to it.<sup>1</sup> Carpenter thinks that Matthew's Jesus recognizes the permanence of the law, and enforces the vast mass of traditional ordinances connected with it, and that Luke describes Him as a Rabbi of the austere type.<sup>2</sup> Bousset asserts that 'Jesus' attitude towards the law was paradoxical, for with all His inward freedom He maintained towards it an attitude of reverent humility, and with all His differences of detail clung firmly to His agreement with it as a whole.'<sup>3</sup> Jewish writers have often claimed that the Christianity of Christ was entirely in harmony with even the jots and tittles of ceremonialism, but in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* it is said that Jesus shows a comparative neglect of Mosaic and Rabbinic law, and a peculiar attitude towards its violators, while His question : 'Which of you convinceth me of sin?' shows that He counted Himself scrupulous in the keeping of the law. Father Tyrrell, probably representing faithfully the Roman position, affirms that to our Lord's mind religion implied an institution with priesthood, hierarchy, ritual, sacrifice and tradition, and that the transformation of the Christian movement into the Catholic type was in no way counter to His mind, since Christianity was a supplement to Judaism as Wesleyanism was to the Church of England.<sup>4</sup>

3. That our Lord stood in a much freer attitude towards the Levitical law is held by Hofmann, Beyschlag, Reuss, Farrar, and Renan, who says : 'La loi ne paraît pas avoir eu pour lui beaucoup de charme; il crut pouvoir mieux faire.'<sup>5</sup> Jesus on the whole represents for him rupture with the Jewish spirit. Maclaren, in the *Mind of the Master*, finds a revolt even from the law of sacrifice, and thinks He did not keep the ceremonial law.

Which of these two presents the better argument and

<sup>1</sup> *Evolution and Theology*, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *First Three Gospels*, 3rd ed., p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> *Jesus*, p. 134.

<sup>4</sup> *Scylla and Charybdis*, p. 372.

<sup>5</sup> *Vie de Jésus*, 2nd ed., p. 136.

has the stronger claim on our acceptance? If Jesus was a careful observer and supporter of Mosaism, obeyed its ordinances and publicly upheld its claims to perpetuity, it naturally occurs to one to ask, For what reason was He crucified? The answer usually given by those who take the affirmative is, that it was because He denounced the rabbinical additions which had been made as a hedge to the law, and the over-exactions imposed for the enrichment of the temple. Does it seem likely that occasional criticisms of established custom, popular as they were bound to have been, could have led to the tragedy of the Cross, or that Jesus would have provoked the authorities to His murder for so trivial a reform? The report of His trial before the Sanhedrim brings into view two reasons for the enmity of the Jewish leaders. He was reported as having said: 'I am able to destroy'—or 'I will destroy—this temple and raise up another without hands in three days.' It can scarcely be doubted that this accurately represents the then prevalent impression as to His unfriendly attitude towards the Mosaic worship; and, indeed, the saying was not likely to have been born of a heart consciously in sympathy therewith. Only an antagonistic attitude towards the authoritative ceremonial and its barren piety will explain the Pharisees' malediction of the people who listened to Jesus as 'not knowing the law,' or the hatred of the Sadducees to the person of Christ. His dislike of the rabbinical additions made to the law was fully shared in by the people and openly denounced by the Sadducees; nor were the latter dogmatists enough to take offence at any mystical doctrine of Christ's, if only He had maintained inviolable the temple's honours and the priesthood's prerogatives.

The other recorded cause of the crucifixion is that Jesus had said that He was the Son of God. This title would have afforded small ground of offence apart from its use as a claim of authority for modifying or neglecting what were considered essentials of Mosaism—these going so far, according to Caiaphas, as the dissolution of the covenant

relation, the secularization of the elect nation. If the title had been used for the enforcement of Mosaic ritual and the buttressing of the nation's faith in its assured supremacy, its employment would have created no offence. That this was the rankling cause of their hatred is almost implied in the trial of Stephen not so long after. He was charged with having spoken blasphemous words against Moses and God, the holy place and the law, saying, 'Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place and change the rites which Moses delivered us.' No doubt the charge, minus the blasphemy, was correct, and explains the resolute part played by the young theologian Saul; and also why, from the moment of his conversion, he saw that the Mosaic economy had gone by the board. Since Jesus had been crucified because He threatened the permanent rule of Moses, then Jesus, raised without seeing corruption, was God's open reversal of the Jewish curse, and sealed the doom of ceremonial worship. His discovery found explicit acknowledgement in the statement to the Ephesians that 'Jesus abolished by His Cross the law of commandments contained in ordinances, which made enmity between Gentile and Jew.'

Let us now inquire whether this conception of Christ's attitude is supported or refuted by the recorded facts of His life. It is remarkable, on any other supposition, that there is an almost unbroken silence as to Jesus having taken part in the official worship of His nation. We know that He diligently attended the synagogue, but we never hear of Him recognizing ceremonial worship by making a vow, or presenting a feast- or thank-offering, or a sacrifice for ceremonial uncleanness. He seems never to have recognized Israel's greatest sacred occasion, the day of atonement. His one distinctive sign of regard for the temple only made the offering of sacrifice and the payment of the half-shekel tax more inconvenient and rare. The money contribution which every male over twenty was commanded to give in atonement for his soul (Exod. xxx. 15), was evidently not voluntarily given by Him,

nor at least by one of His disciples. He had to be dunned for it, and its tardy bestowal was accompanied by the ungracious explanation that every son of God had the right to refuse such demands, and that He gave it only for the sake of peace.

With regard to the yearly feasts, it cannot be said that our Lord displayed any visible zeal for their observance. Only in the Passover feast did He take any personal part, and probably only in one, and that the last of the three supposed to be held during His public ministry. His saying, 'With desire have I desired to eat this passover with you,' readily suggests that this is an exceptional celebration, unless, as some recent expositors of good standing who prefer John's chronology of the crucifixion have suggested, its meaning is equivalent to 'but I have not been able to accomplish it seeing that this night is to see my arrest.' The first Passover in the Gospel of John, associated with the cleansing of the temple, may be, as Dr. Briggs suggests, the same as the last, if the gospel is topical and not chronological in its arrangement. According to the Synoptics, only the last was celebrated, and on the second occasion Jesus was on the borders of Tyre and then east of the Jordan.<sup>1</sup> But the Passover was simply a national memorial, with no priestly ceremonial in which He had to share.

Our Lord's attitude towards the Sabbath law was not that of actual violation in any degree. His vocation made no call upon Him in that direction; but had there been a pressing necessity to engage in physical labour, we need not hesitate as to what He would have done. There is a verse in the codex Bezae of Luke's Gospel, a MS. perhaps older than the textus receptus, which runs, 'Jesus saw a man ploughing in the field on the Sabbath day, and paused to say, "O man, if thou knowest what thou doest thou art blessed, but if not thou art a law-breaker and condemned,"' which is in spirit identical with Paul's

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<sup>1</sup> Edersheim's *Life and Times of the Messiah*, II. 51.

'Whatsoever is not of faith is sin,' a principle which enthrones conscience above ceremonial. The worst instance recorded of alleged violation is that of the disciples plucking the ears of corn and eating. The real gravamen of this incident is usually overlooked. There is here a double offence. This grievance happened on what Luke calls τῷ σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ, that is, the day was the weekly Sabbath falling in the Passover week. The great transgression lay in the fact that on the following day the first ripe ears were to be cut and presented as a wave-offering in the temple. Before this dedicative act all corn was taboo. This is the key to the apparently irrelevant citation of David's eating the show-bread, also taboo. This also gives point to the saying in Matthew, 'A greater than the temple is here.' The corn had been waved in His presence—the first fruits divinely dedicated by their service of Him. Thus the law of first fruits may have been 'fulfilled,' but this was not a legal method of keeping the Levitical law. The case is one, besides, in which Jesus looks with indifference on His disciples' violation of a Mosaic regulation which was full of meaning.

Take now the bearing of Jesus towards the cathartic rites of the law. Every Jew was strictly forbidden to make himself knowingly ceremonially unclean. Jesus was touched by women in uncleanness; He laid His hands on people sick with divers diseases; He touched even lepers and the dead. What should have followed? Touched by any one with an issue, says Leviticus, one must wash one's clothes, bathe in water, and be unclean until the evening. Touching a leper or the dead, you must be unclean for seven days, and if not purified in person and clothes, the offender is to be cut off from his people. Even entering into the house of death you are unclean for seven days; and unwitting uncleanness must be purged with a sin-offering. Did Christ obey these Levitical demands? The Gospels show that He so far openly disregarded such regulations, that when legally unclean He entered into the

house of a ruler of a synagogue. Take the law of clean and unclean meats. Our Lord had no occasion to violate this law directly as He kept no house, but in eating with publicans and sinners He ran the risk, as no priest on behalf of an ecclesiastical outcast would see that his flesh was 'kosher.' Indeed, all the meat in a publican's house might be unclean from not having first been tithed. Then there is the memorable address flatly contradicting the notion that either holiness or unholiness could accrue from eating meats. Dean Farrar justly remarks that by that single declaration our Lord abrogated the ceremonial law, as the evangelist saw, who adds, 'this He did making all meats clean.' A claim is made for the other side out of Christ's injunction to a cured leper to go and show himself to the priest. But as the priest was the official officer of health, and all lepers were under strict surveillance, a serious penalty would have befallen any leper who presumed to be clean without his legal certificate. All sympathy with the law as a ritualistic cleansing is disclaimed in the declared motive for the counsel given — 'as a testimony to them.' Over against this supposed recognition of law, there are the more important cases of the many ecclesiastical outcasts whose sins Christ forgave without sending them to make the appointed sacrifice. It has been suggested that the laws relating to cleanness had been so far relaxed by the time of Christ as to apply only to the priesthood,<sup>1</sup> but all the evidence cited relates to a much later time; and even if the authorities had of their self-will contracted the area and stringency of the law, it is not to be supposed that Jesus, if He felt the binding force of the law at all, would violate the scriptural ordinance at the instigation of custom or convenience. The fact that He on no occasion enjoined ceremonial observance and never charged any one with a ceremonial transgression, or recognized the established ritual as needful to cleanness in the sight of Heaven, certainly looks as

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<sup>1</sup> Montefiore, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 476.

if He felt that 'ceremonials were only incidents or concomitants of the covenant' (Calvin), which might be as much honoured in the breach as in their observance.

These ceremonial practices would be seriously reduced in the esteem of Christ by the transformation they had undergone in general estimation. The lustrations of the law, including sacrifice, were by original intention only symbolical acknowledgements of impurity or sinfulness which they in themselves were not fitted to remove. How could our Lord make such acknowledgements concerning Himself? or observe with complacency practices which were credited with magical effects, and made substitutes for the ethical qualities which they shadowed? A recent Jewish writer claims that ritual is 'the poetry of religion'; but for one so sensitive as Jesus, the poetry must have been evaporated as He saw how universally the *signum* had become *signatum*, the *opus operatum*, while the spiritual vision was blinded and the heart dead to the love of God. It is hard to believe that Jesus conformed in silence to customs which had become so superstitious and material, and were more frequently a parade before man than an obedience to God. The sinless well-beloved Son had no need of a prescribed ceremonial to express a piety that was not under law to places or to seasons, but was the spontaneous out-welling of a loving and devoted heart.

In the teaching of Jesus there are occasional indications of want of sympathy with Mosaic ordinances. What would a faithful Jew think of such sayings as 'Except ye drink My blood,' and 'this is My blood, drink ye of it,' in the face of the very definite and accepted prohibition of blood-eating? In the case of the woman taken in adultery, Jesus refuses to acquiesce in the Deuteronomic law, 'The adulteress shall surely be put to death.' Does His law of divorce tally with the Mosaic rule that a woman not pleasing her husband can be put away? We may safely predicate that He would not approve of a suspected woman having her guilt or innocence determined by drink-

ing holy water with the dust of the sanctuary; nor of the law that an Ammonite or a Moabite should not enter into the assembly of the Lord for ever. He said rather, 'My Father's house shall be a house of prayer for all peoples.' We know what He thought of the enactment, 'An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.'

All this aloofness of Jesus from some Mosaic appointments is supposed to be largely discounted if not annulled by certain sayings which are held to commend the law to the Jewish people and to proclaim its perpetuity. There is that stiff passage, The scribes and Pharisees have seated themselves in Moses' seat. Do as they bid you, though they lay grievous burdens on you which they do not carry themselves (Matt. xxiii. 1-5). It is surprising to find it seriously contended by Christian divines that Jesus here assures the multitude that the authority of the scribes, by a sort of apostolical succession, is co-ordinate with that of Moses, and that even His own disciples are most sedulously to obey their every decree, however heavy and grievous the burdens they impose! Jesus could not possibly have believed the first proposition, nor have commanded the second. The saying is an *argumentum ad hominem* in the hyperbolical vein. Any other sense could hardly be possible to Him whose call was, 'Come unto Me, for My yoke is easy and My burden is light,' and who immediately goes on to command, 'Call no man Rabbi! call no man master, for one is your master—Christ!'

The strongest proof text for the supposed conformity of Jesus is Matt. v. 17-19, 'Think not that I am come to destroy the law,' &c. This abrupt disclaimer suggests that Jesus is aware of the rising apprehension excited by the drastic nature of His teaching, that His new commandments, void of ritual regulations, commendations of spiritual tempers or dispositions, unlike the commandments of Moses which were prescriptions or prohibitions of ostensible acts, were a clean departure from the covenant foundations of Israel's holiness. He assures them that

His mission is not to destroy the glory of Israel, but to perfect its realization by a condensation of all the teachings of law and prophecy into a simple experience of love to God and love to man, whereby Israel would become a truly holy people—the first-born Son of God.

Expositors are deeply concerned about the contents of this term 'law.' There are two extreme theological prepossessions which look as if they had exercised an unconscious influence in determining the view finally adopted. The older orthodox expositors who believed in the 'vorbildlich,' or typical purport of every detail of the Levitical code, and held that every word of the Jewish scriptures owns to a directly divine dictation, have usually been strenuous in their contention that 'law' here embraces every ceremonial appointment. Critics touched with modernism, regarding Jesus as the product of His age, and therefore but little in advance of His day, mostly adopt the same conclusion. By way of rebound the verses, especially the last, on the duty of doing and teaching the least commandments, have been looked upon with suspicion by some critics, both rationalistic and evangelical,<sup>1</sup> as an Ebionite interpolation, not into Matthew perhaps, but, as Strauss suggests, into an earlier oral tradition. The probability of the last verse coming from Jesus precisely in this unqualified form, if He included ceremonial, is not great. He took no slavish or merely traditional view of ceremonial, and indications are not wanting that He looked at even the accepted moral law in a critical spirit. He never makes any approving quotation of ceremonial injunctions. He states that a marriage law had been shaped by Moses as a matter of expediency; once or twice a commandment is attributed to God, certain others are treated as if the responsible party were lost in the haze of the past—'It has been said to them of old.' Can it be supposed that Jesus held His Father to be the direct originator of all those imperfect moral laws and

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<sup>1</sup> *Christ and the Gospels Dictionary*, Art. 'Law,' by Prof. Peake.

ceremonial orders, the *συναγωγὰς* or rudimentary a b c of thought and conduct—would He even have gone as far as Stephen and Paul in attributing the existing Mosaic arrangement to the angels?

Then, if the saying that any one teaching and doing the least of the commandments is greatest in the kingdom, and vice versa, is actually from Jesus, and applies to ceremonial without any conditions, I am afraid that our Lord is condemned out of His own lips and Paul inexpressibly degraded. One is led to ask how, in that case, the least in the kingdom can be greater than John the Baptist, who is usually supposed to have both taught and lived the law? The pressure of such difficulties has led many able expositors to hold that our Lord is summarizing the law and the prophets into their moral implications, thinking more of the spirit than of the form.

There is, however, one clause that if given due weight will save the situation. 'Till all be fulfilled.' This phrase implies that the formal law has only a relative and temporal value, and that when its purposes are accomplished in the education of an individual or a society, for them the necessity of an explicit observance passes away. And surely, for any one who attains to the truth as it is 'in Jesus,' an elementary ceremonial becomes obsolete. He who possesses the reality does not need to seek it in its shadow. The new wine is not to be poured into old bottles. The new man in his freedom of divine sonship is not to be put into legal shackles. Faith is, in the Pauline sense, the fulfilling of the law. The same *terminus ad quem* finds expression in another saying, 'The law and the prophets were until John.' With the advent of the Messiah there comes such an increase of grace that the spiritual fulfilment of law and prophecy becomes a possibility to men, in the new heart and spirit of Ezekiel. The saying may then be Christ's, even in its most literal sense, if understood as addressed to those who thought He was bent on thwarting all the nation's hopes, 'Fear not; even the least of the legal safeguards imposed by

Moses will not be annulled until the purpose for which Providence ordained it is accomplished.'

The warning given against teaching men to throw their ceremonial forms aside thus becomes a warning against hurrying men into a merely negative position, a merely formal emancipation that is spiritually immature. Certainly Jesus handled the delicate situation with amazing prudence. He drew no attention to His own nonconformity, nor wished His freedom to become an example to be copied by men who were not sharers in His spirit. Angry as He was at times with the abuses which prevailed, He never on any occasion said, 'Cease from vain ceremonial practices.' His method was to teach those great spiritual conceptions and motives which are the fulfilment of all moral law and all accurate pictorial ritual, and to leave each man to burst the shell of his ceremonialism as he grew too big to be fettered by it. There is a wise economy of truth which Jesus both taught and observed. Every teacher should be careful lest he take away the forms of thought and worship in which a man's piety has been accustomed to express itself, before he apprehends the larger truth and is truly grounded in the spirit.

Leave thou thy sister when she prays  
Her early heaven, her happy views;  
Nor thou with shadowed hint confuse  
A life that leads melodious days.  
See, thou that countest reason ripe  
In holding by the law within,  
Thou fail not in a world of sin,  
And ev'n for want of such a type.

The religious status reached by a prolonged and resolute effort to find the truth which satisfies the heart, is always superior to the outcome of the judgement which is hastily overborne by insistent teaching. Christ does not countenance the conversion that is like stripping off old clothes for new at the bidding of an extraneous authority. Religion should be born of the Spirit, through a gestation that slowly ripens the soul for breathing the airs of a

higher world. This may well have been the underlying motive of His prohibition of teaching men to break even the least of what had been to them sacred laws.

From none of the reported sayings of Jesus can it be shown that He was a zealot for the keeping of Jewish law. He was not an antinomian; but it seems that in spirit, and in conduct within prudence, He was a nonconformist. He observed no ceremonial worship, and He acquired no ceremonial holiness, unless it was in connexion with His baptism. John's rite, however, was outside the Levitical order, and remained unacknowledged by the Jewish authorities. Christ's baptism was His public recognition of His divinely appointed forerunner, and the signal for John's recognition of his divine successor. While He was gently tolerant of anything which men found to be a means of grace, He showed no high appreciation of ritual. He baptized no disciples, and they administered no baptism but John's. There is grave suspicion resting on every passage which implies His institution of this rite. 'Water,' in John iii., is not unquestioned, and there is much to be said for the remark, 'To the man who cannot hear in Matt. xxviii. 16-20 the voice of primitive apostolic Christianity, the historical criticism of the Gospels will remain a sealed book.'<sup>1</sup> The institution of the Lord's Supper is not bound upon the Church by positive law, as if it were a necessity of the fullest grace, but is only the pleading of Love to be remembered and loved, and of Life to be received more abundantly as the heart feels its need—'as oft as ye do this.' For Jesus Himself the age of ceremonial had passed away, and He evidently wished His Church to keep it at its minimum. It is hard to believe that He was a faithful conformist to the decadent ritual which in His day usurped so largely the place of piety, and left men's hearts without pity for the sinful and without love to the God they professed to serve.

ALEXANDER BROWN.

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<sup>1</sup> Moffatt's *The Historical New Testament*, p. 645.

## AN IDEAL PHYSICIAN

*Life of Sir William Broadbent, Bart., K.C.V.O.* Physician Extraordinary to H.M. Queen Victoria; Physician in Ordinary to the King and to the Prince of Wales. Edited by his daughter, M. E. BROADBENT. (John Murray.)

*Memoirs and Letters of Sir James Paget.* Edited by STEPHEN PAGET, one of his sons. (Longmans, Green & Co.)

*Confessio Medici.* By the Writer of *The Young People.* (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.)

THE lives of Sir William Broadbent and Sir James Paget are the two most important medical biographies of recent times. They are important because of their intrinsic merits, and also because of the men of whom they speak. The one was the leading surgeon and the other the most distinguished physician of the end of the nineteenth century, and it is probable that no one in this generation could more appropriately be chosen as the ideal doctor than either of these.

In each of these books, the man is allowed to tell his own story, and in adopting this autobiographical method the writers have been well advised. Sir James Paget's personal record is characteristic. He was a pure, simple soul, full of reverence, affection, and kindness, and these qualities shine from every page. As was his life, so is his life's story. Sweetness and light permeate it. Simplicity, beauty, and purity distinguish it. He was the most charming medical writer and speaker of his age, and his account of the first thirty-eight years of his life is worthy to rank with anything that he wrote. Indeed, it will bear comparison with any of our classical autobiographies. It possesses the antiseptic of style. Its diction

is pure and lucid. It impresses by its sincerity, truth, and vigour.

Sir William Broadbent's life is a plain, unvarnished tale, without panegyric or hyperbole. It is simple and unadorned, modest and unassuming. Throughout it is a model of self-effacement, the filial tribute of a dearly loved daughter, the work of one who did much to make the wheels of life run smoothly for him. It is an excellent picture of the man, and well brings out the history of his struggles against great difficulties and of his conquest over them.

It is interesting to note the curious likeness there is between these two life-histories. Their experiences ran parallel. Both men had to fight a long and arduous battle in the face of similar difficulties, hampered by lack of means. They attached themselves to medical schools which, at the time, had reached a low ebb in their fortunes. For many years they could scarcely support themselves; and one of them actually suffered from insufficient food. When the struggle was hardest both were tempted to leave London and begin practice in a provincial town. Both resisted the temptation, having faith in themselves and their future. Both obtained appointments at their medical schools, and by their work and ability lifted these to efficiency and fame and shed lustre on them. In the course of time they gained extensive practices, the most lucrative in London, and became supreme in their profession. They were the medical attendants of the Royal Family, won baronetcies, and finally died loaded with honours and crowned with the respect and affection of all who knew them. They secured a well-merited, world-wide reputation, and did much by their labours and by their genius to extend the boundaries of the profession they loved so well.

Broadbent, like Paget, was 'in the best sense, well born.' With Sir Thomas Browne, 'he could lift up one hand to heaven that he was born of honest parents and that modesty, humility, patience, and veracity lay in the same egg and came into the world with him.'

John Broadbent was a strong, shrewd, upright Yorkshire merchant, whose name is still one to conjure with in the Colne Valley. In his youth he became a convert to Methodism, and during nearly the whole of his life was the heart and soul of Methodism in his native village. His memory is still fragrant, and his influence a power. He was a man of strong character, whose dominant note was the fear of God, and his wife was like-minded with himself. Their children rise up and call them blessed. His son was always proud to tell how much he owed to his father, and many of his letters are full of pious reverence, affection, and admiration. 'Father was one of the best of men, and I dwell on his memory with reverence, love, and pride. It is to the unexpended blessing carried on from him and mother to the third and fourth generation that I owe and attribute my own good fortune and the good qualities which I see in my children.' 'He was a good man, the best man I have ever known.' 'I do not hesitate to say that he was a great man, too. There was something in his character which commanded respect, and he had an influence altogether unaccounted for by his means or position.' 'He has left his mark on the world—a real if not a conspicuous one. The moral and religious tone of the whole neighbourhood was raised by his influence.' And these memorials are not merely a record of filial piety. They are confirmed to this day by the whole countryside. No more eloquent testimony of his worth is to be found than the character of the family he left behind him. They have carried on the family tradition of service to God and man. What Methodism in Longwood owes to John Broadbent and his sons and daughters can never be told. The service still continues, and it is given so unostentatiously, so freely, so willingly that its value is thereby intensified, and the respect and admiration given on account of it to the elders is still gladly accorded to their successors.

Throughout life William Broadbent owed much to his saintly ancestry and to the Methodism which made them what they were. They gave him a start in life which he

could have got from no other source, and they remained with him a constant inspiration.

His love of his family and of his native village were always a potent force, and continued throughout life to be one of the mainsprings of his existence. And this love never wavered in the times of his utmost success. Association with the highest in the land, constant contact with the most brilliant society, comradeship with the leaders of science never diminished his early affection for the home of his childhood, and his deepest longings always went out to the old homestead and to the grey moorland village from which he came. He constantly revisited the place, and always as a friend. Whenever he came the news soon spread, and he never grudged time and labour and skill to give help and healing to the poor and afflicted who flocked to Longwood Edge to see the great man. He gave of his best to them, and not a few are now living to bear testimony to his unfailing kindness and invaluable advice.

Many are the tokens of his love to Longwood. A district nurse, a play-ground for the children, financial and other assistance to the school and chapel, all bear witness to his generosity and interest, and his death left a blank in the homes on the bleak hillsides which could have been occasioned only by an intimate and honoured friend.

When he left school he joined his father in business, but he soon found that that was not his vocation. His call was to medicine, and to medicine he must go. At the age of seventeen he was apprenticed to an uncle in Manchester, and attended classes at Owens College. His struggles and difficulties at once began. From his uncle he expected help, but instead of being a help to him, he proved to be a hindrance. He had taken to evil ways and seriously neglected his practice. Hence his work devolved almost entirely on the young apprentice, who had a hard time of it. He had to attend lectures, do hospital work and read for his classes, and, in addition, had to look

after his uncle's patients. Frequently after an arduous day at the school and hospital, he had to set out on foot in the evening to do a long round. Well might he say with the good Ambroise Paré, so well described in *Confessio Medici*, 'It was a dog's life. My only chance of a lecture or a book was at daybreak or nightfall.' 'I was never in want of a job.' Hard, indeed, was his lot. He was short of money and overworked. His health was not good. His meals were irregular and unsatisfactory, and his surroundings uncongenial. But 'he scorned delights and lived laborious days.' 'I have long been impressed that our family was destined to rise and not to go down in the world. I love my profession, and, with God's blessing and good health, I doubt not I shall make something of it.' He had faith in himself and toiled on, and the immediate reward was great. His student career was brilliant, and proved to be an earnest for the future. He carried all before him, and ended his student days full of honours. His drudgery in the practice, too, was not without its reward, for by it he gained practical experience which was invaluable. It developed his powers of close observation, and gave him skill in diagnosis and confidence in himself, which stood him in good stead in after years. To it he attributed no small share in his future success.

After such a fine performance as a student, he naturally expected that he would find no difficulty in getting an appointment as House Surgeon in some hospital; but, strange to say, he failed in all his applications. Even in Manchester, where he had done so well, he did not get such a post when one fell vacant. Greatly discouraged, he did not lose heart.

His thoughts turned towards commencing practice in Huddersfield, but he soon decided that such was not his sphere. He had higher ambitions, and, characteristically, he turned his disappointment to good account. If he could not get such work as he wanted, it must be because he needed better qualifications; and, like Paget in similar

circumstances, he decided, poor as he was, to go to Paris, then the leading medical centre in the world. He did not get much good from the lectures there, but 'profited enormously' from the practical work in the hospitals, especially from the teaching of Trousseau, the finest clinical physician of his time.

On his return from Paris he quickly obtained a resident appointment at St. Mary's, and thus began his association with that hospital for which he did so much and whose status he was destined to raise to so high a point. When he first went there the students were very few in number, but before his connexion with it ceased, the medical school of St. Mary's had become one of the best in London. He began private practice at the age of twenty-five. It was a bold step to take. He was without money; he had no influential friends; he had come from a small provincial school; he was young and unknown. The real struggle now began. For years he earned little, and his progress was extremely slow. But he was not daunted. 'I have undoubtedly been placed in my present position by Providence. It is the hand of God which seems to be preparing my way, and which at this critical period of my life seems to point it out with special clearness. I shrink from the difficulties which are before me, but it would be cowardly and wrong to be daunted by them. All I can do is to put my trust in God and go forward.'

There is nothing harder for a man of genius than to be apparently forgotten and left behind whilst he watches others of less ability and less merit getting on in the world. Nothing tries character more than this apparent failure, unless it be the years of prosperity which follow. Broadbent stood the test well. His years of waiting did not mean years of idleness. He found work, and was 'never in want of a job.' He resolutely made up his mind to think more of qualifying himself thoroughly for his future destiny than of immediate success in practice. He well knew that 'knowledge comes but wisdom lingers,' and

his chief aim was to get both knowledge and wisdom. He threw himself into the more purely scientific work of his profession in order that he might make for himself a name amongst his brethren, and at the same time become more accomplished in the diagnosis and treatment of disease, a line of policy followed in the same way and in the same spirit by Sir James Paget. He sought to make medicine really scientific. 'I know it is work of the most valuable kind, which will be doing good long after I am gone. It is clearly my mission, too, and I could not carry on the severe and close thinking if I were making money now.' At one time he feared that he might get the reputation of being a theorist, and this would have been a danger with some men. Harvey, for example, probably the greatest scientific physician who ever lived, was never 'great in the therapeutic way,' but there was never any fear of this with Broadbent. Devoted as he was to the scientific side of medicine, he never lost sight of its practical application. His devotion had its reward in due time. But it was slow work. Occasionally he could not pay his way and had to have money from home, where it could badly be spared. At one time, he says that for a day and a half he had only threepence or fourpence in his pocket and did not know where or how he was to get more, and eight years after starting practice he hailed the fact that he was to receive three guineas a week for doing duty for a friend in the medical work of an insurance office. When things were almost at the worst, he was asked to go to Melbourne as Professor of Anatomy and Physiology at a salary of £1,000 a year. It was one of the crises of his life. 'Surely,' says Sir Thomas Browne, 'there are in every man's life certain rubs, doublings and wrenches which pass a while under the effects of chance, but, at the last, well examined, prove the meer hand of God.' Broadbent resisted the temptation. He believed in his star, and felt sure that success would come if he could only hold on. After twelve years of waiting he is able to tell his brother that he had made

£1,000 in the year, and then success came fast and he never looked back. Henceforth his course was plain. 'Practice admires him who wants her money. Begin poor, be in urgent need of capital, borrow of a friend, hold up your head, take courage, make opportunity, face rivalry: so shall you find Practice, who already is in love with you, and win her and make her pay your debts' (*Confessio Medici*). Broadbent was by no means the only great London consultant who had this experience of weary waiting. Sir Andrew Clarke once told Professor Osler that 'he had striven ten years for bread, ten years for bread-and-butter, and twenty years for cakes and ale.' And Sir James Paget had a time probably harder than either of these two. He tells us that in his waiting years he was so poor that often he had to go without dinner, and that he learnt the value of dates and raisins. During the first seven years his largest income from practice was £23 13s., and until he had been a surgeon for sixteen years his income never reached £100. If he had died before he was forty-seven his wife and children would have been left in extreme poverty—if before sixty, very poor. But long before Paget was in easy circumstances, he was well known in the profession as one of the best men in London, and so it was with Broadbent. He was recognized as one of the leading authorities on the brain, and his work on the nervous system was universally recognized. It was also well understood that he was one of the best men of the day on diseases of the heart and blood-vessels. Gradually the knowledge spread from his compeers to a wider constituency. His fame spread fast and far, and with it came practice. His income increased until it amounted to over £13,000 a year. The number of his patients increased in like manner. His consulting-room was crowded with people of distinction, and every day he had to refuse more work than he actually did. He became the first physician in the country, and was sent for from all parts of Britain and even from the Continent. Honours were showered upon him; university degrees

came in rich profusion; national and international societies welcomed him as the representative man; the Royal Family chose him as their physician; he was made baronet, received the K.C.V.O. Everything thus came to him who had known how to wait.

But all his success never altered the man. He was just the same as in his struggling days; modest, bright, unassuming, frank, unaffected, approachable; always eager for work and always ready to help and do a kindness.

This old story of self-help never loses its charm. It still needs retelling, and each generation needs its own examples, if only for the encouragement of its own sons. There is the more occasion for it to-day because with the constantly increasing competition such a career becomes more and more difficult. Broadbent might have taken for his motto that of his own native town, 'Juvat impigros Deus,' for certainly in his case God helped him who helped himself. But he did not choose this motto, but a higher and a better one. It was '*ἀεὶ ἀπὸ τὸ βέλτερον*.' 'Always to be the best.' It was not merely a case of helping himself, but of deliberately choosing the best and resolutely ensuing it. One of Dr. Johnson's dicta was, 'A physician in a great city seems to be the mere plaything of fortune; his degree of reputation is for the most part totally casual; they that employ him know not his excellence; they that reject him know not his deficiency.' No doubt there is some truth in this, but it has little bearing in Broadbent's case. There was little or no luck in his progress. From the first his worth was recognized by the profession, and thence it passed on to the general public, and his success was inevitable and thoroughly earned. After the first few years he was no plaything of fortune. His reputation was not casual. Those who employed him well knew his worth, and the more they saw of him the more alive they became to his value. How, then, was this remarkable success earned? How can we explain it? Perhaps the one word, character, will

supply the simplest answer to these questions. But there were certain accessories which, in the first place, were a considerable asset. He was a man of strong physique and robust health who could endure an enormous amount of physical and mental labour. For work he had a passion. 'My refuge from worry and anxiety is dogged work.' Work was to him a sacred thing. And with the habit of work, he acquired the power of wisely directing his efforts and putting them to the most valuable use. He knew what to do and how to do it, and hence managed to get from his work a full and fruitful result. For he was a born doctor, and had a definite call to the profession. He would have endorsed that saying in *Confessio Medici*, 'If a doctor's life may not be a divine vocation, then no life is a vocation and nothing is divine.'

Instinct and training, therefore, combined to guide in the right direction. And to his work he brought an iron will and a faculty of not knowing when he was beaten. Once he determined to do a thing, he went through with it at all costs, no matter what trouble or difficulty or opposition it might entail. He was 'ever a fighter.' Had he not been a doctor, he would have been a soldier. And with a soldier's typical characteristics he was well endowed. Pluck, courage, tenacity, endurance never failed him, and to these were joined indomitable perseverance. But with all these strong traits he was not a hard man. He had the tenderness of a woman. No one felt more acutely the sorrows and sufferings of humanity with which he was brought so intimately in contact, or was more ready to help. His ear was always open, and his purse and unrivalled skill were always at call. His kindness was unfailing, and many are the doctors who can bear witness to it. For he made innumerable journeys to the suburbs of London and to distant country places, without fee, and generally at considerable financial loss, to afford help in time of distress and to minister to loved ones who were ill. He was a loyal and a constant friend—a strong man to whom many turned. And this kind-

ness was not given only to individuals. His long tenure of office in connexion with the British Medical Benevolent Fund was to him a labour of love, and in the fight with tuberculosis and infantile mortality he took a leading part.

He was a man of transparent honesty and sincerity. Anything like subterfuge or double dealing was absolutely alien to him. His one idea was to do the right thing, and once he had decided what was the right thing, no consideration of self-interest, or self-indulgence, or time-serving would cause him to deviate from it.

Sydenham was once asked by a friend what book he should read to help him in his medical pursuits. He replied, 'Read *Don Quixote*.' This was one of Broadbent's favourite books, and an intimate friend, writing soon after his death, made a happy comparison between him and the immortal knight-errant. 'There was in the heart of each of those two men a noble, chivalrous spirit, which, in these days of push and bustle, is as rare as it is delightful.'

Broadbent had the Hippocratic essentials of learning, sagacity, humanity, probity, but he needed qualifications of a more technical character to make him a great physician. It was always clear to all who knew him that his great aim in life was not to be a successful doctor and make money. His aim was to make himself as competent an instrument for the relief and cure of disease as he possibly could. How could he make himself most useful as a physician? This question was the one that was always uppermost in his mind. For many years he strove hard to lay a solid foundation of scientific equipment. In the midst of arduous and increasing practical experience, he toiled early and late to obtain a thorough grasp of the science of medicine. It was one of his favourite texts to his students that medicine was a science as well as an art. But great as he was as a scientist, he always made science his servant, not his master. His science was used to enable him the more perfectly to find

out what was wrong with his patient, to prognosticate his future, and then to cure or relieve him. For years he deliberately subordinated his immediate success in practice to increase his efficiency as a practical force. And it was this happy combination of science and practice that enabled him, by dint of hard work, to develop his powers of observation until they seemed to be intuitive. He seemed to see by instinct what was wrong with a man and how best he should treat him. But it was an instinct that was only partly inborn. It was perfected by long years of patient observation and constant labour. Dr. John Brown says of Sydenham that he 'possessed in large measure and of rare quality that native sagacity, that power of keen, serious, choice, patient, continuous, honest observation which is at once a gift and a habit, that instinct for seeking and finding, which Bacon calls "*experientia literata, sagacitas potius et odoratio quaedam venatica, quam scientia*"; that general strength and soundness of understanding, and that knack of being able to apply his knowledge instantly and aright in practice, which must ever constitute the cardinal virtues of a great physician, the very pith and marrow of his work.' These words apply equally well to Broadbent. He was a master of diagnosis, prognosis, and treatment, and this constitutes his chief claim to distinction as a physician. After his death the *Lancet* said of him that 'his clinical instincts, his delicacy of touch, his grasp of a case and his remarkable powers of diagnosis were more than marked, they were impressive,' and 'that he was rivalled as a clinician by few in London or elsewhere.' No greater test of a doctor's skill in diagnosis is to be found than in the disclosures of the post-mortem room, and Broadbent stood the test as few men have ever done. Very rarely indeed was he found to be wrong in his opinion of a case. Not only did he excel in diagnosis and treatment, he had also the happy faculty of making his patient think that he knew. His very presence and demeanour in a sick-room inspired confidence and 'created an atmosphere of cheer.'

He had a magnetic charm about him which half cured the sick man before the technical treatment was begun.

Even yet all has not been told. He regarded medicine as something more than the art of healing. This is well brought out in an address which he gave to his students as to some of the aims of a doctor in a sick-room. They should always cultivate absolute reticence as to all they see and hear, and treat it as if under the seal of confession. They must always remember that in times of serious illness both patients and friends are off their guard, and that the doctor must think of nothing but what he can do for them. Medical men must always cultivate reverence for man as man. In times of sickness the real man is disclosed. Some show true nobility, others weakness and meanness. But, however abject the individual, they must never forget that it is a human being they are treating. They must never become insensible to sorrow and suffering. Though sickness and death are every-day events to them, ever familiar, they must never allow this familiarity to harden them. If death is familiar to the doctor, to the dying man it is the supreme moment when, all alone, he goes to meet his God, to his friends it is the tearing asunder of ties close woven round the heart. They must never forget that it is the passing away of a human soul. Hence they must keep alive sympathy for suffering and tenderness for weakness, and never steel their hearts against the wholesome sentiments of awe.

He never forgot the truth of the saying that 'we touch heaven when we lay our hands on a human body.' And he never approached a serious case without realizing that there was something more to think of than the mere healing of disease. Although he said nothing about it, in his whole bearing there was a consciousness of the moral issues involved, and in a life-and-death struggle he always realized and made it apparent that there were more than the material issues present. Of Broadbent it might well be said, as Dr. John Brown says of Sydenham—

'Above all, we meet with a habitual reference to what

ought to be the supreme end of every man's thoughts and energies, the two main issues of all his endeavours, the glory of God and the good of man. Human life was to him a sacred, a divine, as well as a curious thing, and he seems to have possessed through life, in rare acuteness, that sense of the value of what was at stake, of the perilous material he had to work in, and that gentleness and compassion for his fellow men, without which no man, be his intellect ever so transcendent, his learning ever so vast, his industry ever so accurate and inappeasable, need hope to be a great physician, much less a virtuous and honest man.'

This naturally leads to a consideration of one aspect of Broadbent's character, which should never be lost sight of, and it is a property which he shared with Sir James Paget. He was a man of deep and true religion, and it is particularly pleasing to dwell on this fact in these days when there is a popular suspicion that with men of science, and especially with men in prominent positions, success blunts the religious sense and makes them lose the faculty of dwelling on the really important and abiding things.

Mrs. Broadbent said of her son that he was one who feared the Lord from his youth up. This is entirely true. No one who knew him could doubt that the consciousness of the nearness of eternal things was ever before him. On nearly every page of the biography we find evidence of his devoutness and reverence and of his dependence on God. He was not a man who wore his heart on his sleeve. His natural reserve prevented him from speaking much on these matters, even to intimate friends. But his letters to members of his family were full of reference to the goodness of God to him and to his ever-increasing dependence on God's providence. In every event of his life he confessed the reality of divine leading and of divine arrangement. Something is said of this by his biographer, but much more might be made of it were it necessary.

Ambroise Paré, as we are reminded in *Confessio Medici*, when referring to the recovery of his patients, was

fond of saying, 'I dressed him and God cured him.' This was the spirit in which Broadbent worked. His success in healing was always due, not to his own skill but to the goodness of God, who made him the instrument of His will. What he did was always a duty in the highest sense, and the success he achieved was attributed to divine favour. In his years of struggle, and waiting and disappointment, in his troubles and anxieties, in his times of coming prosperity, and in the last years of achieved renown, he always looked with thankfulness to a Higher Power for guidance, for encouragement, for restfulness, for solace, for due humility. It was this that so beautifully and perfectly rounded off his admirable character.

It is a sad fact that when a great physician or surgeon dies, he takes with him to the grave gifts that he cannot pass on to his successors. Living, he was invaluable. Dead, he is soon forgotten. The gifts that enabled him to do so much for his fellow men die with him, and the memory of them becomes nothing more than a tradition. But though Broadbent could not hand on his technical skill, he did a great deal to further one object that was dear to his heart. He made medicine more of a science. He added his stone to the cairn of accumulated knowledge and greatly extended the boundaries of medical learning. He did much to enable his successors more efficiently to relieve and cure the ills of humanity. More than all he left a memory of a noble and devoted life, full of service to God and man; eminently successful in material things, equally successful in higher and better.

It was one of his most cherished hopes that he might prove himself worthy of his parentage. This hope was abundantly fulfilled. More he could not ask for, more he did not desire.

I have endeavoured to indicate the qualities which go to make up the ideal physician. I have no hesitation in saying that in recent times no one has more nearly attained to the standard than Sir William Broadbent, and it is not probable that we shall soon see his like again.

EDWARD WALKER.

## Notes and Discussions

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### 1834—1909: A RECORD OF CHRISTIAN PROGRESS

**H**ARTFORD COLLEGE, Connecticut, has been celebrating the 75th anniversary of its foundation. Amongst other modes of commemorating the event, the Faculty have issued a volume describing the history of the three-quarters of a century so far as Christian thought and work are concerned. Messrs. Macmillan have published the book in this country, as well as in America, under the title *Recent Christian Progress*, rightly judging that its interest extended far beyond the boundaries of Hartford Seminary and of American scholarship and enterprise. Such a survey, if well done—and we hasten to say that in the main the work has here been done with great judgement and ability—cannot but be highly instructive. Whether the end was likely to be secured by between eighty and ninety short essays of a few pages each more effectively than by fewer papers of larger scope and wider outlook, may be questioned. But no one who is interested in forming an estimate of the changes brought about in biblical study and in Church life during the nineteenth century can fail to find in this volume material of considerable value.

The fact is, that it is almost impossible to realize how far back 1834 is, when the progress of biblical study is estimated. The period is only that of a fairly long life, yet in Old Testament criticism and exegesis, in the study of the Apocrypha and extra-canonical literature, in New Testament textual criticism and philology, how much has been accomplished! Biblical theology did not exist eighty years ago. There has been a revolution in the views taken of Old Testament history. One whole section in this volume is devoted to the 'History of the Life of Christ,' for the first of such lives, properly speaking, had not appeared in 1834, and Dr. Fairbairn has told us that it was left to the last half-century to discover the historical Christ.

Prof. Nourse, writing of New Testament theology, says that the problem before it at present is threefold: '(a) What Jesus really taught, inclusive of His emphasis on Himself; (b) the actual beliefs or doctrines of the primitive Apostolic Church; and (c) the teachings of Paul.' He goes on to say that it is not so much a presentation of these separate factors that is required as a correct statement of their mutual relations in the complex development of the Apostolic Church. What would an American or British professor in a theological seminary have made of such a statement in 1833? If he had propounded that thesis himself, what would have become of him and his occupancy of his chair—were he Anglican, or Presbyterian, or Methodist?

In doctrine, the position is the same. The 'psychology of religion' was not heard of seventy years ago, and in the sense in which it is now discussed as an important feature of theological study, it would then have been styled heretical. Still more is that statement true of 'Comparative Religion' in its bearing on Systematic Theology. Max Müller was but a child in 1834, and the 'science' which he did so much to promote was only beginning its career when he died. 'The Conception of Man's Place in Nature' is the title of another of these sections, and the very phrase is suggestive of a revolution which has passed over that conception, not in seventy-five years, but in less than half that period. Huxley's essay on 'Man's Place in Nature' was only published in 1863, and much water has flowed under the bridge since then. The Doctrine of God—the Doctrine of Christ—the Doctrine of the Last Things—we read in the Table of Contents. Every student of theological and ecclesiastical thought will pronounce the words in these titles very slowly, as he ponders on the difference of meaning conveyed by them in 1834 and 1909. In Eschatology Prof. Mead tells us that in the belief of the early part of the nineteenth century stress was laid upon—(1) 'retributive justice as the dominating attribute of God'; (2) 'physical death as determining men's future condition'; (3) 'future happiness and future suffering as being positive awards, rather than the natural result of moral character.' Now he finds profound changes either accomplished, or in process of accomplishment, and though all may not agree with his precise statement of the case, all must admit that more hopeful views prevail as to the destiny of the race, that there is 'more faith in the patient love and large resourcefulness of God in His dealings with men,' together

with a decided 'toning down of the dogmatic positiveness which used to characterize the treatment of these topics,' and a recognition that 'with reference to matters which belong to a mode of existence quite beyond our cognition, a certain agnosticism is justifiable.'

The larger half of this volume is rightly occupied with Christian practice rather than Christian thought. This field is far too wide to be entered upon here. But it will occur to every one that there is a close connexion between these two great branches of church life and a mutual interaction going on between them. The Modern Churches as they exist in America—Congregational, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, and the rest—are described at length by competent representatives of each. Preaching, Evangelism, Theological Education, Public Worship, the Sunday-school, Church Music, Work Among the Poor, Social Settlements, and a score of kindred topics, receive due attention. Home and Foreign Missions have more than a hundred closely-printed pages allotted to them, yet a reader who has only a slight knowledge of these subjects knows that only a fraction of a vast and ramifying work is here touched upon with a flying pen. The title of the first essay speaks volumes—'Theory and Method of Foreign Missions.' It is not merely that operations have multiplied with such rapidity that the nineteenth century is coming to be called 'The century of foreign missions,' but the very theories and methods of the work have undergone a change. 'Changed conceptions of Eastern religions,' and of all religions, and of the way in which conversion from other religions to Christianity ought to be effected—have the very conceptions of these not changed? 'Medical missions'—where were they in 1834? The 'dominant motive for prosecuting missionary work'—has this remained the same? In a sense, most certainly Yes, but in a very real sense, No. 'Interdenominational Co-operation' is the last heading; but for an essay on this worth reading we ought perhaps to be prepared to wait seventy-five years longer. Or, if that appear a too unhopeful view, it may be enough to say that the large measure of united feeling which happily exists amongst Christian missionaries of various evangelical churches in heathen lands has hardly yet begun to make possible the united action for which many are looking and longing as a necessary presupposition of a complete Christian conquest of the world.

In this brief note on an immense subject we have laid ourselves open to the charge of dilating on the obvious. But the lessons of obvious truth are not always obvious, and to point them here would require many pages of this REVIEW, even were the writer competent for the task. And we are not sure that the precise significance of the changes wrought in theology, for example, during the last three-quarters of a century is quite obvious, even to well-informed readers. In any case, the volume published by Hartford professors and alumni has appeared to the writer so interesting and suggestive that he has ventured to introduce it to the notice of the readers of these pages. He must be an unusually encyclopaedic thinker who can afford to neglect it.

W. T. DAVISON.

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## A NEW DICTIONARY OF THE HISTORY OF RELIGION

IN the making of dictionaries of the Bible and of religion there is just now unprecedented activity. Nearly forty years ago Daniel Schenkel could say, in the preface to his *Bibellexikon*, 'It has long been recognized that the dictionary form is best adapted to summarize the immense mass of biblical material scattered and buried in many volumes and to make it accessible to Bible students.' In an article contributed to the latest German dictionary of religion,<sup>1</sup> Prof. Bertholet gives an instructive account of the *Bibellexika* that have been published during the last century. He handsomely acknowledges the good work that has been done in our own country, though he does not forget to remind us, as is only fair, that Germans have had their share in it. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* is praised as 'a trustworthy work of sterling value.'

To describe the volume under review by the name of its chief editor, Schiele's *Dictionary of Religion* may be said to

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<sup>1</sup> *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Handwörterbuch in gemeinverständlicher Darstellung. Unter Mitwirkung von Hermann Gunkel und Otto Scheel, herausgegeben von Friedrich Michael Schiele. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr. London: Williams & Norgate. Vol. I, in paper cover, 23s.; half-calf, 26s.) To be completed in four or five vols.

attempt on a smaller scale what Dr. Hastings is doing in his *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. In his preface Dr. Schiele says that the work owes its origin to Prof. Martin Rade of Marburg, who is known to many as the editor of *Die christliche Welt*. A suggestion made by him in 1904 to a few friends assembled at Eisenach has speedily borne fruit. In the course of the preliminary consultations such subjects as Old Testament and New Testament, History of the Church and History of Dogma, Dogmatics, Apologetics, Ethics, and Practical Theology, were assigned to various sub-editors. It was then found that justice would not be done to the great theme of religion unless specialists could take charge of such subjects as Art, Music, Paedagogics, Social Science, Ecclesiastical Law, Modern Christianity and Non-Christian Religions. To carry out this comprehensive scheme, thirteen sectional editors were appointed, and their names appear on the title-page. Gunkel has charge of Old Testament and Oriental Religions; Scheel of the History of Dogma, Symbolics and Ethics; Troeltsch of Dogmatics; Wobbermin of Apologetics; and Baumgarten of Practical Theology and Present-day Religion. The names of these scholars indicate that 'thorough' will be the watchword of their criticism, and indeed they are amongst the ablest representatives of the religious-historical school, concerning which it may be said that its *positive* results are of the greatest value. Before referring to separate articles, mention may be made of an excellent feature of this Dictionary. Much skill is manifested in the elaborate system of cross-references, the result being that on the leading themes there is at least one lengthy dissertation, supplemented by shorter notes under appropriate headings.

It is not, of course, proposed to review in detail a volume of more than 1,000 pages of two columns. Hearty praise of the quality of the work and gratitude for the readableness of the German must not be taken to imply acceptance of all its writers' conclusions. In bare justice, however, it must be said that, as a whole, the Dictionary is a splendid investment for students who know German. Dr. Gunkel is to be congratulated on the successful carrying out of his resolve that none should be deterred from using the Dictionary by an obscure or involved style of composition.

That advanced German critics have still something to say about the Bible is manifest from the fact that *Bible* and its

compounds occupies 150 pages. Prof. Bertholet of Basle writes on the Old Testament; Prof. Knopf of Vienna on the New Testament; Dr. Meyer of Zürich on Biblical Dogmatics; Dr. Geyer of Nuremburg on the Bible in the School; Dr. Kùchler of Giessen on the Bible and Babylon (*Bibel und Babel*). In addition, there are articles on Bible Societies, Concordances, Lexicons, Translations. These are followed by an elaborate treatise on Biblical Science (*Bibelwissenschaft*). Under the heading *Old Testament*, Dr. Baentsch of Jena gives an account of various methods of Hermeneutics, of Criticism of the text, the canon and the history; he also outlines the Theology of the Old Testament; Dr. Gunkel contributes a general Introduction, and narrates the history of the literature of Israel, whilst Prof. Bertholet closes with a sketch of the history of Old Testament criticism. The whole of the *New Testament* section is by Dr. Meyer; it is a masterly summary, treating respectively of the attitude towards the New Testament writings of the Early Church, the Middle Ages, Humanism, the Reformation, the 'Illumination' era, Strauss, Baur, the Dutch School, &c. Although on such questions as the Johannine authorship of the fourth Gospel and the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles Dr. Meyer is too confidently negative in his judgments, he expresses his own preference for 'the more delightful, although more difficult, task of positive construction.' He is right in saying that sometimes the evidence does not warrant a confident statement; therefore conjectures are admissible, though dangerous if announced as 'the certain conclusions of Science.' Nevertheless, criticism has accomplished much. 'We gaze upon the portrait of Christ that inspired the Evangelists. In its splendour we discern, as we carefully scrutinize it, definite features of the historical Jesus; they reveal one unique, really historical personality, although we are unable to fill in all the precise details of the picture. . . . The New Testament writings, as a whole, arranged historically so far as that is possible, and including the critically tested narrative of the Acts of the Apostles, furnish us with a picture of the apostolic and sub-apostolic era in which the entire series of writings find their place as a product of the age, and as a part of its mental history.'

In the article on *Americanism* the eye is caught by the word 'Methodism.' It appears that what Roman Catholics now call Modernism was once known as Americanism, and that the

movement it describes may be traced to a German-American, Isaac Thomas Hecker, whose parents were Methodists. In 1844 Hecker became a Roman Catholic, 'yet he remained permanently under the strongest internal influences of Methodism. His life-work was the introduction of its methods of conversion into Roman Catholicism.' Father Hecker founded a society of Mission-priests, styled 'Paulists'; he died in 1888. A French edition of his *Life* by Elliott aroused much controversy. By some his 'Americanism' was welcomed as setting forth 'pre-Vatican liberal Catholicism.' Although Cardinal Gibbon, in a letter printed in Hecker's biography, described him as 'a faithful child of Holy Church, every way Catholic in the fullest meaning of the term and entirely orthodox,' his opponents were successful in obtaining from Leo XIII, in 1899, a condemnation of Hecker's Americanism. In this connexion it may be said that the subject of Conversion (*Bekehrung*) is neither adequately nor satisfactorily treated in a brief article occupying only three-quarters of a page. Moreover, there is only one reference, and that, significantly, is to Baptism (*Taufe*).

The historical articles embody the results of the latest research. That on Egypt (*Aegypten*) occupies forty pages, and is admirably illustrated. Dr. Ranke writes on *History, Religion, &c.*, Dr. Windisch on the *History of the Church*. To the last-named writer the important subject of *Alexandrian Theology* is also assigned. Concise and scholarly accounts are given of the *Apocryphal Writings*. Dr. Fiebig deals with the Old Testament and Dr. Knopf with the New Testament Apocrypha. Under the latter heading the *Didache* is included. Dr. Gore has recently described this Early Church manual as a 'somewhat mysterious document, emanating probably from Egypt'; he is of opinion that in it 'we have to do with the wandering missionaries of some Judaic Christian sect of uncertain epoch' (*Orders and Unity*, p. 111 ff.). Dr. Knopf fixes its date between the limits 90-150 A.D.; the place of its origin was Syria, not Egypt (cf. the reference to 'hills' in ix. 4), and for internal reasons he assigns it to a Christian Church, many of whose members were engaged in farming and agriculture. Variety and a spice of humour are added by Prof. Drews' article on Parsons' Beards (*Bart der Geistlichen*). The subject is divided thus: (1) in the Greek Catholic Church, (2) in the Roman Catholic Church, (3) in the Evangelical

Churches. The modern note is struck in a series of articles which deal with Labour (*Arbeit*) and its problems. Pfarrer Naumann of Leipzig rightly says that one of the most pressing of modern obligations is to secure for the worker more joy (*Freudigkeit*) in the discharge of the duties of his calling. What must be maintained is 'the equality in moral value of all faithful labour, and the duty devolving on a Christian society of providing employment for those who are willing to work, and of combating idleness with all its might.'

J. G. TASKER.

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## THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF ISRAEL

FOR the secular history of Israel can be claimed little further interest than that which attaches to the fortunes and misfortunes of any contemporaneous people. The sole difference of importance is, that in the one case are involved the external relations of what has proved to be the line of the religious development of the race, whereas the other peoples are found outside that line, though still connected with it and contributing each its influence of modification or stimulus. As a matter of unquestionable historical fact, progress in the world's conception of God and of duty to Him has taken place along a road of which one of the most important stages is marked by the revelation made to Israel and the response made by Israel. Its secular history may be viewed at the best as a record of the means by which the people were instructed and trained, but its religious history is the thing that counts; and though many efforts have been made of late years to set that forth, the majority of them are singularly disappointing, vitiated by obvious preconceptions or defective in the exhibition of any real unity of principle or purpose amid the complexity of the forces at play.

An exception must be made in favour of one of the latest books on the subject, *The Law and the Prophets* (Macmillan, 8s. 6d. net). It is a translation by Mr. Du Pontet, an assistant master at Harrow, of the great work on *Jéhovah*, by Prof. A. Westphal, of Montauban. The original is marked by all the lucidity and literary charm which we have learnt to expect from French theologians of high rank; and the success of the trans-

lator in preserving these qualities has been complete. According to its sub-title, the book is an account of 'the revelation of Jehovah in Hebrew history from the earliest times to the capture of Jerusalem by Titus'; and it merits all that its sponsors say of it. The translator writes of its supreme usefulness to teachers and parents, and adds that since the first appearance of the original in parts he has never prepared a divinity lesson without its help. The Bishop of Winchester contributes an introductory page in which he describes the book as a constructive handling of the results of modern inquiry in a spirit of real reverence, as precisely the kind of volume needed in our day, as full of the new learning whilst making no surrender of the old faith. It is not likely that any well-informed reader will accept every premise and demur to no conclusion; but it is not easy to imagine an educated man failing to find the book intensely interesting or to esteem its writer as reasonable and reverent.

Of the many commendable features of this book two are outstanding. The one is the effective and illuminating use of the results of the comparative study of religions; and the other the clearness with which the main line of the developing religious conceptions in Israel is traced from animism to Christianity. Comparative theology is a very ancient science, dating back to some of the earliest of the Fathers, who were not in this respect without precursors in the pre-Christian world; but Prof. Westphal is a master, and knows exactly what can be done with his tools and what cannot. A brilliant section of his book carries the reader back to the period of Moses, and shows the general religious setting in the midst of which the revelation to that prophet was placed. It was the supreme time of fluvial civilization, and presented four types of organized society concentrating on the banks of great rivers. The Aryan group of races was coming down from the central plateau of Asia to the rivers that flow from it, while the other groups—Hamitic, Semitic, and Chinese—had already settled on and around the Nile, the Tigris, and the gigantic streams of China. Of these nations Prof. Westphal illustrates the beliefs, especially in their moral aspects, with precision and adequate detail; and the irresistible conclusion is that, if an ethical monotheism was to prevail, the best and only suitable line for further evolution was that of Moses.

As for the unity of the religious history of Israel, its secret is to be found in the gracious and persistent effort of God to lead the people up from Elohimism, defined as the worship of a tribal

and patron god, to Jehovism, the worship of the universal Life-giver and the immediate preparation for the revelation of the Father. All the documents of the Old Testament may be classified as supporting the one or the other conception. Conflicts between the two were frequent, and success passed from side to side. There were periods of progress when the influence of the prophets was in the ascendancy, and when it waned periods of decline, until Levitism became strong, and anticipations of the coming of the Messiah in the remote future were substituted for the hope of any immediate reform. At length Jerusalem fell, because 'in the religion to which God had entrusted the seed of life' Aaron triumphed over Moses, Solomon over David, the priest and the legalist over the prophet. But the cycle of revelation does not close before the appearance of Jesus on the stage. He takes up the great truths of Jehovism, gives them a new and kindlier aspect in the implications of His Sonship of God and of man, leads His disciples through their hesitations into the knowledge of Himself and of the Father, and establishes between heaven and earth a reconciliation which is increasingly proving the most significant fact in the condition of men.

R. W. Moss.

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## THE NEW REALISM

THOSE of us who are behind the scenes and can watch English philosophy in the making have for some time been aware that, in more than one quarter, there is a strong reaction in progress towards what is ordinarily called Realism. The pioneers of this movement are advancing along different lines of thought, but they all agree in rejecting, without reservation, the fundamental doctrine of Idealism, *Esse est percipi*, and in contending that the object in external perception is not a 'content of consciousness,' but a *datum* present to consciousness—a *datum* which is not in any way affected by the act of knowing. Experience is said to be, not an experience of modes of consciousness, but an experience of *things*, and the qualities of those experienced things, and the relations wherein they stand one to the other, are held to pertain to the things themselves, and not to be the work of the knowing mind. I am not now concerned to defend this doctrine, although it is one that

I have long held. I merely wish to ask: What will be the effect of this reaction, of this return to 'common sense,' upon theological and apologetic thought?

That its effect will be considerable one cannot doubt. At the present moment our philosophy of religion and our philosophical apologetic are almost everywhere governed by idealistic conceptions. For instance, conformably with the maxim, *Esse est percipi*, we are told that existence is always existence for consciousness, and, since it is quite clear that the universe disclosed by the natural sciences exists otherwise than in and for the consciousness of this or that individual percipient, we are asked to infer that there must be some other consciousness—a divine one—to which that universe is objective. If, however, *Esse est percipi* be rejected, this short and easy way to some kind of Theism will no longer be available.

What will happen? At first, probably, a rapid movement towards Pragmatism. Now, Pragmatism has many attractions for the Christian thinker. It is avowedly a doctrine of practical faith. According to it, axioms are postulates of action, and truth is relative to purpose. Human nature, it tells us, is characteristically an active nature, and in and through his activity man discovers his environment. His discoveries, however, are not metaphysical, but practical. He finds out what his environment permits him to do, and this discovery is not merely a discovery of his own powers, but a discovery of nature. Once more, however, that discovery is not metaphysical, but practical. It discloses certain practical relations between man's purpose and man's environment; it yields, not speculative insight, but more or less of practical mastery. Therefore the truth it reaches is a *serviceable* truth. Indeed, according to Pragmatism, serviceableness is the characteristic note of truth—what 'works' is true. This follows naturally from the pragmatist doctrine that truth is discovered by effort, by purposeful action. Such action must be either successful or unsuccessful, and, if successful, immediately defines only a certain practical path—its discovery is a discovery of something that 'works.'

As other philosophies have done, Pragmatism makes an initial assumption. It assumes, we are told, that nature is indefinitely plastic. At first sight the assumption seems extravagant, but one gathers that it involves nothing more than a preliminary postulate that man's environment is not rigidly

antagonistic to his purpose or contradictory of his ends. This preliminary assumption cannot, except in an infinite experience, be completely verified; if it be valid, its validity cannot be completely demonstrated. It is always a postulate, and never an inference, and, therefore, the activity that presupposes it must always be a venture of faith.

We can easily see what apologetic use might be made of this. One could set forth the Christian life of faith, not as an exceptional thing, but as one form of a life whose every activity presupposes faith. The Christian apprehension of religious truth in and through the living of the religious life would illustrate the general nature of man's discovery of truth; and twenty centuries of Christian experience—an experience culminating in sanctity—would make the Christian discoveries seem reasonable. This, and much more than this, might easily be said. Indeed, something like it has already been said by Modernism—for instance, by Mr. W. J. Williams in *Newman, Pascal, Loisy, and the Catholic Church*.

Such an apologetic, however, would clearly presuppose the characteristic conception of Pragmatism—the conception, namely, that what 'works' is true. But do the Christian conceptions 'work'? Up to a certain point they clearly do. We know that it is possible to live the Christian life. It is, however, no less possible to live in quite a different way. Knavery, for example, has a longer tradition of success than love. I do not know how its fundamental postulate should be formulated, but that postulate, whatever it be, unmistakably 'works.'

If, then, several postulates 'work,' and several ways of life be practicable, why should a man not naturally Christian choose the ascetic path of Christian renunciation? To this question an ordinary apologetic provides a clear reply: The constitution of Reality is such that only in and through the Christian life can the soul's eternal ends be achieved. This answer, it is clear, goes beyond the competence of Pragmatism, for the truth reached by Pragmatism is strictly co-extensive with the success achieved by pragmatic effort. No human experiment, if made without assumptions, can discover what will 'work' throughout eternity. Pragmatism, in its simplest form, leaves the Christian way of life merely one among several, all of which are equally practicable. If the Christian preference be reasonable, if it be more than the result of an incidental bias of temperament, there must be some ground which makes it

universally rational. Now, we have such a ground in the revelation of Reality made once for all in and through the Incarnate Life, and since perpetually renewed in Christian experience. The method of that renewal may be called pragmatic, for the renewal takes place in and through the religious activity of the Christian life. The truth thus discovered purports, however, to be more than a pragmatic truth. It purports to be metaphysical, to be a discovery that goes beyond the pragmatic success of Christian effort, and it makes the Christian preference seem reasonable—reasonable for all, and not merely for those naturally Christian—precisely because it thus transcends all possible pragmatic discoveries.

But is the Christian revelation what it purports to be? Is the witness of the Church veridical? Has Reality indeed disclosed itself in such a way that, against the apparent contradictions of nature, we can commit our lives to it as unto a 'faithful Creator'—as unto a sovereign Love that will not finally disappoint the hopes it has quickened or frustrate the effort it has brought about?

These questions, it will be noticed, are subsequent to the affirmations of faith. Indeed, they virtually ask faith to prove itself reasonable. Faith can do this only by means of a doctrine of probability. Its apprehensions are its own, and not another's. They are beyond the range, not only of ordinary observation, but also of our demonstrative inference. The essential Christian facts, although genuinely facts in the order of events, are characteristically 'facts for faith'—they cannot be reached except in and through faith. Now, if the apprehensions of faith be tested by reason, they will seem to be merely probabilities, and a demonstration of their reasonableness will, of necessity, take the form of a philosophy of probability.

To this, I think, will the New Realism bring us—to a philosophy of faith which includes a philosophy of probability. Will it, then, bring us back to Butler? Yes and No. It will not bring us back to his *Analogy*, except for helpful suggestion, but it will, I think, bring us back to his great principle, that, 'for us, probability is the very guide of life.'

Our argument to probability will, however, take a wider range than Butler's. Not only will it be a general grammar of assent, but it will deal with a problem that Butler was able to leave untouched—the problem of Theism. Those against whom Butler wrote believed nature to be the work of God, but

we are face to face with non-theistic interpretations of the world. What will be the line of our Theistic apologetic when the Idealistic arguments now in vogue have been abandoned?

There will probably be a revival of Teleology and of arguments to a First Cause, but it seems unlikely that this kind of apologetic will prove finally satisfactory, for, whatever its value, it cannot quite reach the Christian conception of God. We shall, I think, gradually recognize that Christian Theism is part of the Christian revelation, and has its *ratio credendi* in whatever makes that revelation credible.

Not (it may be) without hesitation and slightly profitable adventures along by-ways of thought we shall, I think, sooner or later discover that the ground of our faith is in the Christian order of history—in *that order as a whole*, in the 'objective' revelation given once for all in the person of our Lord, in the age-long witness of Christian experience, and in our own experience within the witnessing and edifying Church. In other words, the return to Realism in philosophy will bring about a return to the historical method of apologetic. Because, however, the Christian essentials, although part of the world's order, are not obvious therein, but are discovered only by faith, our historical apologetic will include a philosophy of faith that is also a philosophy of probability.

This may seem a poor and unambitious substitute for the confident demonstrations of Idealism, but has Idealism the value for Christian theology that many suppose it to have? Consider its most widely prevalent form. That is clearly pantheistic—Dr. McTaggart, indeed, tells us that it is atheistic—and, although it teaches that Nature is spiritual, its characteristic conception of spiritual order provides no place for a supernatural revelation in history. The New Realism will, at least, set thought free from this limitation. Indeed, it seems not improbable that, in the sphere of theology and apologetics, the New Realism will bring about a new and most valuable insistence upon the distinctively supernatural elements in religion; in other words, that Theological Realism will be a form of Supernaturalism.

HARLUYT EGERTON.

## Recent Literature

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### BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL

*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.* Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D., with the assistance of John A. Selbie, M.A., D.D., and other Scholars. Vol. II. Arthur—Bunyan. (T. & T. Clark. Cloth, 28s. net.)

CAREFUL reading of some of the important articles in this volume, and a more rapid perusal of many shorter ones, warrant the most favourable judgement as to the great value of its contents. Without claiming to be familiar with all the subjects discussed in it, one may say with complete confidence that the alert editor has amply fulfilled his promise to provide articles that may be 'read with pleasure as well as relied upon for accuracy and insight.'

Some idea of the range of subjects included may be gained from a glance at the names of the 169 authors who have contributed to this volume. The expert has been sought out, wherever he lived and in whatever language he wrote. The list includes Professor Anesaka of Tokio, Directeur Basset of Algiers, Dr. Brandt of Amsterdam, Dr. Goldziher of Budapest, Dr. Schrader of Breslau, Dr. Söderblom of Upsala, Dr. Westermarck of Helsingfors, Dr. Zimmern of Leipzig, not to mention other equally distinguished specialists.

The advantage gained by studying Religion and Ethics together is often manifest. Dr. Kilpatrick—whose articles never disappoint the earnest student—treats 'Benevolence' (1) as a quality of human character, dwelling on the New Testament usage and its place in the history of ethics; (2) as a divine attribute, dwelling on its place in the character of God, its operation in creation and providence, and its vindication in view of objections. A masterly handling of a difficult subject, combining felicitous exposition of Scripture with shrewd ethical judgement and keen spiritual insight. A psychological study

of 'Backsliding' is contributed by Professor Starbuck, but in this case a fuller treatment of the Old Testament teaching in regard to backsliding as a national sin would have enriched the first section. No passage from Hosea, nor from Jeremiah, is referred to. There is also insufficient ground for the statement that the need of a 'renewal' after backsliding underlies the notion of the 'second experience' or sanctification. Lack of space alone prevents our quoting from the admirable articles on 'Authority' by Dr. Iverach, 'Belief' by Professor Mair, and 'Boasting' by Dr. Oman.

A feature of this Encyclopaedia is the subdivision of the articles on many-sided subjects which can be satisfactorily treated only by collaboration. Dr. Sanday's compendious treatise on 'Bible' fills seventeen pages, and is as interesting as it is instructive, but it is followed by an elaborate study, twice the length (thirty-six pages), of 'Bible in the Church,' by Dr. von Dobschütz. Amongst the closing sentences are these: 'The chief enemy of the Bible is ignorance of it. . . . Had they [i.e. those who 'hold it in contempt'] ever experienced any of the comfort and gladness which the pious reader can draw from its pages, they would be of a different opinion. The history of the Bible is an objective proof of its beneficent operation.' In addition, there is an article on 'Bibliolatry' by Dr. A. Dörner. 'Asceticism' has fourteen sections—Buddhist, Greek, Mohammedan, Christian, &c.

In the following contributions our readers will be specially interested. Dr. H. B. Workman finds a congenial theme in 'Bernard of Clairvaux'; with regret we read the verdict of criticism, that the author of 'Jesu, the very thought of Thee' was 'probably not St. Bernard, but one of his school who had certainly adopted his style and thought.' Dr. Geden makes good use of his Oriental scholarship in his account of 'Asceticism' (Hindu), and in his life of the 'Buddha.' A short article (one and a half pages) on the important subject of 'Brotherly Love' is by the Rev. H. Bisseker, M.A., and the Rev. J. H. Bateson manifests thorough familiarity with the teaching of Buddhism in expounding the Buddhist attitude towards the 'Body.'

It must suffice to mention that 'Baptism' has thirteen sections, and that other articles of outstanding merit are on 'Body and Mind' by Dr. McIntyre, 'Biology' by Dr. J. Y. Simpson, 'Atheism and Anti-theistic Theories' by Professor

C. B. Upton, and 'Augustine' by Dr. B. B. Warfield. Our estimate of the value of this work cannot be better expressed than in the words of the *Harvard Theological Review*: 'the Encyclopaedia will be indispensable to the student of any part of its wide field.'

*The Temple Dictionary of the Bible.* Written and Edited by Rev. W. Ewing, M.A., and Rev. J. E. H. Thomson, D.D., and other Scholars and Divines. (Dent & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

This Dictionary is a large foolscap quarto with 1,100 pages, 540 illustrations, and eight coloured maps. It is neatly bound, printed in good type, and seeks to present the ascertained results of the latest knowledge and research in a way that may bring them within the reach of every earnest Bible student. The editors state frankly that they are unable to accept many of the so-called 'results' of Higher Criticism, especially in that 'detailed and minute analysis of the different books where the critics are hopelessly at variance among themselves.' The character of the book in this respect is well shown by Prof. Robertson's article on the Pentateuch. He gives a general view of the critical position, and lays stress on the fact that the account which the Hebrews give of themselves is being found to correspond in a remarkable degree with the facts brought to light by archaeology. His last sentence runs: 'In short, the Pentateuch contains a record of the Divine Revelation, written by men who wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.' The articles on the Bible, Palestine, the Book of Psalms, the Gospels, Scriptures, Synagogue, &c., put the latest knowledge in the most compact form. The section on the Apocrypha, which follows the main part of the Dictionary on the Old and New Testaments, deserves special praise. The illustrations and maps are really good, and the book may be strongly commended to teachers, lay preachers, and all who want a cheap and distinctly conservative Bible dictionary.

*Studies in Religion and Theology. The Church: in Idea and in History.* By Dr. A. M. Fairbairn. (Hodder & Stoughton. 12s. net.)

Dr. Fairbairn claims a certain degree of unity for these studies, as indicated in the sub-title; but there is really very

little cohesion between the two parts of the book. Half is an unfinished discussion of Church polity from the standpoint of a life-long antagonist of the sacerdotal idea, and the remainder is an examination of the general religious teaching of Jesus and of two of His apostles. As a controversialist, the author steadily refuses to be diverted from the main interests involved. He has a keen eye for historical parallels, and is an expert in careful generalization. His charity never fails, even under the rhetorical exigency of marking an antithesis or framing a preciosity. The episcopal conception is thrice slain, but there is no adequate study of the comparative merits of the several conceptions that compete for its place. Order and strength are important considerations in the New Testament, as also are tolerance and freedom. To the former, little or no attention is given, whilst a curious argument is presented to the effect that, though individuals may be knit into a congregation without intolerance, congregations cannot be built into a corporate system without the sacrifice of freedom. Personal religion is, however, that in which our author's main interest lies. He insists upon the equal priestly rights of all believers, and upon the necessity of approaching and settling all ecclesiastical disputes with a due appreciation of their relation to the promotion of piety. Some of the appeals to preachers on the ground of their sublime opportunities or of their vocation are stirring and irresistible. The great need of the day is described as the possession by Christ of the heart and life of the man who professes to be His disciple, and the conversion of all classes, including the so-called upper classes—who are said to need it most—is to be secured thereby.

The later pages of the book contain illuminating portraiture of Jesus, Paul, and John, with synopses of their teaching according to some of the documents that have survived. The paragraphs are not always convincing, as in the explanation of the experience in Gethsemane, and occasionally there is a little inconsistency, as in the unfolding of the Saviour's thought in anticipation of the Cross. But in the publication of these masterly essays Dr. Fairbairn has added to the many benefits he has conferred upon the great body of preachers and divinity students, who will not be failing in gratitude.

*Israel's Ideal; or, Studies in Old Testament Theology.* By Rev. John Adams, B.D. (T. & T. Clark. 4s. 6d. net.)

In an essay on the value of Hebrew study in his attractive volume of *Sermons in Syntax*, Mr. Adams pleaded for the synthesis of biblical theology and the construction of a scheme of doctrine into which are gathered only statements that have previously been approved in the double light of history and context. This new book of his is an attempt, on a small scale and with the avoidance of technicalities, to show how the needed work should be done. The Hebrew religion is viewed in relation to its underlying Semitic originals as well as, on the other hand, a preparation for the fuller truth and privilege brought in by Christ. Among specific themes are the advance in the conception of God from henotheism to Fatherhood, prophecy and its messianic fulfilment, the Old Testament contribution to Christology in respect to both the person and the atoning sacrifice of Jesus Christ, the doctrine of sin and that of salvation, with a fine portraiture of the ethical accompaniments of spiritual self-surrender. All is scholarly and simple, suggestive and helpful, a clear evidence that modern learning is competent to articulate the teaching of the Old Testament into a system of thought or belief, with God at its centre and an effective redemption as its product.

*Aspects of Christ.* By W. B. Selbie, M.A. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

Mr. Selbie delivered these addresses to his congregation in Cambridge before he followed Dr. Fairbairn at Mansfield College. His Introduction on 'Historic Fact and Christian Doctrine' shows that a reaction has already set in against the extreme conclusions of the critics that no secure foundation remains on which to build a doctrine of the person of Jesus Christ. 'Criticism itself has shown that it is historically impossible to explain away the unique claims which Jesus Christ made and the results which followed directly from them. His work and teaching are imbedded in the history of the first centuries of our era in such a way that it is impossible to eliminate them.' Mr. Selbie sees clearly that if we are robbed of the historical Jesus of the Gospels the Church 'as an aggressive spiritual force will go out of commission.' He then proceeds to consider 'The Christ of the Synoptic Gospels.'

Behind their accounts we feel that there is some Person whom they knew and of whom all are seeking to give a faithful picture. Whether Christ was what these early disciples believed, every man may test for himself by approaching Him along that avenue of faith which is still open. 'The Christ of St. Paul' shows with real force and beauty the place which that great apostle gave to Jesus Christ in his own thought and life. Then we come to St. John and to the Christ of the Apocalypse, who is divine and greater than any presentation of Him that the writer was able to give. A fine chapter on 'The Teaching of Christ about Himself' follows. Mr. Selbie thinks that the creeds are a millstone round the neck of many Christians. He argues that every man should be allowed to express his belief in Jesus Christ in his own terms, and quotes Dr. Denney's summary as all that is really needed: 'I believe in God through Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord and Saviour.' The closing chapters, on 'The Christ of To-day' and 'The Churches and the Faith,' are full of helpful teaching for the times. Vital truths are here set forth in a way that will do much to strengthen faith and scatter perplexing doubts.

*Ritschlianism.* By John Kenneth Mozley, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. (Nisbet & Co. 5s. net.)

*Faith and Fact. A Study of Ritschlianism.* By Ernest R. Edghill, M.A. (Macmillan & Co. 5s. net.)

Mr. Mozley's essay divided the Norrisian Prize for 1908. It is a sympathetic but acute study of the work of Ritschl and his chief followers in Germany, and is dedicated to one of them, Prof. Hermann of Marburg, under whom Mr. Mozley studied for a time. Many books have been written on Ritschlianism, notably the works of Professor Orr and Principal Garvie, but Mr. Mozley's Essay will be welcomed by all who wish for a clear and full account of the system. A short biographical sketch brings out Ritschl's relation to the thinkers of his time, then the main feature and conclusions of his theology are considered in detail. A concluding 'Appreciation and Criticism' sums up the results. The Ritschlian theologians hold that their message is one greatly needed by the Church of to-day. They claim to present a view of Christian theology 'in which the definitely Protestant positions of the Reformers

are drawn out to their necessary results, instead of being hampered by the presence of an ill-according mass of material taken over, without due consideration, from the old Catholicism.' In their view, the Reformers failed to break with the philosophical intellectualism of Catholicism. The Ritschlian protest against intellectualism is dictated by its grasp of the gospel as an historic fact, not merely a principle or idea. Ritschl's Christology is, however, defective, and his doctrine of the Atonement is 'more generally Socinian than his doctrine of Christ's deity.' Mr. Mozley's fine study will be of great service. It is the work of a true and deep thinker.

The companion essay by Mr. Edghill has a preface by the Bishop of Southwark, who pays a deserved tribute to the lucidity and independence of his friend's work. In two introductory chapters an estimate is given of the influence of Kant and the subjectivism of Schleiermacher, whose spell was broken by Ritschl. In nine chapters his teaching is carefully expounded and acutely criticized. These lead up to a general estimate of what the Ritschlian theology has done. Its aim was the conservation of true religion, and the sincerity and genuineness of its efforts deserves high recognition. It has restored the prominence attached to the universal moral kingdom of God, and has paid homage to the sinlessness and the marvellous power of the historical Christ. Yet its theory as to the divinity of Christ is wholly unsatisfactory. It evades difficulties and fails to face the facts. Its Christianity is such only in name, and it is prepared to surrender to criticism the miracles and resurrection of the Lord without striking a blow in their defence. Mr. Edghill has laid all students of theology under obligation by this searching criticism of Ritschlianism.

*Modernity and the Churches.* By Percy Gardner, Litt.D. (Williams & Norgate. 5s.)

Dr. Gardner's book is Vol. XXIX in the 'Crown Theological Library,' and contains nine papers on various subjects. The volume has, however, a unity, happily described by the author as due to 'the dominance of a point of view.' As a liberal Anglican and a liberal theologian Dr. Gardner discusses 'The Essential Nature of Christian Faith,' 'The Function of Prayer,' 'The Translation of Christian Doctrine,' and other cognate themes. As regards Modernism, the position defended is that 'whereas, taken by itself, the historic movement tends to

scepticism and negation, the psychologic movement acts as a corrective.' The essays in this volume illustrate both halves of this statement, but we are more in sympathy with the positive psychological defence of the faith than with the negative historical criticism. Dr. Gardner relegates more than is necessary to the categories of 'mythical history' and 'abandoned philosophy'; nevertheless, with great ability and fervour, he shows that 'the great doctrines of Christian soteriology have profound roots in human nature.' Of one generous estimate it is to be hoped that our churches will prove themselves worthy; speaking of the 'temporary secularization of religion' owing to 'attention to the temporal and social needs of men,' Dr. Gardner says: 'The more enthusiastic forces of Christianity, such as the Methodists, certainly concern themselves largely with matters of soteriology.'

*Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther.* By T. Witton Davies, D.D.  
(T. C. & E. C. Jack. 2s. 6d. net.)

The Century Bible series fast approaches completion, only three parts now remaining to be added. The present contribution is as excellent in contents and form as any of the former volumes. The Introduction, notes, maps are all that could be desired in a commentary of such compass. The reader has ample material for forming a judgement on the data and conclusions put before him. Generally speaking, the editor takes a conservative attitude in regard to *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, and a negative attitude in regard to the historical character of *Esther*. He gives good reasons for opposing the critical rejection of *Ezra* vii.-x. as original. The question as to *Esther* is a difficult one. The book was classed with the disputed books of the Jewish canon. It contains no reference to the Divine Being, and sets up a low ethical standard. The view taken of its origin is that the feast of Purim, taken over from Persia, had established itself in Jewish life, and that the author of the book sets himself to find a Jewish origin for it. 'Esther is therefore a didactic romance, a novel with a purpose in it.' Early Christian writers contested its canonicity. Luther took the same position. Its composition is dated about 130 B.C. 'That the author was a Jew is made evident by the intense nationalism which he displays, and also by the excellent Hebrew in which he writes.' An additional note urges that Cyrus the Great was a Zoroastrian, although the evidence is 'scanty and indecisive.'

*The Book of Isaiah in Hebrew.* Edited by Dr. C. D. Ginsburg. With various readings from manuscripts, chiefly in the British Museum, and from the ancient versions.

The British and Foreign Bible Society has issued a further instalment of its important and beautiful new edition of the Hebrew Old Testament. For eyes weary with the indistinctness of much ordinary Hebrew type, the new text will be an inestimable boon. The type is large and clear, and the printing both of text and notes is wonderfully accurate. The form of the page has been altered since the Pentateuch was published two years ago, and the notes are now printed in a larger type and on a broader line, extending right and left beyond the column of the text itself. They are thus easier to read and consult than in the earlier somewhat cramped form in the Pentateuch. The remainder of the Old Testament will conform to the present edition of Isaiah; and the five Books of the Law will eventually be reset to make them correspond to the rest.

This edition not only presents the Massoretic text in the most perfect form attainable, but also contains the most extensive and valuable *apparatus criticus* on the Hebrew text of Isaiah that has ever been brought together. To the many manuscripts that he has personally collated Dr. Ginsburg has added the readings of the Targums, together with those of the Septuagint, Syriac and Vulgate versions, and has made constant use of the earlier critical editions of Benjamin Kennicott and John Bernhard de Rossi. There is thus placed at the disposal of the student a great wealth of critical material, for the most part hitherto unpublished, and a text of the Hebrew prophet as scholarly and exact in form as it is clear and pleasant to read. To all who are able to seek inspiration from the original text of Isaiah this edition will be most welcome; and it will deservedly hold for very many years to come a position of unrivalled authority.

*The Gospel of the Kingdom; or, The Sermon on the Mount Considered in the Light of Contemporary Jewish Thought and Ideals.* By H. E. Savage, D.D., Dean of Lichfield. (Longmans & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Savage gave a course of lectures on this subject in

1906 and 1907 to large gatherings of clergy at York, South Shields, and Halifax. He found that our Lord's discourse reflected at every turn the various phases of Jewish national thought at the time when it was delivered, and his lectures are intended to bring out that fact, which has been much neglected or altogether ignored in some commentaries. When he began his studies the dean shared the common impression that the discourse was a congeries of our Lord's sayings, but this initial impression was gradually modified until he became convinced that as recorded by St. Matthew it is virtually a single consecutive utterance belonging on the whole to one and the same occasion. St. Luke's omission of certain passages and his few but remarkable additions seem to confirm the view that his is a broken-up report, whilst St. Matthew's is the connected sermon. The title apparently owes its origin to St. Augustine, who first treated the discourse as a separate entity. Dr. Savage supplies much interesting matter which throws light on the sermon. The sections on the Beatitudes, the Interpretation of the Law, and the Works of Righteousness are full of good things, and the notes on birds and flowers, and on the two builders, will be greatly prized by preachers and teachers. Dean Savage has found a rich vein, and has worked it out in a way that will enrich all who use his suggestive volume.

*The Epistle of St. James.* By the late F. J. A. Hort, D.D. (Macmillan & Co. 5s. net.)

This work was part of the Commentary on the books of the New Testament which Westcott, Lightfoot, and Hort planned in 1860. Mr. J. O. F. Murray shows the progress Dr. Hort made up to 1889. The Introduction and Commentary have been printed substantially as they stand in the MS., and although the notes only extend to Chapter iv. 7, the work is practically complete as far as it goes. It is 'finished work in every line.' Dr. Hort worked on the theory that a knowledge of Greek was anything but exceptional in Palestine, and finds the Epistle of St. James full of implied references to the words of the Lord in their Greek form. In his Introduction the chief place is given to authorship. He thinks the Epiphanian theory has a decided preponderance, and hence describes the writer of the epistle as 'James the First, bishop or head of Jerusalem, brother of the Lord as being son of Joseph by a former wife, not one

of the Twelve, a disbeliever in our Lord's Messiahship during His lifetime, but a believer in Him shortly afterwards, probably in connexion with a special appearance vouchsafed to him.' He inclines to the opinion that it was written to correct a misuse and misinterpretation of St. Paul's teaching, and that the true date is 60 A.D. or a little later. The notes show that fine combination of learning and strong sense which mark all Dr. Hort's work, and they are lighted up by many felicitous quotations and illustrations. Every scholar will want to have this masterpiece on his shelves.

*St. Matthew's Gospel.* With Introduction and Notes by Rev. Edward E. Anderson, M.A., East Kilbride. (T. & T. Clark. 2s. 6d.) This latest addition to the 'Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students' is especially welcome, as few first-rate commentaries on the First Gospel have been published during recent years. In an excellent 'Introduction' Mr. Anderson proves himself abreast of modern scholarship and competent to deal with 'The Sources of the First Gospel,' &c. The notes are clear and full; an Appendix contains articles on the Pharisees and the Sadducees, the Kingdom of God, the Son of Man, and the Son of God.

*La Valeur Historique du Quatrième Évangile.* Par M. Lepin, Professeur au Grand Séminaire de Lyon. (Paris: Letouzey et Ané. Two vols. 8 francs.)

This is an elaborate and detailed examination by one of the most acute and learned of the French Catholic divines of the theories current amongst the leading critics of St. John's Gospel in England, France, and Germany, with special reference throughout to Loisy's work. The author shows an intimate acquaintance, not only with the Gospel itself, but with the whole literature of the subject, and has an easy mastery of the material needed for his work. As an answer to M. Loisy, and, incidentally, to such critics as Dr. A. E. Abbott, Professors Schmiedel, Holtzmann, Wrede, &c., we do not know its equal; whilst, on almost every topic treated, the expositor will find fresh light. The conclusions reached by the author are almost identical with those arrived at by Dr. Davison in his article on the Fourth Gospel in Hastings's one-volume dictionary. But, of course, the whole subject is treated with much greater completeness and detail. The first volume deals with the inci-

dents and stories in the Gospel, and the second with the discourses, and all are shown to be in substantial harmony with the Synoptics and altogether inconsistent with the theory of symbolism. This is a work of the first importance and of the highest order : it is a pleasure and a duty to commend it.

*The Study of Religion in the Italian Universities.* By L. H. Jordan in collaboration with B. Labanca. (Frowde : 1909. 6s. net.)

The centre of this book consists of a translation of a little work, written by Professor Labanca nearly twenty years ago, on the *Hindrances to the Study of Religion in the Universities of Italy*. In the opening and closing sections Mr. Jordan supplies supplementary notes and pleas, bringing the study up to date. Professor Labanca, who co-operates throughout, occupies the chair of the History of Christianity in the University of Rome. He expressly disclaims the title of Modernist, but does not clearly define his theological position. What troubles him is the abolition of the theological faculties in 1873 with the alleged failure of the Government to redeem its pledge to revive the study under new conditions. Yet, full as the book is of interest for all who believe in the liberty of thought and conscience, the suggestions made are not always reassuring. A cleavage between laity and clergy of such a kind that the former only are allowed to study the facts of religion in a purely historical way would involve serious harm to both of the parties. Nor is it a counsel of freedom that 'the modern State is bound to restrain the spiritual power of religious faith in the interests of the expanding power of science.' Professor Labanca has inherited great traditions, but he has evidently something to learn before he can comprehend or rightly expound the conception of spiritual liberty. The value of his book arises from its character as a generally well-informed investigation of theological tendencies in Italy, and from its relation to the problem, which is becoming acute in other countries also, how to provide higher instruction in comparative religion without either magnifying minutiae or conceding facility and privilege to merely Confessional differences.

*Orders and Unity.* By Charles Gore, D.D. (Murray. 3s. 6d. net.)

The Bishop of Birmingham may always be relied on to present his case with absolute fairness and candour, and greatly as we differ from his views we are grateful to him for thinking out this subject again and putting his matured judgements into this compact and lucid volume. It is idle to talk of reunion when such views are held as to ordination grace and apostolical succession. The bishop admits that presbyters and bishops are the same persons in the New Testament. The rule of a single bishop in each church he acknowledges to be of later date. The theory of the uninterrupted succession may look well on paper, but we believe, as John Wesley did, that it is 'a fable, which no man ever did or can prove.' Dr. Gore's theory leaves Protestants outside the appointed channel of grace, and though he is far too large-minded to deny that they have divine grace, that admission really shows that its bestowal is not confined to one channel. Some of the bishop's analogies sound very strange, and though he does not limit the grace of God, his whole argument presents a hopeless barrier to reunion. He holds that the Protestant doctrine that salvation lies in a certain relation of the individual soul to God in Christ is 'in glaring discrepancy with the New Testament as it stands.' It is one thing to think out such a subject in the study, it is another thing to bring it out to face the realities of history and experience. The bishop passes lightly over these aspects of the subject, but no one can truly face them without seeing how the doctrine laid down in the chapter on 'The Church as the Home of Salvation' breaks down hopelessly. The obligation of belonging to the visible Church may be fully admitted, but that does not imply that it may not assume many different forms suited to the needs of its members.

Mr. Murray also issues *The Incarnation of the Son of God* (2s. 6d. net.). It is the eleventh edition of Dr. Gore's Bampton Lecture for 1891, and has long taken rank as a classic on the subject.

*Unity and Fellowship.* (S.P.C.K. 1s. 6d.) This valuable little volume gives the four addresses delivered by the Bishop of Salisbury in 1909 at the eighth triennial visitation of his diocese. The first presents the case against Welsh disestablishment from a Churchman's point of view; the second deals with

**Home Reunion in Scotland.** Dr. Wordsworth defends the suggestion that chosen Presbyterian ministers might be ordained to the episcopate without being first required to receive priest's orders from a bishop. The paper is very interesting and broad-minded. An address on 'The Roman Church and Christian Unity' defends the Anglican rejection of papal claims. Accounts are also given of the visit paid to Germany by representatives of British Churches, and the Commission which went to Sweden.

*The Faith and Modern Thought.* Six Lectures by William Temple. (Macmillan & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Temple delivered these lectures last November and December under the auspices of the London Intercollegiate Christian Union. Those who heard them will be grateful for this volume, and they will now reach a wider circle of those young thinkers for whom they were prepared. Mr. Temple begins with that religious experience which is the first evidence to the religious man of the existence of God. It demands further support, and Mr. Temple finds this in 'investigating the impulse which lies at the root of all scientific procedure, the impulse to grasp the world as an intellectually satisfactory whole, seeing how all the parts are connected together by intelligible principles.' He then deals with the fact of Christ, and opens up its nature and significance. The chapter on the Atonement is excellent, and the whole book is strong, reverent, and sagacious. It will strengthen the faith of many.

*Thoughts on the Divine Love.* By Frederick Temple, late Archbishop of Canterbury. (S.P.C.K. 2s.)

Ten sermons are here reprinted from Dr. Temple's Rugby sermons, and to these are added three other sermons, notes for the Three Hours' Meditation at St. Paul's in 1890, and three letters to his son William on the Epistle to the Hebrews. The Good Friday sermons are said to have had a unique effect on those who heard them, and that we can well understand. They are mighty appeals to the conscience and heart, full of the love of God and the grace of Christ. The whole book has the force of deep conviction, and no man who is seeking light and strength can fail to be helped by it. We are grateful to his son for putting it into our hands.

*The Mission and Ministration of the Holy Spirit.* By A. C. Downer, M.A, D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 7s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Downer's book will prove useful to the student and profitable to the devout. It is a systematic treatment upon orthodox lines of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit as set forth in Scripture, with a brief summary of the historical development to the time of John of Damascus. Comprehensiveness rather than detailed fullness is described by the author as his object, but there is no adequate discussion of the important problems of assurance. Special attention is given to an examination of the nature and purpose of the gift at Pentecost, and some of the conclusions would be more convincing if the sacramentarian principle had not been allowed to play so large a part. A serious defect is the absence of a textual index, which is only partially atoned for by a long and very careful analytical table of contents. But on the whole the subject is well covered, with a due recognition of the claims of proportion and unity, and many of the pages are stimulating both to thought and to piety.

*The Pilgrim Church, and other Sermons.* By the Rev. Percy C. Ainsworth. (Culley. 3s. 6d. net.)

These sermons may be described as the fine flower of Methodist culture, which, from the beginning, has been at once spiritual, poetical, and intellectual. They are as full of fragrance as of beauty, and they bear within themselves the seeds of sermons which, in years to come, will sweeten and adorn and vivify the more secluded and selectest corners of the garden of the Lord. If anything, they are almost too spiritual for ordinary use. They ought, at all events, to be reserved for our most sacred hours. As we read them, we can almost hear the voice of their now, alas! departed author saying, as he spreads his feast before us, 'Come, let us break the Bread of Life in holy love together. Let us drink of the new wine of joy, the ever young life of our ageless Christ. Let us pass the cup of blessing unto one another. Let us be glad in the gladness of the salvation of God.' After reading them, we are more in the mood for a monody than for writing a review, and gladly turn to Lycidas to see how Milton managed to contribute to his friend 'the meed of a melodious tear.' But 'there is nothing here for tears'; there is abundant cause for thankful-

ness to God for so great a gift to the Church, and to the friends of the author for this precious legacy of poetry and truth. From these sermons to the finest religious poetry is no abrupt transition; it is scarcely a perceptible ascent: they are full of poetic feeling, fancy, and suggestion, and it is not surprising to learn from the 'Foreword' by the Rev. Wilfred Hackett that, like Milton's friend, the author 'knew himself to sing, and build the lofty rhyme.' 'Will he also take a place among the makers of thought?' asks Mr. Hackett, after a reference to Robertson of Brighton. We think he will. Every paragraph, every sentence almost of these fine discourses is impregnated with deep and subtle thought, and teems with germinant suggestions. We do not think the world will let them die. Here, at all events, is what Milton called 'a good book,' which 'is the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life'; and, in the words of an even greater writer than Milton, we would remind the younger ministers of all the churches, in commending this exceptionally valuable volume to their notice, that

Spirits are not finely touched  
But to fine issues, nor Nature never lends  
The smallest scruple of her excellence  
But, like a thrifty goddess, she determines  
Herself the glory of a creditor,  
Both thanks and use.

*The Return of the Angels.* By Rev. G. H. Morrison, M.A. (Hodder & Stoughton. 5s.)

This is a volume of popular sermons of the very best kind. Like all the volumes which have preceded it, it is thoughtful without being recondite, ingenious but never strained, simple but not easy. The writer has a genius for laying hold of a truth and holding it up in many lights until it has revealed something of its beauty, and of applying that truth to the common life of quite ordinary men. The first quality of the book is the unexpected, and hence surprise in the reader at finding so gracious a gem in such a familiar place. And this always leads to interest, delight, and profit. It would be entirely invidious to call attention to any one of the sermons, for all of them are of such high excellence; and we are confident that no one can read this volume, especially if he be a preacher, without very great mental stimulus, real suggestion, and spiritual profit.

The volume is a worthy successor of those that have preceded it, and will carry the name of the preacher farther and farther afield.

*Social Relationships in the Light of Christianity.* By W. E. Chadwick, D.D. (Longmans. 5s. net.)

These are the Hulsean Lectures for 1909-10, and Dr. Chadwick's experience in Northampton and other large centres is turned to good account. His first lecture deals with 'Present Conditions' as they affect relationships in the family, in commerce, in the pastorate, and between citizen and State. The second and third lectures set forth the ideal of the Old Testament and of the New; the last deals with 'Possibilities of Reform.' Full notes are given at the close of each lecture, and the subject is dealt with in a broad-minded way that wins respect and confidence. St. Paul's demand was for a Christ-inspired and a Christ-empowered moral life, and Dr. Chadwick maintains that the influence of the Church and of the social movement must interpenetrate each other. He sees that in every branch and section of the Christian Church tens of thousands of earnest men and women are setting themselves to spread Christianity by bringing its spirit into all social relationships. The whole outlook here presented is full of inspiration to fresh devotion and courage.

*The Doctrine of the Atonement Chiefly as Set Forth in the Epistle to the Hebrews.* By Rev. J. B. Oldroyd, M.A., Vicar of Brantingham. (E. Stock. 2s. net.)

This booklet is meant to 'supply the felt want of some popular manual for devotional or Lenten reading.' The seven short chapters, with no headings or table of contents, sketch the chief aspects of the subject in concise, simple terms, the material being taken from the whole of the New Testament. We cannot say that there is anything original or striking in the treatment, nor is much reference made to the great writers on the all-important subject.

*Religion: its Place and Power.* By H. M. Dale, M.A. (Allenson. 3s. 6d. net.)

This is a book for thinkers enriched by extracts from the great students of religion. It deals with the definition of religion, its prevalence, origin, evolution, and kindred subjects.

Modern comparative methods are used, and Mr. Dale avails himself of the light of recent research. The influence of religion on character is well brought out. Mr. Dale is alive to new truth, yet loyal to the old, and his book deserves careful reading.

*Church Questions of our Time.* By J. B. Paton, M.A., D.D. (J. Clarke & Co. 3s. net.)

Dr. Paton here reprints five elaborate essays on Church questions along with a new essay. The first three are exhaustive studies of the Origin of Priesthood in the Church, the Anglican System, and Papal Infallibility; the second three are on the relations of Church and State in Germany. The object of the entire work is to help in the discussions on these questions now going on. The author believes that 'in our own country disestablishment will ere long be *un fait accompli*,' and is not altogether happy in the prospect. What has taken place in Ireland and France is instructive; at least it shows the trend of things. One important duty of the State is to guard the civil rights of members of churches against ecclesiastical arrogance. It seems as if the papal pretensions of the Middle Ages may find modern advocates and a modern revival. The volume furnishes much material for serious reflection, and should be helpful in impending discussions. Three valuable appendices are added. That on 'Recent Revolts Against Rome' gives much information as to the Old Catholic and similar movements which have been summarily suppressed or have run to seed. Will the Modernist 'Revolt,' widespread as it is, have a different fate? Chancellor Lias urges strongly the formation of a society to help such movements with counsel and sympathy. 'For such objects I have laboured for the last forty years. But so far "I have laboured in vain and spent my strength for nought."'

*What was the Resurrection?* By Forbes Phillips, Vicar of Gorleston. (Francis Griffiths. 3s. 6d. net.)

According to the author, not a bodily resurrection. Positively stated, it was a spiritual resurrection, which amounts to saying that 'Jesus was living,' which again is true, according to the author's own belief in immortality, of every human being. What is there 'stupendous' in this? Paul seems to be regarded as a believer in a 'spiritual' resurrection only.

But this is no resurrection at all. The use of the word in such a sense would be an error. The writer deals largely in strong assertion, and appeals to philosophy, psychology, psychical research, evolution, opponents old and new; but he proves nothing. What proof is it to be told that 'Schenkel, Keim, Baur, Weizsäcker, Harnack, Wernle have convinced themselves that the narratives which support the flesh-and-blood theory of the Risen Saviour are late interpolations or additions'? We could give a list of more trustworthy writers who have 'convinced themselves' of the opposite. There can be no doubt that the apostles preached and the first Churches believed in the bodily resurrection. In this case Christianity, according to the author, was built on a prodigious mistake, or worse.

*The New Testament in the Revised Version of 1881, with Fuller References* (Cambridge University Press), has been eagerly looked for by Bible students. The editors, Dr. Greenup and Dr. James H. Moulton, were trained in Dr. Moulton's principles and methods, so that they were well prepared for the duty that was laid upon them after his death in 1898. They successfully finished the set of abridged references which he had begun. It was felt, however, that the original intention to publish the unabridged references should be carried out. There was much to be done in bringing up the references in the earlier books to the same standard as the later, introducing references to the Apocrypha, and generally preparing the work for the press. The Synoptic Gospels especially had to be provided with references on the same scale as that adopted for the Epistles. The task had been very laborious, but it has been carried through with the utmost skill and devotion. The scheme of notation is admirably clear. The references are printed at the foot of the page. A simple index letter is used where there is a close parallel; 'cited' or 'cited from' is prefixed to actual quotations; 'cp.' to passages partially identical; 'see' where reference is made to a parallel passage on which a body of references has been collected. References in thick type in the Synoptic Gospels indicate substantial identity between passages. The work has been done with an exactness that will commend it to all who use this edition, and it will soon find its way into the hands of all students. No such set of references has ever been at their service; the preparation of them has been a costly offering, but it will be well repaid by the enriched work of the teachers and preachers who use the edition.

*The Heroes and Martyrs of Faith.* By A. S. Peake, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 5s.)

The eleventh of Hebrews is one of those Bible pages which never lose power to enthrall and inspire. Professor Peake lights up the brief biographies in these suggestive studies. They have not the magic of Dean Vaughan's expositions, but they are the work of a scholar and exegete of no mean order, and there is rich matter both for teachers and for devotional use in this forcible and beautiful book. Critical and historical problems were not on the horizon of the writer of the epistle, and Prof. Peake therefore leaves them aside as irrelevant.

Mr. Francis Griffiths sends us seven new *Essays for the Times* (6d. net). Principal Lindsay writes admirably on *Revivals*, Principal Adeney on *The Resurrection*; Professor Witton Davies's subject is *The Survival of the Evangelical Faith*, the Rev. H. D. A. Mayor deals with *St. Paul's Presentation of Christ*, and other vital subjects are discussed in a suggestive way by competent scholars. We are not absolutely in accord with every statement, but that only adds to the interest with which we have turned over these essays. Mr. Griffiths also issues *The Churchman's Pulpit* (Part 7, 1s. 6d. net), which gives sermons and addresses for the Fifth Sunday in Lent. Thomas Arnold, Dean Vaughan, and other preachers have been skilfully laid under contribution by the editor, the Rev. J. H. Burn, B.D.

*Rules and Instructions for a Holy Life, and Prayers and Meditations.* By Archbishop Leighton. Selected and edited, with an Introduction, by the Rev. James Dinwoodie. (Longmans. 2s. net.) The Bishop of Durham's prefatory note and Mr. Dinwoodie's Introduction form a happy vestibule to the inner sanctuary where Leighton draws all who enter into closer fellowship with God. It has been said of the 'Rules' that 'the truly pious can scarce find more profitable reading beside the Bible'; the 'Prayers and Meditations' are drawn from 'that ethereal book, the Commentary on 1 Peter.' They are helps to holy living which will grow more precious as they are pondered and translated into practice.

Dr. Garvie's little book, *Life and Teaching of Paul* (Jack, 1s.), is packed with matter. Its chapters are headed Paul the Scribe, the believer, the missionary, the builder, the theologian, the moralist, the martyr. It is a handbook which

theologians will value, and which young students will find a judicious and most suggestive guide.

*Building the Walls* (Macmillan, 2s. net) is 'a book of prayer and thanksgiving for family and private use' of quite exceptional interest. It has been much appreciated among the compiler's friends, and the Archbishop of Canterbury says in a graceful Introduction that he has himself tested its value with steadily increasing gratitude. Those who use the book are left to pick out what will suit the needs of the morning or evening worship. There is a good index, and the prayers are grouped under divisions: Morning and evening; prayers for various graces; for special occasions; intercessions; and selected prayers. The source of the prayer is given and the selection is catholic in spirit. The prayers are not long, and happily combine thought and feeling. We regard the little book as a treasure. Bishop Andrewes's Commemoration of the Dead has a sentence that some of us would prefer to omit.

*Footsteps in the Path of Life*, by Marcus Dods, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton, 3s. 6d.), is a set of Meditations and Prayers for every Sunday in the year, with some pulpit prayers added. There is much food for devout thought here, though the book does not sparkle.

*Mutual Recognition in the Life Beyond*. By H. H. T. Cleife, M.A. (E. Stock. 2s. net.) These extracts from many authors are neatly arranged as food for daily meditations. There is much good and suggestive matter, and many will find the volume refreshing to mind and heart.

*Stray Thoughts*. By Elizabeth Downes (R. Culley. 1s.)

The keynote of this dainty little volume is Redemption. From the Preface we gather that these 'Thoughts' were written at long intervals, with no references save to the Bible and the hymnbook. In her eighty-seventh year the author ventured to hope that they might be of some use to those 'on the journey homeward.' To her, Jesus is Redeemer, Saviour, Advocate, Mediator, and Intercessor. Many will be glad to possess this tribute of her love for her Divine Master.

*Miniature Sermons for Busy People*. By the Rev. H. O. Mackey. (E. Stock. 2s. 6d. net.) The little sermons fill about eight pages each, and are very clearly arranged and well phrased. Mr. Mackey has produced some good volumes of illustrations, and these sermons will be much appreciated.

## HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL

*The Cambridge Modern History.* Edited by A. W. Ward, Litt.D., G. W. Prothero, Litt.D., Stanley Leathes, M.A. Vol. VI. The Eighteenth Century. (Cambridge University Press. 16s. net.)

THIS volume of the *Cambridge Modern History* has special interest for students of Wesley's life and times. It stretches from the Peace of Utrecht to the outbreak of the French Revolution. Dr. Ward himself contributes the opening section on 'The Hanoverian Secession.' He gives a brief history of the antecedents of the House of Hanover. In the interval between the death of William III and that of Queen Anne the Electress Sophia remained 'true to herself and to the line of conduct which her judgement had marked out for her, in her conduct towards the English Crown and Parliament, and in her daily intercourse with friends and well-wishers, sincere or insincere.' Had she lived to become Queen of England, Dr. Ward thinks she would have been a really popular ruler, 'for none of our queens has surpassed her in intellectual clearness and courage, in geniality of disposition, and in lowliness of soul.' Mr. Temperley's chapter on 'The Age of Walpole and the Pelhams' brings out the 'genuine merits' of George I and George II. 'Each showed a judicious patronage towards learning, both in England and in Hanover, and, though they have been accused of despising the arts, few of their subjects had so genuine a love for music, or showed so good a taste in appreciating it.' The chapter is one of sustained interest, and its concluding section on the Evangelical Revival gives evidence of wide knowledge and enlightened sympathy. The state of things under which the Wesleys and Whitefield began their work is thus described: 'The religious and social condition of the masses under the two Georges is the severest condemnation of the religious life of the period. The masses were ignorant and brutalized, and their numbers and demoralization rapidly increased. The mediaeval corporations in town or city were powerless to cope with the growing evils of industrial life; the Government pandered to mob passions by public executions or

by unworthy concessions to mob violence, and insulted humanity by the brutal ferocity of its criminal code. A governing class intent only on pleasure or politics, a Church occupied chiefly with patronage and controversy, were now to feel the force of a great religious wave which was to beat on every wall of privilege.' Justice is done to Whitefield's gifts as an orator and to Wesley's 'faculty of commanding obedience, of awaking inspiration.' We should not endorse the next phrase, which speaks of Wesley's 'general aspect of imperious tyrannic strength,' and we think Mr. Temperley needs to revise his verdict as to Wesley's general influence and the effect of his work on art and literature. The fact is that Wesley carried sunshine with him into every social circle, and made his people lovers of good reading. He did more to soften the manners of working men in England and to brighten home life than any man of his century. The bibliography of this section is wonderfully full and exact. Mr. J. M. Rigg contributes a too brief study of 'The King's Friends.' That was the title by which the avowed supporters of prerogative who surrounded the young King George III came to be known. Bute was their leader, and their object was to secure the king against the danger of falling beneath the yoke of the Whig oligarchy. The story of this futile struggle is told with masterly succinctness, and throws light on many phases of political life down to the fall of Lord North's administration in 1782. Mr. Armstrong writes on 'The Bourbon Government in France and Spain' and on 'The War of the Austrian Succession'; Dr. Daniels on 'The Seven Years' War' and on 'Frederick the Great and his Successor'; Mr. Edmundson on 'Spain and Portugal.' Every Englishman ought to study the chapter on 'India.' The contrast between Warren Hastings and Burke is well brought out. Burke allowed his feelings to carry him beyond the boundaries of taste and decency, and to visit the condemnation justly incurred by the system upon the head of the individual who was called to administer it. The volume is full of things which invite discussion, and the bibliographies will be a real boon to all students.

*Historical Essays.* By James Ford Rhodes, LL.D., D.Litt. (Macmillan. 8s. 6d.)

The writings of the American historian Dr. J. F. Rhodes are not perhaps quite so well known among English readers

as they deserve to be. We therefore welcome the appearance of this very attractive volume, which will doubtless fall into the hands of many to whom it will serve as an introduction to an historical writer who should not be overlooked. To the general reader with a *penchant* for history in its lighter form these essays will appeal, while the young student will find much therein to stimulate his interest in his favourite subject, and can hardly fail to glean some useful hints as to sundry lines of study which he may follow up with both pleasure and profit. Even those who have some fuller acquaintance with the subject will find certain of these essays—notably the first four—at once suggestive and helpful. One of the most pleasing features of the volume is the series of critical sketches of historical writers which it contains. These vary in length from the rapid thumbnail sketch to the somewhat extended treatment accorded to Gibbon. Herodotus, Thucydides, Tacitus, among the ancients, and the moderns Hume, Robertson, Carlyle, Macaulay, Buckle, Parkman, Motley, Froude, Stubbs, Green, Gardiner, and Bryce are some only of those whose work is passed in review. But while Mommsen and one or two others are mentioned, the German historians generally do not receive the notice that their importance demands. Among modern writers, though he does not express it in quite these terms, Dr. Rhodes appears to award the place of supreme merit to Gibbon, Gardiner, and Stubbs. With this finding it can hardly be expected that all should agree, and there are other great names which might compete with those of the foregoing on something like equal terms. But, whatever the claims of others to be ranked with them, the claim of the three named, and the earliest of them perhaps most of all, to be ranked among the greatest modern masters of history is hardly open to dispute. Froude, on the other hand, falls somewhat heavily under the lash; but the criticism to which he is subjected does not, on the whole, seem to us to be unfair. Among the more popular historians, Macaulay and Carlyle are subjected to some criticism, but ample recognition is made of their splendid services and their real right to a conspicuous place in the temple of fame. As might have been expected, much of Dr. Rhodes's volume is devoted to persons and matters American. In this portion of his work we have received an introduction to some writers, not perhaps of the very first rank, but worthy of being held in remembrance, whose names we must confess had been hitherto

unknown to us, or known as names and nothing more—and such an introduction it is extremely desirable that English readers should have. Conspicuous among these American papers is one dealing with 'The Presidential Office,' which will especially commend itself to those interested in history upon its constitutional side. The style of the volume is clear, it is eminently good reading; and if, in the main, it is history in lighter vein, it is by no means without weight, and will form a pleasing addition to any historical library.

*A History of Christianity in Japan (1549–1909).* By Otis Cary, D.D. Two vols. (Fleming H. Revell Co. 15s. net.)

Dr. Cary has spent thirty years in Japan as an agent of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. His Japanese scholarship and his knowledge of actual conditions in that country give peculiar value to this history. Its first volume is taken up with the story of Xavier and the Roman Catholic missionaries who did such heroic work in Japan; the last fifty pages describe the missions of the Greek Orthodox Church. Dr. Cary's sense of the errors of these great Churches does not blind him to the sacrifices they have made, and he rejoices in what they have accomplished in Christ's name. The story is one of martyrdom and disappointments, but it sends a thrill through every Christian heart. The second volume deals with Protestant missions during the last fifty years. Dr. Cary gives prominence to the work of the American Board, which he knows best, but he does not overlook the missions conducted by the C.M.S., the Presbyterians, and the American and Canadian Methodists. The fact, however, remains that they are subsidiary, and this detracts somewhat from the completeness of the record. Religious liberty was not assured to the people of Japan until 1889, though the edict boards which prohibited Christianity had been removed in 1873. In 1866 the American missionaries had a translation of the Gospels ready, but were afraid to issue it, for whoever was converted by reading them might be legally put to death with all his family. For eleven years after religious liberty was assured there was a period of retarded growth. Dr. Cary gives an illuminating explanation of the causes which led to this check to the work. The Buddhists felt that their influence was waning, and put forth every effort to hinder the gospel. They began, also, to see

that the corruption and indolence of their priesthood were bringing Buddhism into contempt. They bestirred themselves to introduce reforms, to establish schools, Buddhist young men's societies, and various forms of philanthropic service. Dr. Cary speaks warmly of the effect which Mr. John R. Mott's visits produced on Japanese schools and colleges, and gives a hopeful account of present conditions and future prospects. He quotes Dr. Griffis's pamphlet *Christ the Creator of the New Japan*: 'Behind almost every one of the radical reforms that have made a new Japan stands a man—too often a martyr—who was directly moved by the spirit of Jesus, or who is or was a pupil of the missionaries.' Dr. Cary's book will inspire all the Churches to new efforts, that Japan may be won for Christ, and may help to win the Far East for Him.

*The Revolution in Constantinople and Turkey: a Diary.*

By Sir W. M. Ramsay, with Episodes and Photographs by Lady Ramsay. (Hodder & Stoughton. 10s. 6d. net.)

Few events of our day have caused more surprise or been more heartily welcomed than the revolution here chronicled. Few or none suspected that modern ideas had penetrated the Turkish mind so far as to make a revolution possible, and few revolutions have been carried through at such small cost. The diarists reached Constantinople on the very eve of the change. The rumours and impressions of the day are recorded on the spot, notes at the foot of the page often correcting the contents of the text. On Friday, April 24, Abd-ul-Hamid pays his last visit to the mosque in apparent security and confidence, the next day his power is upset, the following Friday, May 1, Mohammed V pays his first visit to the mosque. The old Sultan had planned a wholesale massacre of Christians on the day when the delivering army occupied the city. The diary is fresh and living. British influence is pictured as weak and mistaken in comparison with that of Germany and Austria. The diary is introduced by a chapter briefly sketching the situation, and is followed by the story of the journey in Asia Minor. The terrible massacre of Armenians at Adana at the instigation of the old Sultan is recorded—the last, we hope, of a long series of atrocities. The part played by Turkish ladies in the revolution is another remarkable feature in the story. The numerous

illustrations of the volume are excellent. A sketch-map of Constantinople would have made the diary easier to trace.

*The Reformation in Scotland: Causes, Characteristics, Consequences.* By David Hay Fleming, LL.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 10s. 6d. net.)

These lectures were delivered at Princeton Theological Seminary in 1907-8, and discuss questions which have been ignored or superficially treated in previous works on the Scottish Reformation. The first lecture gives some interesting facts about the early 'heretics' of Scotland, among whom were James Resby, burnt at Perth in 1407, and Paul Craw, who suffered at St. Andrews in 1433. So far from extirpating Lollardism, the testimony and constancy of these martyrs did much to open the eyes of Scottish Churchmen. Dr. Fleming gives an appalling description of the immorality and ignorance of the clergy. One of the most readable chapters deals with 'Clerical Credulity, Imposture, and Rapacity.' Our information about Scotland is much less ample than about England, but it had its 'wonder-working and pecuniarily valuable relics.' In 1300 Boniface VII alleged that Scotland had been miraculously converted to the Christian faith by the relics of St. Andrew. These were said to be preserved in the Cathedral of St. Andrews. Edward I offered a golden ouch to the arm of the apostle, and his queen offered another. The chapter on the influence of the Bible in bringing about the Reformation is full of good things, and the whole book is fresh and of absorbing interest.

*Saint Ignatius Loyola.* By Francis Thompson. Edited by J. H. Belen, S.J. With 100 Illustrations by H. W. Brewer and others. (Burns & Oates. 10s. 6d. net.)

Francis Thompson accepted the commission to write this life of St. Ignatius some years before his death, and addressed himself to the task with alacrity. He did not attempt original research, but studied his subject carefully at the British Museum. On his death in November 1907 his MS. was found to be complete; better still, it was seen that the subject had taken hold of his imagination. It is a living work, with movement and atmosphere, and, above all, with a generous appreciation of the soldier who, with long patience, made himself a scholar and arrayed the scholarship of his day against the Reformation. It is a story which never loses its interest, and

those who are farthest removed in spirit and aim from Loyola will not grudge him the tribute of respectful admiration. The way in which he sent Xavier forth on his mission to the Indies with his favourite charge, 'Go, set all on fire and flame,' makes an impressive story, but the human touch is more sensibly felt in the history of the wilful and gay-tempered Pedro de Ribadaneira, whose pranks endeared him to the General and to the whole Society. Mr. Thompson compares the spell which Loyola cast on his congregations to that which Wesley exercised over John Nelson, who records that 'the Methodist leader, before one word spoken, impressed him with awe, and doubtless upon others among the waiting listeners the like sensation fell.' So Ribadaneira describes Ignatius: 'Even when he was silent, his countenance moved his hearers.' The wisdom and the tenacity of the Spaniard are alike remarkable. He had to face prolonged opposition both in Spain, France, and Italy, but he seldom failed to win over those who were prejudiced against him. He had a strong desire to fulfil his mission. When Lainez said he would gladly take the offer of immediate heaven, Ignatius declared, 'I would elect rather to stay and work on for the glory of God: I am sure He is a generous Master, and would not suffer harm to a soul that had delayed its own fruition of heaven to increase His glory here.' Mr. Thompson has steeped the old saint's life in poetry, and the fine illustrations of churches and cities as seen in Loyola's time add much to the value of a volume that is full of enduring interest.

*Pascal.* By Viscount St. Cyres. (Smith, Elder & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

This is a piece of work worthy to stand by the side of the writer's *François de Fénelon*. It is not merely a biography, but a study of the intellectual and spiritual movements with which Pascal is identified. Viscount St. Cyres has not overloaded his book with technical details as to the struggle with the Jesuits, though we have never seen so racy an account of the Provincial Letters and the effect which they produced in the memorable struggle between Port Royal and the Jesuits. The dramatic sides of Pascal's early scientific studies is made prominent. We see the clever boy admitted to the club of learned men in Paris. There he found out the art of asking questions, and measured himself against some of the chief

thinkers of the day. At Rouen he was impressed into the work of his father's office, and invented his famous calculating machine to deal with the vast columns of figures that had to be added up in the new finance department. Pascal's wrath with the Rouen watchmaker who ventured on similar experiments shows the hot blood of the clever youth, which also comes out in the heresy hunt he and two other youths set going against a derelict friar at Rouen. In that city the Pascal family themselves came under the influence of Jansenism. Blaise Pascal's conversion, and his younger sister's entrance into the convent at Port Royal, with the great struggle between the Jesuits in which Pascal played so notable a part, are told by Lord St. Cyres with details which throw new light on one of the great pages of religious history in France. It is now recognized that Pascal's 'mental development was as clear and unbroken as Spinoza's own.' He was taught in the Paris club to believe in the reign of universal law. He saw that in social life, as well as in science, Nature hides her secrets amid concrete facts, much as she hides her kernels in a nut. After the Jansenist struggle Pascal 'dwelt unceasingly on the healing powers of religion,' and took the original position as an apologist that religion was true because it agreed so well with human nature. The religious impulse was inborn, organic. All this is brought out with great insight and literary skill in this discriminating study.

*Antoinette Bourignon, Quietist.* By A. B. Macewen, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 3s. 6d. net.)

Professor Macewen's book will be of real service to all who are interested in one of the most remarkable women of the seventeenth century. She laid claim to an illumination which made her independent of the Bible, and had an overbearing belief in her own infallibility. The one qualification of a teacher, she held, was perfect union with God, and that union she professed to enjoy. This position discredited her work, 'making it unpopular and ineffective by her unchristian arrogance. And, biographically, it explains the storms and the shipwreck of her later life. As a Quietist who was reckless and self-assured in controversy, a Christian who in the name of God denounced Christian doctrine, she condemned herself to ruin.' Dr. Macewen says that 'John Wesley recognized the verve and force with which she assailed predestinarianism, and, with his robust

and almost reckless eclecticism, placed in the hands of his adherents portions of her writings which emphasized vividly the value of conduct and contended effectively against antinomian conceptions of grace.' The book is a striking study of a life full of sorrows and disappointments, but marked by unflinching faith and courage.

*Letters of John Mason Neale, D.D.* Selected and Edited by his Daughter. (Longmans & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

This volume is a welcome supplement to Mrs. Towle's biography. It shows us how Neale was led to that great work as a translator of Latin and Greek hymns which has made the whole Church his debtor, and it enables us to follow more closely the foundation of the great sisterhood at East Grinstead. Neale had a real gift of vivacious description, and his letters are racy reading. Some of the best are accounts of travel in various parts of Europe, but those written from the West of England on his visits to churches are scarcely less interesting. In Tony Church the squire had built a pew in the chancel; 'when the Commandments are begun, a servant regularly enters at the chancel door with the luncheon-tray.' At one place a clergyman had to conduct a baptism and found no water in the font. When he asked for water a glass was brought, as the clerk thought he wanted to drink. They never used water there at a baptism. Neale had to resign the only preferment he held—the small living of Crawley—on account of ill-health. This compelled him to use his pen for a livelihood. In 1846 he was appointed Warden of Sackville College, East Grinstead, where many were at first greatly incensed against him by his Puseyism. The long persecution was hard to bear, but he and his wife showed no lack of courage, and by-and-by they were left in peace. The founding of the St. Margaret's Sisterhood in 1854 brought endless labour on Neale. He was the motive power of the enterprise, and taught the sisters that the meanest thing they had to do was glorious if 'done for Him.' Some wonderful stories are told of the devotion of the sisters. At one time Neale had not been able to walk through the streets of East Grinstead without being hooted at and having dogs set at him. Now he was treated with marked civility. Meanwhile his reputation was steadily growing, and when he died on August 6, 1866, at the age of

forty-eight, he was generally acknowledged to have been 'one of the best linguists, one of the sweetest hymnodists, and perhaps the foremost liturgicist of the time.' This volume will make those who differ most from Neale as a High Churchman recognize both the genius and the goodness of an extraordinary man.

*Abraham Lincoln, the People's Leader in the Struggle for National Existence.* By George H. Putnam, Litt.D. (G. P. Putnam's Sons. 6s. net.)

Mr. Putnam was Brevet-Major 176th Regiment, N.Y.S. Volunteers, during the Civil War, and heard Lincoln's historic speech at the Cooper Institute, New York, in February 1860, which revealed him to a critical audience as the providential leader in the coming struggle with the South. That speech is given in this volume, with valuable annotations by Judge Nott and Mr. Brainerd. It is a masterly survey of the whole situation, and closes with that note to which Lincoln's whole course rang true: 'Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it.' Mr. Putnam was one of the speakers selected to give addresses in New York on February 12, 1909, the centenary of Lincoln's birth, and he has expanded the speech which he then delivered into this study of the great President's character and career. It is not a biography, but it lays bare the secret of Lincoln's power, and shows with what heroic patience and courage he fulfilled his mission. Incompetent generals caused him much difficulty and anxiety, and his cabinet needed to be guided and controlled at every point. We have never seen his task explained as it is in this fine study. Mr. Putnam writes in the spirit in which Lincoln acted during those crucial years. The President 'in place of emphasizing antagonisms, held consistently that the highest interest of one section of the country must be the real interest of the whole people, and that the ruler of the nation had upon him the responsibility of so shaping the national policy that all the people should recognize the government as their government.' We have found the descriptions of the course of the war and of Lincoln's difficulties really illuminating, and no one who wishes to understand the historic struggle could have a better guide than this fascinating study.

**Recollections.** By Washington Gladden. (Constable & Co.)

This venerable American pastor and author was born at a hamlet in Pennsylvania in 1836. His father was a school teacher and a Methodist local preacher. His boy often accompanied him to camp-meetings and revivals, and still feels the pang caused by his early death. For some years the fatherless lad lived with an uncle who found in books the chief recreation of his laborious life as a farmer. A medical student taught the district school during the winter months, and inspired young Gladden with a zest for study which finally led him to enter Williams College under Mark Hopkins. In 1859 he took charge of his first church, and for more than fifty years has been at work as a Christian minister. For four years he was editor of the religious news of the *New York Independent*, and was brought into contact with many of the foremost men of the time, of whom he has much that is interesting to tell. As to his own life, his matured judgement is that there is no place of influence in the world in which a man can be as free as in the Christian pulpit. We are glad to have been allowed to share these pleasing Recollections.

**Memories.** By Charles H. Kelly. (R. Culley. 3s. 6d. net.)

A host of friends all over England, and not a few in the Colonies and in the United States, will rejoice over this treasure-house of Memories. It is gloriously alive. We almost hear again the familiar voice, and find to our surprise and delight that the sparkling wit, the laughter and the tears have managed to transfer themselves to the printed page. Mr. Kelly tells us enough of his boyhood to show what an eager little mortal he must have been, and his disgust at the first bit of sectarianism that he met in Manchester proves that the child was indeed father to the man. He remembered Manchester when the Borough-reeve was still its chief official, and pays tribute to the first mayor, who used to visit the police stations on Sunday evenings in order to deal with the Saturday night charges of drunkenness, so that prisoners might not lose a day's wages by being brought into court on Monday. It will surprise many to read about Robert Newton preaching to a handful of people in Oldham Road, Manchester, after the Warrenite disturbances. 'Spurgeon's voice was not to be compared with New-

ton's.' Mr. Kelly gives a delightful account of his student days at Didsbury, but his record becomes historic with his appointment to Aldershot. There he did work which it warms one's heart even to read about, though forty years are gone. Methodism then had to fight for its footing in the Army, but Dr. Rule and his young lieutenant never feared the face of man. They knew how to conquer opposition even when it came from distinguished officers, and Methodism in the Army has never looked back since those stirring times. Mr. Kelly's success as Sunday-school Secretary and as Book Steward is part of modern Methodism, and incidents of it are here told in inimitable fashion. The book bears witness on every page to the singular hold which Mr. Kelly has had on young men, and the conversions thrill us with their quaint reality. To prisoners and rough lads Mr. Kelly has been an angel of grace. The fact is that this volume is the life-history of a fighting parson, the friend and champion of every good cause and of every youth or man who was bent on living a worthy life. The good fight has somehow got itself into these pages, and we feel that the soldier's heart is young, after more than half a century of strenuous fighting. Such a book must win a whole regiment of recruits.

*William F. Moulton, the Methodist Scholar.* By George G. Findlay, D.D. (R. Culley. 1s. net.)

Amongst the choice miniature biographies published in 'The Methodist Library,' this will rank with the finest and best. Subject and author are 'matched like bells,' and the pen that has drawn this delicate sketch of a fine scholar and saintly teacher has been prompted by the sympathy and insight which only intimate knowledge and affection can impart. Dr. Findlay has naturally drawn upon the fuller biography put forth by Dr. Moulton's sons, but he has given to the smaller portrait a character of its own, which will render it of special value and interest to all who honour Dr. Moulton's memory. Additional touches in the story of the life, discriminating appreciation of the nature and value of Dr. Moulton's work, and an apt and happy characterization of the man, the minister and the teacher, give distinctness to Dr. Findlay's sketch. Richmond, the Leys, the Revision Company, Presidency and labours in the Wesleyan Methodist Church—all the parts of Dr. Moulton's career represented by these words receive here due recognition. The summary of character—emphasizing as it does the features

of 'reverence and godly fear,' 'the love of Christ,' 'humbleness and affectionateness,' and 'catholic spirit'—is drawn up with great skill and tenderness. Very much to the point are Dr. Findlay's words in response to the possible criticism that his sketch is 'a continued eulogy, a portrait wanting the foibles and flaws that go to make up life-likeness.' He well says: 'The course of unflagging duty and devotion, of steadily growing moral power, and of lightly chequered happiness, that we have narrated, may seem to lie apart from common experience of the human tragedy. But the rarity of such careers gives them a claim to attention. These are the sort of lives that will multiply with the progress of our race in well-doing.' This delightful record of a gifted and devoted servant of God will prove an inspiration and a stimulus to hundreds of ministers and students, and will interest and profit a wider circle outside. All who loved and honoured the man—and who did not that had the privilege of knowing him?—are greatly indebted to Dr. Findlay for this worthy portrait of a great scholar, a wise teacher, a gracious leader and helper of many, and a whole-hearted disciple and apostle of the Lord Jesus Christ.

*The Life and Work of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, K.C.S.I.*

By Major-General G. F. T. Graham. (Hodder & Stoughton. 5s. net.)

The republication of a work of this nature after an interval of nearly a quarter of a century may seem strange, but in view of recent events in India and of proposed legislative changes it is timely. Sir Syed's life was devoted to bringing about a more friendly relation between Indian Mohammedans and British rule. He was a man of vigorous mind and personality, was indefatigable with pen and voice in his mission of reconciliation, and was largely successful. One of his schemes was the establishment of the Allyghur College for the education chiefly of Mohammedan youth in Western knowledge. The account of the visit of the Ameer of Afghanistan to the College and of the removal of his fears is interesting reading. Sir Syed's visit to England was an epoch in his life. His account of the causes of the great Mutiny of 1857 is full of monitory suggestion. The exclusion of natives from the councils of the empire had for its consequence mutual ignorance and suspicion on the part of the rulers and the ruled. That system has passed, or is passing, away. Sir Syed rose to a place in the

Viceregal Council. The portrait prefixed to the volume betokens high intelligence and strength.

*Francis Asbury.* By George P. Mains. (R. Culley. 1s. net.)

British Methodists connect the name of Asbury with Wesley's much-discussed ordinations in 1784. In distress at the news, Charles Wesley wrote: 'What will become of those poor sheep in the wilderness—the American Methodists?' Dr. Mains would not hesitate to reply, 'God gave them Bishop Asbury and his helpers.' He writes: 'Asbury was a wise master-builder, and Providence ordained that he should be the chief workman upon a great structure. The genius of Wesley in ecclesiastical statesmanship has secured highest recognition from most competent sources. In the light of history it is not easy to deny that, *for the needs of American Methodism*, the wisdom of Francis Asbury seems not inferior to that which is justly ascribed to Wesley himself.' The author of this pleasant little biography tells in an inspiring fashion the life-story of the Handsworth lad, to whom he pays this high tribute.

Dr. Osler's Lecture on *Michael Servetus* (Frowde, 1s. net) is an intensely interesting study of the heretic whose death is such a blot on the fair fame of Calvin. Servetus had a restless mind, and brought his fate upon himself by an ill-advised publication, but this lecture shows that he deserves well of science. He was an ardent student of medicine, and knew that the blood circulates from the right side of the heart to the left through the lungs. Some illustrations add much to the value of this discriminating study.

*Bertram Dobell: Bookseller and Man of Letters.* By S. Bradbury. (Dobell. 6d. net.) Mr. Dobell's father became a cripple early in life through an attack of paralysis, and his son had a hard struggle with poverty. By the time he was thirty he had saved a little money, with which he opened a stationer's and newsvendor's shop in Kentish Town. It was twenty years longer before he was able to devote himself in part to literary pursuits. He proved a wise friend to James Thomson, author of *The City of Dreadful Night*, and his devotion to the poet's memory has done much to win Thomson an assured position among modern singers. Mr. Dobell's name is allied still more closely with that of Thomas Traherne, whose poems and meditations he edited and published. For his skill and discernment here the whole world of literature is his

debtor. Mr. Dobell's *A Century of Sonnets* (1s. net) has a deftness of phrase, a grace and force, which show how carefully Mr. Dobell has cultivated his poetic gift, and there is much rich thought besides.

*Britannia's Calendar of Heroes.* Compiled by Kate Stanway. (George Allen & Sons. 5s. net.) This is a book of golden deeds. It gives under the days of the year a brief summary of the heroic actions that have won the Victoria Cross, the Edward and Albert medals, and other coveted decorations. Miss Stanway prefixes to the Calendar a description of the medals themselves, with an account of their institution and the rules under which they are awarded. The Victoria Cross, instituted by Queen Victoria at the close of the Crimean War, comes first; 522 names are enrolled in that proud list. The Edward Medal, known as the Miners' and Quarrymen's V.C., was instituted in 1907; the Albert Medal for saving life at sea goes back to 1866, and in 1877 it was given for saving life on land. Various other medals are described, and illustrations of them are given. Miss Stanway has also been able to secure 160 signatures of holders of the Victoria Cross. The heroic tales are briefly told, but they gain force by the necessary condensation. Tributes in verse are added here and there from ballads, &c., which greatly enrich the records. The book will send a thrill of pride through every Englishman's breast.

*Tennyson.* By Henry Jones (Frowde. 1s. net). This is an address given to the British Academy in connexion with the centenary of Tennyson's birth. Two things the professor holds to be well established—the absolute originality of Tennyson's artistic touch, and 'the absolute fidelity of his rendering of his age.' The address itself is a literary gem, and it is full of suggestions as to the poet's work which furnish matter for thought and discussion.

*John Slack of Paisley.* By his Sister. (R. Culley. 6d. net.)

From a Foreword by the Rev. S. Chadwick we learn that John Slack was the Lazarus of the Paisley Mission. This man's conversion was the means of bringing the people to the services of the mission by hundreds, and awakened an interest in the work of God in the whole neighbourhood. The beautiful Hall at Paisley stands as a monument to the divine power thus revealed. This little book is simply written, and the story will serve to strengthen the faith of many.

## GENERAL

*Seven English Cities.* By W. D. Howells. Illustrated.  
(Harper & Brothers. 10s. 6d.)

MR. HOWELLS begins with 'A Modest Liking for Liverpool,' where he found his hotel 'a little America which swelled into a larger with the arrivals of the successive steamers.' He passes on to Manchester, where the Stock Exchange appeared to him 'one of the most moving spectacles which could offer itself to the eye in the whole world.' The Rylands Library scarcely impressed him, but in Chetham College he 'rubbed off all smirch of the modernity he had come to Manchester for.' Sheffield, with the smoke of a thousand towering chimneys, was 'most prodigious.' 'It was splendid, it was magnificent, it was insurpassably picturesque.' The change is great indeed when we begin 'Nine Days' Wonder in York.' Mr. Howells pronounces its fane to be the 'grandest and beautifullest in all England,' and he has distilled the spirit of the place into his picturesque chapter. His abortive visit to Marston Moor is rather tantalizing, but at Doncaster he sees the King. Here is the American view of royalty. 'Probably no man in his kingdom understands better than Edward VII that he is largely a form, and that the more a form he is the more conformable he is to the English ideal of a monarch. But no Englishman apparently knows better than he when to leave off being a form and become a man, and he has endeared himself to his people from time to time by such inspiration.' The comparison between England and America is happily brought out. 'You must cover thousands and thousands of miles in our tedious lengths and breadths for the beauties and sublimities of scenery which you shall gather from fewer hundreds in England.' The chapter on Boston, 'The Mother of the American Athens,' is one of the most successful in the volume. The illustrations are of great interest. Altogether the book is steeped in colour. It sometimes passes lightly over things on which we would like our guide to linger, but it has caught the spirit of the scenes, and it is a real pleasure for English readers to see their own country through such keen and friendly eyes.

*The Story of the Thames.* By G. E. Vincent. With illustrations and a map. (Smith, Elder & Co. 7s. 6d.)

No river is so steeped in historic events as the Thames, and this book brings them out in a way that makes it really delightful reading. Mr. Vincent traces it from its source down to the pool at London Bridge, lingering over its natural beauties, and describing the famous houses and places that lie along its banks. One chapter is given to the towns and hamlets of Thames Head. Fairford, Faringdon, and Cirencester are the show places of the district, but all around are little villages and country scenes of 'surpassing loveliness.' William Morris thought Bibury the loveliest village in England, and Burford is perfect. 'There is no such complete, and thorough, and harmonious treasure-house of the ancient architecture of England in stone to be found elsewhere in the land.' At Lechlade the real interest of the Thames for picturesqueness and literary association, as well as for boating, begins. Mr. Vincent's plan is to make an imaginary voyage with halts at pleasure. We pass Iffley Church, a gem of Norman architecture, and pass through the famous lock on our way to Nuneham and Abingdon. The whole atmosphere of the region is fascinating. Mr. Vincent allows none of the sights to be overlooked as we journey on past Reading and Henley, to Windsor, Richmond, and the Pool below London Bridge. Sixteen half-tone illustrations, including drawings of Eton by Turner and Ruskin, and a map, add much to the charm of a very attractive volume. Mr. Vincent's death left his book without the final touches which an author gives to his proof-sheets, but that could only be discovered from the statement in the preface.

*Notes on the Science of Picture-Making.* By C. J. Holmes. (Chatto & Windus. 7s. 6d. net.)

No one who knows this book will be surprised at its success. This new and revised edition is the best guide to the whole subject which could be put into the hands of an art student or of any one who wishes to know something about pictures and to understand the merits of good work. The study is divided into three parts, entitled *Emphasis of Design*; *Emphasis of Materials*; *Emphasis of Character*. Professor Holmes looks at every point with the eyes of an artist and a critic, and he

never pens a dull sentence. His first chapter on 'The Value of Emotion' brings out the great canon that 'the artist's personal experience must be emphasized by strong feelings, by enthusiasm, by emotion, or the result is not art.' To make good pictures, the artist needs the stimulus of emotion as much as the poet. Success is itself a danger, for work then tends to become an easy routine. 'The example of Millais is notorious, both because his original talent was so wonderful, and because, when tempted by wealth and popularity, he lost not only the creative energy which inspired his early designs, but even his mastery over his materials.' The whole book is so suggestive and sagacious that it is bound to make an impression on students and lovers of art, and to bear fruit in improved methods of painting and keener appreciation of really good work.

*The Survival of Man: A Study in Unrecognized Human Faculty.* By Sir Oliver Lodge, F.R.S. (Methuen & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

The eager interest with which Sir Oliver Lodge's last book has been read shows how much attention is being paid to Psychical Research. There is nothing really fresh in the volume, but it is a presentation of the case for such research, and a record of Sir Oliver's own part in various investigations which will appeal strongly to many minds. We have considerable sympathy with those who think the departed might be better employed than in dealing with some things which are here described, and the results are feeble. The mountain brings forth a mouse. Sir Oliver's careful handling of what is called 'fishing' by the medium is very suggestive of the perils that are run. His own view naturally commands attention. He thinks that the evidence for the survival of man, that is for the persistence of human intelligence and individual personality beyond bodily death, is beginning to be crucial. There seems, so far as he can gather, to be no break at all in the continuous and conscious identity of genuine character and personality. We always read the records of the Psychical Society with profound interest, though often with keen disappointment. Even Sir Oliver Lodge, with all his scientific acumen and his long continued research into these questions, leaves us unconvinced, though not without hope that some day more light may come.

*Essays on Greek Literature.* By R. Y. Tyrrell, Litt.D.  
(Macmillan. 4s. net.)

This volume contains five essays, two on lyric and one on dramatic poetry, one on constitutional history, and one on historical biography, thus representatively covering a large portion of the field of Greek literature. Whenever we take up a work by Dr. Tyrrell we expect to meet freshness and originality in treatment, and to find a living interest imparted to his subject. He is pre-eminently one to whom the words of Tennyson are applicable—'wearing all that weight of learning lightly like a flower.' In the volume before us we are not disappointed of our expectation. While, on the one hand, he discusses with striking lucidity and with convincing acumen knotty points of scholarship, such as the intricately artistic construction of the odes of Pindar, a disputed reading in the *Antigone*, or the question of the Aristotelian authorship of the *Constitution of Athens*, on the other hand he can bring the conditions of the life of the past before the general reader with a picturesque realism which leaves nothing to be desired. With how much more zest would the young student apply himself to the study of Pindar after such an introduction as this—

'To gain some conception of an Olympic festival, we must not only figure to ourselves the great English festival of the Derby Day, with both Houses of Parliament adjourning, but we must remember the sacred truce which the heralds proclaimed throughout Greece for five days; we must bear in mind that the games were a religious rite, which became even a starting-point for chronology; we must impart to the mind of the Greek at the games the feeling with which a man listens to an anthem, as well as that with which he witnesses the victory or defeat of his old school at cricket; . . . and to all this one must add a sort of Christmas feeling, a sentiment of peace on earth, goodwill towards men, which with us is called forth by the great festivals of the Church.'

There is no little piquancy in the hinted comparison between modern and ancient social legislation—

'Individualists will be surprised to find how little favour their views found in the eyes of ancient Athens, and how the private life of every Athenian was fenced about with statutes restricting his liberty of action on every side. One cannot fail to be struck by the minuteness and completeness of the

legislation which provided for the relief of helpless and disabled paupers, and the rejection of disqualified applicants for charity, for the inspection of weights and measures, and the prevention of adulteration, and for the supervision of horses by the establishment of a regular corps of veterinary surgeons. Furthermore, the city traffic was under strict supervision, and there were statutes compelling the removal of nuisances from public thoroughfares, and forbidding structures which would impede the free use of the streets. Such structures as the old Temple Bar, stretching across the street, are expressly prohibited, and it is clear that sky-signs would not have been tolerated.'

One could have wished that the author could have brought his article on the New Papyri up to date, though it must be acknowledged that this would have involved rewriting it at perhaps treble length. His comparison of the styles of Pindar and Bacchylides is admirable, and the vigour and poetic spirit of his translations from the latter poet make the reader wish that he would confer on us the boon of a complete translation of these odes.

*Sophocles in English Verse.* Part I. Arthur S. Way, D.Litt. (Macmillan. 3s. 6d. net.)

Many lovers of poetry who are familiar with Matthew Arnold's famous criticism on Sophocles—he 'saw life steadily and saw it whole'—have never given themselves the opportunity of testing the truth of it by reason of their ignorance of Greek. Dr. Way provides this class of readers with a translation which is at once faithful and poetical. The too faithful version tends to baldness and uncouthness. Dr. Way always keeps close to the original—sometimes translating line for line—and never fails to give us admirable and spirited verse. The three plays of this volume—'Oedipus the King,' 'Oedipus at Kolonus,' and the 'Antigone'—represent the perfect flower of Greek tragedy. Sophocles strikes the golden mean between the austere and antique dignity of Aeschylus and the rationalizing brilliance of Euripides: and each of these plays illustrates his restraint, his serene faith, his moral purity, his superb poetical workmanship in a marked degree. No higher praise can be given to the translator than to say he has fully maintained the excellence of his previous work. Here is Dr. Way's

version of the concluding portion of the famous chorus in the 'Oedipus at Kolonus.'

Yet of praises of Athens the chiefest remaineth :  
 For a great God's boon maketh splendid her story ;  
 For his gift is the charger that battleward straineth,  
 Is the might of young steeds : and to her appertaineth  
 The lordship of seas. Thou hast throned her in glory,  
 O Son of Kronos, Poseidon King !  
 For thou in her highways the first hast taught her  
 The curb that the steed in subjection keepeth :  
 To her hands hast thou given wide rule o'er the water  
 By the shapely-fashioned oar that sweepeth  
 The foam, by the keel, o'er the depths that leapeth,  
 Which the Sea-King's Daughters companioning  
 With a hundred feet in the dance luring.

Avoiding the attempt to render too closely such condensed and untranslatable phrases as e.g. εὐκτατον, εὐκυλον, εὐθέλαστον, the translation has given us a sonorous and thrilling poem which felicitously represents the beauty and splendour of the original.

*Aristophanes and the Political Parties at Athens.* By Maurice Croiset. Translated by James Loeb, A.B. (Macmillan. 7s. 6d. net.)

To introduce to English readers the works of brilliant French thinkers on classical subjects which have a perennial interest for all who appreciate our debt to Greece is the task to which Mr. Loeb has devoted himself with enthusiasm and success. His translation of Decharme's *Euripides and the Spirit of his Drama* well deserved its favourable reception at the hands of the public; and this version of M. Croiset's work will deepen our debt to him. The book was worth translating, it goes far to construct, by linking up the records of history with allusions found in the comedies of Aristophanes, a living personality of the poet. It unfolds to us not only the political and social sympathies of the brilliant satirist—other writers have done that—but sets vividly before us the influences and associations which made him the man he was, which moulded his boyhood, which modified from time to time his maturity; it makes us understand why Aristophanes was so true a painter of all the life of the countryside, so that of the very birds of the fields and copses he was as keen and accurate an observer

as our Tennyson. We begin to understand why he so often voices the feelings of the rustic conservatives. His comedy was their true spokesman—

'It was the style in which ancient Attica, in its joyous rusticity, found amplest expression. The country, simple and contemptuous, used it to take revenge on the city and those whom the city admired. To please them, the clever poets caricatured, on the stage, the men of the day—shrewd and selfish politicians, subtle philosophers full of revolutionary theories, infatuated sophists, fashionable authors, musical composers of the new school, with all their notions—in a word, all those who were the pets of the city folk, but who appeared prodigiously grotesque to these honest peasants of Athmone or of Chollidae. The country folk knew no greater pleasure than to overwhelm them with their shouts of revengeful derision.'

The writer draws for us a picture of the Athenian city society of the day—'the most open-hearted, most variously constituted, and most liberal society that has ever existed'—and shows how far it should be regarded as having influenced Aristophanes as a writer. He advances cogent arguments against the commonly received theory that he was simply the mouthpiece of the aristocracy, and shows how it was in fact the new spirit in political and social life, of which Cleon was the incarnation, that he hated and resisted to the end—

'Demagogues filled with hatred, corrupt courts, a war protracted for the benefit of private interests, and carried on at public expense, was this not enough to outrage so devoted a representative of ancient liberty and one so attached to his peace-loving and kindly Attica? Hence came his disposition to hostile criticism; indeed, one may say that it is entirely traceable to this source. For, at bottom, when he attacks Euripides, Socrates, and even the new style of music with almost as much virulence as he attacks Cleon or Lamachus, the reason for his wrath is doubtless always the same. It is the Athenian temperament, such as he imagines it, as he feels it in his own person, as he sees it in tradition, that he champions, rightly or wrongly, against innovators.'

The author takes all the plays, in the order of their production (reproducing, where possible, the subject and tendency of the lost ones), and shows their connexion with the history and public men of the period. His representation of *The Knights*, in particular, is a fine example of masterly analysis

and of exhaustive treatment. No classical student can afford to dispense with this work, full as it is of information, argument, and acute deductions which are to be found in no English writer on Greek literature.

*Apuleius' Apologia and Florida.* Translated by H. E. Butler. (Clarendon Press. 3s. 6d. net.)

Apuleius is best known by his *Metamorphoses* or *Golden Ass*, which contains the brilliant fairy-tale of Cupid and Psyche, familiarized to English readers by Walter Pater. Of this famous work Mr. Butler promises a translation; meanwhile, he gives us a scholarly and spirited version of the *Apologia* and *Florida*. The former is a brilliant piece of rhetoric, and furnishes us with many a vivid glimpse of life and society in North Africa in the second century. The *Florida* is likewise full of interest, and illustrates Apuleius's undoubted power as a story-teller. He excels in descriptive prose, though his Latinity is affected, bombastic, and too full of purple patches to satisfy a classical taste. For this reason the path of the translator is strewn with difficulties. 'The English language,' says Mr. Butler, 'will not carry the requisite amount of bombast; the assonances and the puns are generally incapable of reproduction.' But Mr. Butler's good taste and skill have overcome much of the difficulty, and we cordially commend his work to all lovers of Latin literature.

*Lucretius on the Nature of Things.* Translated by Cyril Bailey. (Cambridge University Press. 3s. 6d. net.)

It is a quarter of a century since H. A. J. Munro, the great translator of Lucretius, died in Rome. Mr. Bailey apologizes for venturing to tread in the steps of such a master, but though Munro's phrases ring in one's ears, he did not always keep to his own high standard—at points his work is prosaic and technical. Much light has also been thrown on parts of the poem since Munro's day. These considerations have emboldened Mr. Bailey to undertake his difficult task. He prefixes to it an introduction which shows that Lucretius, despite his 'fierce hatred of conventional superstitions,' was in reality deeply religious. The record of his life is meagre, but his poem reveals a mind eager in its pursuit of truth, alive at once to the greatness and beauty of nature, yet withal morbid and perhaps not even quite sane. The fearless desire for truth, the

consciousness of a great purpose, and a deep reverence for nature—felt almost as a personal presence—have 'caused this bitter opponent of religion to be universally recognized as one of the most truly religious of the world's poets.' Mr. Bailey's translation reads well, and the edition will be welcomed by all students of Lucretius.

'The Finsbury Library.' (Culley. 1s. net each volume.)

We warmly welcome the six new volumes in this admirable series of reprints of rare and valuable works—*The Trilogi; or, Dante's Three Visions*, translated into English in the metre and triple rhyme of the original, with notes, by the Rev. John Wesley Thomas (3 vols.); *Rural Rides in Surrey, Sussex, Hants, Berks, &c.*, by William Cobbett (2 vols.); and *The Early Journal of Charles Wesley*, edited by the Rev. J. Telford, B.A. Even those who possess Cary's and Longfellow's translation of Dante's immortal allegory would find it worth their while to add to them this Wesleyan version. Mr. Thomas made a life-study of Dante, was master not only of the original, but of an easy and effective versification, and he greatly facilitated the understanding of the poem by his brief life of the poet and by his apposite and well-selected notes. This version was well received at the time of its publication by the best British critics, and will be found favourably to compare with the best standard translations.

Cobbett's famous 'Rides' had become scarce. They represent him at his best as an observer and a writer, and are valuable not only as literature, but as a permanent and, on the whole, a faithful picture of English rural life at the beginning of the last century. Here are a couple of volumes than which it would be difficult to imagine anything more instructive, entertaining, and delightful.

As to the *Journal of Charles Wesley*, the marvel is that it has not been as widely read as that of his more famous brother. It is of equal interest from many points of view, and throws much added light not only on the early history of the Methodist movement, but also, and especially, on the inception and the early history of those hymns by which the universal Church has been enriched. It is, moreover, a means of grace to read it: it brings us into close and intimate contact with a fine and noble spirit leading an exemplary Christian life, and striving ever after all the things that are more excellent. It is to be hoped

that the demand for this choice work of edification will warrant the completion in this handy and attractive form of one of the chief literary treasures of our Church. This volume only brings us down to 1739: two more volumes would complete the work.

John Wesley would have gloried in the issue of this 'popular series at a popular price.'

*The New Socialism. An Impartial Inquiry.* By Jane T. Stoddart. (Hodder & Stoughton. 5s. net.)

The whole of this book, save the three supplementary chapters, appeared at intervals in 1908 as articles in the *British Weekly* newspaper. It will introduce novices to many new names, and to some knowledge. The chapters, however, are somewhat scrappy and unsatisfying. There is nowhere in the book any adequate discussion of modern Socialism. But it contains evidence of a wide general acquaintance with Continental Socialist literature.

The sub-title of the book is *An Impartial Inquiry*, and much play is made in the text with the phrase 'the impartial student.' But 'the impartial student' is discovered (on page 101 and elsewhere) to be a Liberal party politician arguing softly against Socialism. Nowhere is 'the impartial student' found *quoting* the case pro and con and leaving it there like a Sidgwick and a just person. There are obvious signs of anti-Socialist bias to be found every few pages—we marked some two dozen of them and then grew weary. The very title of one chapter, 'The Commandeering of Lives under Socialism,' is a proof of it, and there is suspicion of it in another, 'Is there a Christian Socialism?' The following passage by the writer will also prove this bias:

The small owner must be conciliated, flattered, lured with promises, otherwise he will instinctively take sides with large owners. Socialists are now proclaiming that the real danger to Society comes, not from the producers who possess their own means of production, but from non-producers who are exploiting other people's.

This is obviously not the way the Socialists would put their own case. The chapter on 'Socialism and the Family,' after admitting that modern Socialists mostly repudiate Bebel, Morris, Bax, and others, and denying that Socialists would destroy the home, nevertheless sums up with the remark that 'a distinct tendency towards loosening the marriage-bond

characterizes modern Socialist literature,' and hints at over-population without indicating that leading Socialists have an answer. The chapter on 'Socialism and Religion' is contradictory. Despite quotations to the contrary, the impression is left that religion and the Churches have much to dread in Socialism. Justice is not done to the Socialists in the modern Protestant and Free Churches. The writer evidently knows nothing of a movement in French Protestantism, for instance, which recently led a Socialist writer in *The International* to cry, 'Let it be my privilege, unbeliever though I am, to greet the Protestants of France with a fraternal salutation.' The references, too, to Christian Socialism are insufficient. It could not be discovered from this book that there is to-day a large body of Christian Socialists in the Free Churches of England. The writer makes a great point of quoting from the writers of the last ten years, but more than once she expounds 'the new Socialism' from the Fabian Essays written twenty years ago, and that with no indication of date in the notes. For instance, Bernard Shaw is quoted as if he spoke yesterday in favour of compensating land-owners, but it is omitted that the quotation is from an address originally delivered to the British Association in 1888. The Fabian Essays are quoted again on page 145 as giving 'a typical passage' of the views of the new Socialists on the newspaper Press under Socialism. It is not stated that the date of the passage is 1889 and that the writer is Mrs. Annie Besant, long since a Theosophist. The scales, too, are often weighted against Socialism, as in this very quotation. The impression to be conveyed, through deft quotation, is that the Press under Socialism will not be free, hence a vital sentence is *omitted* from Mrs. Besant's essay:

Thus liberty of expression would be guarded as a constitutional right.

Then on page 41 three sentences are taken verbally from an 1889 Fabian Essay by Mr. Graham Wallas, without acknowledgement.

The account here given of Bernstein's famous Reformist attack on rigid Marxianism in the late nineties is inadequate. Experts in Socialism will discern the inadequacy at once, but the ordinary reader should compare it with Kirkup's account in his *History of Socialism*. He will gain a more accurate idea of it from one long sentence of Kirkup than from the whole seven pages of this book. Again, the reference to Böhm-Bawerk,

in a note on page 29, is egregiously inadequate. He might not be the author of the epoch-making volumes of *Capital and Interest* and *The Positive Theory of Capital*, which demolished the *Labour Theory of Value* in the eighties. The work mentioned, *Karl Marx and the Close of His System*, dealing with the doctrine of surplus value, is but a slight work compared with those great classics. In discussing the socialization of capital, the only alternatives the writer admits in taking it over are 'confiscation or compensation.' Not a word is said of George Solvay's entirely business-like proposal for 'penetration' by State share-holding. Nor is justice done to M. Vandervelde's views—a Socialist more learned and reasonable than even Kautsky. 'The impartial student's' conception of capital seems to be crude. On page 169 the capitalist is represented as foreseeing the revolution and slipping 'across the border with his property,' to invest his money in foreign securities! One hardly sees how he could slip across the border with his fixed capital! The supplementary chapters are diffuse but insufficient. The chapter on 'Revolutionary Syndicalism' is not concise enough. No mention is made of the remarkable general strike in Sweden. The chapter on 'American Socialism' does not do justice to the paragraph from Werner Sombart, to the effect that Socialism will yet flourish on American soil. It is flourishing. Upon the authority of Dr. Otto Lalland of New York, 'among the Protestant clergy it is widespread.' Mr. John Moody also says that prominent business men, journalists, and financiers in America begin to admit they are Fabian Socialists. Then in the account of 'Australian Socialism,' which professes to give a list of the Labour party movements, nothing is said of that most important development 'The New Protection,' a movement to regulate tariffs so that both wages and prices are protected in the interests of the wage-earner and the consumer.

On the whole, this book will be useful if discriminatingly used. It will serve as a guide to some of the latest literature, and indicate the main trend of the Socialist movement in its three camps of Reformist (Fabian), Orthodox Marxian (English Social Democrats), and Revolutionary (French Syndicalists). It covers wider and later ground than a similar book by Mr. R. C. K. Ensor, published in 1904, entitled *Modern Socialism*. But it must not be regarded as impartial.

K.

*The Socialized Church.* Addresses before the First National Conference of the Social Workers of Methodism, St. Louis, Nov. 17-19, 1908. Edited by W. M. Tippy, D.D. (R. Culley. 2s. 6d. net.)

Social questions take even a more acute and serious form in America, where colossal trusts and combines abound, the original home of the millionaire, than in England, or indeed in Europe. American Methodism is late in taking action on the subject, and its inspiration seems to have come from the Old Country. Canon Barnett and East London Settlements come in for plentiful mention in the eleven addresses. Settlements are well described as 'organized kindness.' We have nothing but admiration and the heartiest good wishes for the enterprises described in the volume. Three papers, written by working deaconesses, bear on Deaconess and Settlement life, and are among the best in the series. 'Socialized' is equivalent to our 'Institutional.' 'The Socialized Church' is the subject of the last paper, and is written in trenchant, vigorous style by the editor. 'Methodists,' we are assured, 'have been frightened by the spectre of humanitarianism long enough. John Wesley was a prince of philanthropists.' Other subjects discussed are, 'The Church and Organized Charity,' 'The Pulpit as a Social Force,' 'The Relation of the Church to Employers in Department Stores.'

*Neighbours and Friends.* By M. Loane. (Arnold. 6s.)

Miss Loane's fourth book is as fresh as her first. She has no illusions, but looks facts in the face. One of the best chapters in this volume is on 'Everyday Heroism'; another on 'The Self-Taxation of the Working Classes' ought to open some blind eyes. The first paper on 'Voluntary Workers' shows what a field there is for wise helpers who know how to comfort and guide in such pathetic cases as that of the woman who took to drink after her youngest boy had been killed by an express train. No one who works among the poor can afford to overlook this revealing book, and no one who reads it can fail to be impressed with its wisdom and its practical sympathy for suffering of every kind. It is an education to study such pages.

**Infancy.** Edited by T. N. Kelynack, M.D. (Culley. 1s. net.)

This is the first of a series of National Health Manuals which promise to meet a real need. The object is to give a 'concise and up-to-date scientific presentation of the principles and practices which guide and govern the establishment and maintenance of personal, domestic, and national health.' Each volume deals with a special aspect of hygiene, and each chapter is assigned to a recognized medical expert. Technical phraseology is avoided as far as possible, and everything is done to make the books really helpful in a home. *Infancy* naturally takes the first place in the series, and if this wise and practical handbook is studied it will do much to promote the well-being both of mothers and children. The anatomy and physiology of the infant, hygiene, feeding, common disorders, the protection of infant life are some of the subjects dealt with, and the names of the writers inspire confidence. The book is one of profound interest and value.

*The Young People's Microscope Book*, by the Rev. S. N. Sedgwick, M.A. (Culley, 3s. 6d. net), gives directions how to make a cheap microscope, a micro-aquarium, how to dissect and mount objects, and all other things which a young naturalist wishes to know. Mr. Sedgwick showed in *The Young People's Nature-Study Book* that he had the faculty of exciting the interest of boys and girls in these subjects, and this book is as clear in all its descriptions and as absorbing as its predecessor. The illustrations are taken chiefly from insect, botanical, and pond life, and every page will reveal some new delight to those who use this enthralling volume.

***British Wild Flowers in their Natural Colours and Form.***

Text by Rev. Professor Henslow. With over 200 coloured illustrations by Grace Layton. (S.P.C.K. 8s.)

This is a book of which the S.P.C.K. may justly be proud. Miss Layton's illustrations are drawn from the plants themselves, and are the natural size. We do not wonder that they gained the Silver Flora Medal of the Royal Horticultural Society. We have never seen any illustrations so exact; we feel as though the plants were actually before us. Each of Professor Henslow's descriptions covers two pages. They

note curious ways in which insects pollinate flowers, and seek to incite the reader to those personal observations which are the only effective method of studying plants and flowers. We have found these pages not only full of information, but really pleasant reading. A synopsis is given of the British families represented in the book. It is a great service to inspire the young with a taste for such a study as botany, and this is a handbook which in its way is unsurpassed.

*Flowers of the Field*, by the Rev. C. A. Johns (S.P.C.K., 7s. 6d.), has been entirely re-written and revised by G. S. Boulger, Professor of Botany in the City of London College. It is idle to praise a book which is in its thirty-second edition. It has sixty-four coloured plates, besides numerous illustrations in the text. The Introduction in fifty-two pages is divided into three parts: Explanation of Terms; The Classification of Plants; Tabular View of the Natural Orders. Everything is made as clear and untechnical as possible, and a careful study of these pages will give a good working knowledge of the subject. The descriptions of flowers fill 903 pages, and there is an Index according to the Linnean system and a General and Glossarial Index. The book may safely be described as invaluable.

*The Earliest Cosmogonies*. By Dr. W. F. Warren. (New York: Eaton & Mains.)

Comparative Cosmogony must be called the very youngest of the sciences. But it is one of great interest alike for the biblical and the literary student. The former will be led to ask again and again, How did the Hebrews think of the world in which they lived in its relation to the universe? Was it in the centre of the system, or nearer the circumference? And the latter knows how fascinating and how elusive is the question of Homer's conception of the abodes of gods, of living men, and of the dead, and how many details are yet unsolved in the history of Dante's concentric heavens. Dr. Warren may well boast that what he has not read and weighed upon this subject is not worth study; and he has come to the conclusion that all the different cosmogonies, Hebrew, Babylonian, Egyptian, Indian and Teutonic, point back to one common original, to which the Babylonian comes nearest, as it is certainly the most elaborate. The two essential characteristics

of all these views are symmetry and geo-centricity (if the word may be allowed). Above the horizontal axis of the earth is the abode of the living; below it, that of the dead. All round, in concentric spheres, are the various heavens, and certain facts are alluded to as reasons for believing that the original abode of man upon the earth was at the North Pole. Surprising as this may seem, it is hardly more surprising than the universal occurrence of a single cosmogony, in comparison with whose hoary antiquity the system of Copernicus is as a new-born babe. But Dr. Warren's readers will see how strong is the case he lays before them. Several illustrations add to the clearness and interest of the book.

*The Original Religion of China.* By John Ross, D.D.  
(Olipphant & Co. 5s. net.)

Dr. Ross shows that centuries before the time of Confucius the religion of China was monotheistic. He holds that if there had been a real knowledge of this period the 'ghost theory' of religion would not have been 'broached, or the statement made that the spiritual form of religion known to us is the result of a long process of evolution from an original image-worship.' He gives a description of the Primal Period before the twelfth century B.C. and of the Mid-Ancient Period which covers the next six centuries. Then he adds chapters on The Character of God, Inferior Deities, Sacrifice, Li Chi, Manchu Ritual. It is the work of an accomplished Free Church missionary in Manchuria, and no one who wishes to get the best light on the subject can afford to overlook the volume.

*The Education of Uncle Paul.* By Algernon Blackwood.  
(Macmillan. 6s.)

Uncle Paul, who has lived for twenty years as 'wood cruiser' in Canadian forests, returns to England at the age of forty-five with the heart of a child. He becomes the hero of his sister's children. Nixie, the eldest of this quaint and happy company, initiates him into their fairy world, and when she dies steps out of it often to talk with her uncle. Her last word is the assurance, 'What you call death is only slipping through the crack to a great deal more memory, and a great deal more power of seeing and telling—towards the greatest expression that ever can be known.' This intercourse with the unseen gives some touch of unreality to the story, but it is so full of

tender charm that it holds fast the reader's attention and leaves a very happy impression on his mind.

*Us Four*, by S. Macnaughtan. (Murray. 6s.) The four girls who were the youngest members of the Macnaughtan household furnish good material for this chronicle of juvenile experiences. It is rather too minute at times, but the little world is vividly painted, and mothers and teachers may learn much from the story, which is very pleasantly told.

*Les Arpents de Neige*, par J. E. Poirier (Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Nationale. 3.50 fcs.), is a Canadian story dealing with the rebellion of Louis Riel. The struggle with the half-breeds is vividly described, and there is constant excitement and adventure, with a little love story round which much of the interest revolves. It is a thoroughly good tale.

*Great Possessions*, by Mrs. Wilfrid Ward. (Longmans. 6s.) This is a powerful study of character as affected by wealth and poverty. Lady Rose Bright bears the test triumphantly, but Molly Dexter breaks down under it in a way that throws a cloud over the whole story. Young Molyneux, who gives up Groombridge Castle to enter the Romish priesthood, wins a great triumph, but the way he is deserted by his rector and the vicar-general when false reports are circulated about him does not increase one's respect for his seniors. Sir Edmund Grosse is in his own order as loyal as young Molyneux, and Lady Rose awakes to her good fortune in his unchanging affection before it is too late. We can scarcely credit Sir David Bright's conduct when Molly's mother had him in her power, but it shows how conscience turned the brave soldier into a coward.

*The Cistern and the Fountain; or, The True Gauge of Life.* A Poem in Seventeen Cantos. By John Hugh Morgan. (Culley. 1s. 6d. net.)

This is a series of sermons in verse on the well-known text in Jeremiah which accuses the people of having forsaken the Fountain of living waters and hewn out to themselves cisterns, broken cisterns, that could hold no water. What these cisterns are is graphically described by the prophet, who is supposed to appear to the speaker in the poem as he sits in solitude upon the desert plain of life in pensive mood and 'broods o'er all its mysteries'—those hewn by the pleasure-

seeker, the miser, the rationalist, the moralist. The Fountain is then described in a series of cantos, and the streams of life and refreshment that it brings to the doubter, the bereaved, the invalid, &c. The blank verse is admirably managed and the allegory well sustained. The poem shows much technical skill and not a few felicities of phrase and rhythm, while in its conception and its working out it manifests the author's rich and splendid gifts of mind and heart. It will bear re-reading many times, and should prove of service not only as a means of private edification, but as an instrument of popular public appeal. For elocutionary use in guilds and brotherhoods it would be difficult to find a religious recitation that would be more likely to produce both profit and delight. 'A verse may hit him who a sermon flies.'

*Marionettes.* By Francis Macnamara. (Elkin Mathews. 3s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Macnamara's title aptly represents the procession of figures that pass across his stage. He rings them on with a graceful 'salute,' and then offers his prayer to Kleio, the muse of history. It is scarce ended before Francis Bernardone appears in the midst of a little company of friars bound for Rome. That scene of humility and love gives place to studies of Francis Drake, Francis Villon, Francis Vallois, all full of thought and ripe study. The verse grows upon us. It is not always easy to strike out its music at a first reading, but the melody comes out impressively as we grow familiar with the metre. Some of the short pieces are very graceful, and the miserable end of King Henry II is full of pathos. Altogether this is a book of power and promise.

Mr. Frowde has added *Shelley's Literary and Philosophical Criticism* (2s. 6d. net) to his tasteful Oxford Library of Prose and Poetry. Mr. Shawcross, the editor, supplies a valuable introduction, and some letters are included illustrating Shelley's literary and artistic criticism. Shelley's admiration for Jesus Christ comes out in the 'Essay on Christianity,' though he rather lightly brushes aside aspects of His teaching which do not commend themselves to him. The glimpses we get of Byron in the letters are of great interest. Every lover of Shelley's poetry will feel the charm of his prose and want to put this volume by the side of his poems.

Messrs. Bagster & Sons send us four volumes of their Treasury Series (1s. net). They are dainty little books in blue, red, or green covers heavily gilt, and have as frontispieces 'The Light of the World,' 'Love and Death,' 'Hope,' 'The Happy Warrior.' One volume contains Browning's 'Christmas Eve' and 'Easter Day'; another Mrs. Browning's famous *Sonnets from the Portuguese*. The selection from Adelaide Procter's poems makes a charming volume, and *A Treasury of Short Poems: Elisabethan to Victorian* is full of gems.

*Flower and Thorn. Later Poems.* By Lloyd Mifflin. (Frowde. 4s. net.)

There is music in these sonnets, and the words are stately and well-poised. Our favourites are 'Beneath Her Window' and 'On Upland Slopes,' but each sonnet is a piece of high-class work.

*The Official Year-Book of the Church of England, 1910* (S.P.C.K., 3s.), is issued under the sanction of the bishops and both Houses of Convocation, and is full of the details about each diocese and all institutions of importance. It is compiled with wonderful care, and the experience of every year adds to its completeness and reliability.

*London Diocese Book for 1910.* (S.P.C.K. 1s. 6d. net.)

Prebendary Nash has edited this indispensable handbook with the utmost care, and both Churchmen and Nonconformists will be grateful for the mass of information given in the most compact and convenient form. It is a wonderful picture of the work which the Church of England is doing in London.

*A Handbook for Clergymen's Wives and Church Workers*, by Alice M. Moor (E. Stock, 9d. net), gives useful hints as to women's and girls' socials, blanket clubs, soup kitchens, &c. Everything has been tested by experience, and many will find the little book of great service.

*Pansies.* By James B. Riding, F.R.H.S. (92 Long Acre. 1d.). A practical expert here shows how to grow pansies to perfection. It is a delight to study these instructions, and the illustrations make one eager to get to work in one's garden.

*How Old Age Pensions Began to Be.* By F. H. Stead, M.A., Warden of Browning Hall and Hon. Sec.

to the National Pensions Committee. (Methuen. 2s. 6d. net.)

This is a detailed and elaborate history of the movement in favour of Old Age Pensions written by one who has been in the thick of the fight, but written in the excited and exalted style of the partisan and not very judicial descriptive reporter. The Act of 1908 is given in an appendix. The frontispiece is a fine and welcome portrait of Mr. Charles Booth, and the volume is embellished with portraits of other leaders in the movement, and with pictures of the Browning Hall and other centres of philanthropy.

*Two Australians on Pilgrimage to Jerusalem.* By William and Elizabeth Reed. (Culley. 2s.)

These Australian pilgrims used their opportunity well, and their story of travel will give real pleasure to those who are less fortunate than themselves. They saw Beyrout, Damascus, as well as the Holy Land, and they had evidently prepared carefully for the tour, so that they knew what to expect. The photographs are excellent. Young people could scarcely have a better introduction to Palestine than this brightly-written volume will give.

*Bokwalla* (R.T.S., 1s. net) is the true life-story of a Congo resident which brings out the woes of the natives in a realistic way, and will strongly appeal to the sympathy of English readers.

*The Future of the Congo*, by E. D. Morel (Smith, Elder & Co., 6d. net), is an analysis and criticism of the Belgian Government's proposals for reform. No one interested in this painful question can afford to overlook this pamphlet.

Mr. Murray's Shilling Library begins with three volumes which every one will be eager to have on his shelves. *Self Help* is now reprinted for about the fifty-seventh time. *The River Amasons* still appeals to all lovers of travel and natural history; whilst Dean Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine* is in many respects unrivalled. Its value is increased by a large map, and Bates's famous book is freely illustrated. The type is good, and the crimson covers look attractive. For permanent interest this library will be very hard indeed to match. A shilling net for such treasures will be a splendid investment for any household.

## Periodical Literature

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### BRITISH

Three articles in the *Quarterly* (January-March) are of more than ordinary interest. *What the Poor Want*, by Mr. Stephen Reynolds, is of special value to the social worker and reformer; *The Rise of the Native*, by Sir H. H. Johnston, appeals to every Briton, with his vast responsibilities for the various races brought beneath his rule, and should be useful in directing the inquiries of those who wish to form sound judgements on imperial questions and act with justice and beneficence towards the teeming millions committed to our guidance and entrusted to our sway; and, lastly, Bible students who may not possess Professor G. A. Smith's great work upon the subject will find it finely appreciated in the paper in which Dr. Burney brings together all that is at present known about *Ancient Jerusalem*.

The *National Review* for February contains an exceedingly able review by Mr. F. S. Oliver of Professor Nicholson's new volume *A Project of Empire*. The aim of the book, it appears, is to put the principles of Adam Smith in their true political light. According to his brilliant disciple, the father of political economy was no narrow individualist and anti-militarist, but a great practical and idealist imperialist, a great humanist, and a great nationalist who wished to transform what in his day was, and still remains, a mere 'project of Empire.'

In addition to the new instalment of Meredith's unpublished novel *Celt and Saxon*, the February *Fortnightly* contains a paper by 'Katharine Tynan,' full of insight and generous appreciation, on *Francis Thompson*. Practically everything he wrote, says Mrs. Tynan-Hinkson, had 'the authentic air of the immortals. You can hardly open a page of his three volumes without finding something ravishing, something poignant.' Sir Oliver Lodge's address to the Authors' Society on *The Responsibility of Authors* appears in full. Incidentally, Sir Oliver has much to say that is helpful and illuminating on the terrible problem of pain. 'Coercion to a predestined end,' says he, 'is bad art. If that statement is true, it is important. . . . For instance, the old and fundamental question, "Why is there any pain and sorrow in the world?" can be answered from this point of view. For it is a familiar fact that pain and sorrow are not kept out of a work of art designed and created by man. Why not? . . . Because they are felt to be necessary, because they

serve a useful end; they rescue existence from insipidity, they furnish scope for the exercise of human functions—their endurance is justified, and felt to be "worth while." "King Lear," for instance, is a work of pain and sorrow and beauty. To achieve the beauty the pain was necessary, and its creator thought it worth while. He would not have it otherwise, nor would we. So it is in real life. Creation is "good," even "very good," but not perfect. We are still living amid imperfections; there is always room for improvement. Why is there any imperfection? Because without it evolution and progress, of the high kind which we are privileged to take part in, could not go on. . . . The lesson taught us by works of art is that the whole effort, the groaning and travailing of creation, is worth while. . . . How splendid must the future of the race be if all this trouble and all the millions of years of preparation that science tells us of, were needed as its prelude. Each step is presumably essential, as it is in a good work of art. Nothing is there wasted—each word, each scene, each act tells. So I assume it to be with real existence; each step, however painful it may be, is an essential part of the whole.'

A comparison and contrast between Lorenzo de' Medici and Savonarola forms the substance of a striking biographical and critical article on the former in the *Edinburgh Review* (January-March). There is also a timely article on *The Tercentenary of the Telescope*. But the 'gem' of the number shines on the breast of *Molière*. Eight books about him have appeared in the last seven years—one by a Dane, three by Frenchmen, and four by Englishmen and Americans. On these, and on the writer's own research, the article is based. It is a serious and suggestive study of the thought, the method, and the influence of the greatest comic dramatist of modern times. *Molière*, it is shown, had much of the richness of Rabelais's humour, and beneath the humour there is 'deep observation and ripe reflection.' He has also 'a full share of the sceptical optimism' of Montaigne, who 'also loved sincerity and abominated falsity and treachery.' The philosophy of *Molière*, like his morality and religion, is that of a man of the world. 'It is not vague or dreamy or mystic; it is practical, even if it has the flavour of Epicureanism rather than of Stoicism. It is not unlike the eminently uninspired philosophy of Franklin, serviceable enough for every-day use, but not sustaining in the darker crises of experience. It is kindly and not uncharitable. It prevents him from idealizing humanity, and it helps him to keep his grip on the reality of things as they are.'

The last three numbers of *Mind* have been enlivened by a piquant controversy between the partisans of Idealism, in the person of Professor Bradley, and the protagonists of Pragmatism, in the person of Professor Schiller. Only the pen that described *The Battle of the Books* could well do justice to the bloodless fray; all we need to say is that our readers would find both information and amusement

in the word-play of these doughty combatants. In the January number there is also a long and deeply-interesting notice by Mr. A. E. Taylor of Mr. J. A. Stewart's *Plato's Doctrine of Ideas*, a sort of sequel to his delightful volume on *The Myths of Plato*, noticed in this REVIEW for July 1905. Those who are interested in Mysticism will find much in Mr. Taylor's friendly criticism that will help them. He thinks that Professor Stewart's psychology of contemplation, with all its charm, is 'largely irrelevant to the study of Plato, on the very ground that it is only applicable to what can be sensibly intuited.' He also doubts whether Stewart's psychology really explains the raptures of the saints. 'It applies admirably to Ezekiel's Cherubim and St. Teresa's Diamond, but not, I think, to the entirely non-sensuous "One" of Plotinus, nor to the "Being than whom none better can be conceived" of St. Anselm.'

**The Church Quarterly** (January).—The editor's article on *The Christ of History* will be welcomed by many. He shows that it is not only the facts at the very beginning of Christianity that we have to explain: it is everything that has happened since. We have to account for the stupendous fact that the life of Christ has completely transformed history. The whole trend of modern investigation has not explained the personality of Jesus. It has made us realize that our Lord was completely man, but has 'made it still more necessary for us to look upon Him as truly God, because in and through the forms of His earthly life He has given divine life to man.'

**Hibbert Journal** (January).—Baron von Hügel and Rev. C. E. Osborne write on the inexhaustible subject of Father Tyrrell's character and teaching, both articles containing personal information of great interest. Professor Henry Jones's study of Tennyson should do something to check the absurd disparagement of the great Victorian poet which is fashionable in some quarters just now. Rev. K. C. Anderson's article, intended to prove that Liberal Christianity has failed in its attempt to build upon the Jesus of history, may have an effect not intended by the writer. The vindication of the traditional view of the historical records is complete, and carries with it some inferences which neither Dr. Anderson nor 'Liberal Christians' are prepared to face. Dr. Forsyth's paper on *Orthodoxy* strives to establish a use of the words heterodoxy and heresy which they will hardly bear. His plea for true liberty rather than 'liberalism' is irresistible. *Divorcons!* by an Evangelical Layman, contains an appeal to the Evangelical party to separate themselves from the Church of England. It is a counsel of despair.

**Journal of Theological Studies** (January).—A larger proportion than usual in this number is given to 'leading' articles. There are three, each full of interest in its own line. Dr. Sanday reviews the Cambridge *Biblical Essays* with his usual urbane discrimination. His rebuke, usually given in the midst of praise, is an 'excel-

lent oil,' which 'does not break the head.' Mr. C. H. Turner's *Historical Introduction* to New Testament textual criticism deals in this instalment with the languages of the early Church, and especially the first Syriac Gospels. The value of the material presented in these papers is matched by the sound judgement with which it is handled. Rev. E. F. Morison deals with the relation between priest and prophet before the Exile. He brings out with unusual force the importance of the priest's work as a teacher. Dr. J. H. Moulton's review of Mr. H. St. J. Thackeray's *Grammar of the Septuagint* is cordially appreciative, whilst containing criticisms which only an expert could furnish.

The *Holborn Review* for January continues the *Primitive Methodist Quarterly Review* under the same management as before and on the same lines. A round dozen of articles includes a paper by Dr. James Lindsay on *The Genius of Browning*, another by H. W. Clark on *The Paradox of the Vision of God*, and a discussion of Nietzsche's teaching and influence under the title *Moral Anarchism*. The article on *The Fourth Gospel* is too brief and slight to be of much use in these days; more likely to be useful is the account given, accompanied by a little friendly criticism, of Professor W. James's *Philosophy* by Mr. Atkinson Lee. Professor Peake's survey of *Some Recent New Testament Literature* is informing and likely to be helpful to readers who cannot conduct a survey at first hand into the latest work of Zahn, Swete, Weiss, Stanton, Hort, and other writers noticed with insight and discrimination.

*Expositor* (January and February).—In the current year several interesting series of papers have begun their course. Among them we may mention *Studies in the Sermon on the Mount*, by Professor Margoliouth; *Sin as a Problem of To-day*, by Dr. James Orr—two valuable instalments have already appeared; *The Method of Studying the Psalter*, by Canon Driver, as well as *The Historical Value of the Fourth Gospel*, by Dr. E. H. Askwith, who had made some progress with this subject before the close of last year. One of the best papers which has appeared for some time opens the January number, *The Personal Religion of an Evolutionist*, by Professor A. Macalister. It is full of various suggestions. In speaking of the revelation of God in Christ Dr. Macalister says: 'As the preparation of man for this revelation was a long evolutionary process, the ancient record of humanity through the ages when men's notions were crude must of necessity include much that is legendary and unauthentic of which a judicious criticism will purge it.' The application of this principle in some directions would work a revolution.

*The Expository Times* (January, February, March).—Dr. P. J. MacLagan of Swatow contributes a paper to each of these three numbers on *Taoism*, a religion far too little taken into account

when China is described. It will be news to many that it contains the 'Christian affinities' which the writer points out. Sir W. Ramsay's paper on *The Institution of the Eucharist* discusses chiefly the difficulties raised by the narrative in Luke xxii. As his argument is not yet finished, it would be premature to comment on it; but whatever solution is arrived at, it is tolerably clear that it will not be free from difficulty. The Dean of Chester writes on *Is there no Atonement?*, discussing Rabbi Adler's views on this subject; and among Methodist writers we notice that Professor Holdsworth continues his treatment of the *Life of Faith*, Rev. R. M. Pope contributes an interesting study of *Boldness of Speech* as a word in St. Paul's vocabulary, and Dr. J. H. Moulton furnishes an illuminating note on the subject of *The Marks of Jesus* spoken of in Gal. vi. 18.

### AMERICAN

**Harvard Theological Review.**—The third volume opens with an excellent January number. Dr. A. C. McGiffert contributes a thoughtful study of *Modernism and Catholicism*, well-informed and revealing true insight into the significance of the movement. 'The modernists would interpret Catholicism as unity, but not as authority. . . . But from the second century down to the present it has had both meanings, and the Roman Catholic Church is built even more definitely and explicitly upon the second than upon the first.' The editor allows, and is well advised in so doing, more than a quarter of the space—nearly forty pages—to a comprehensive and luminous survey of *Panbabylonianism* by Dr. Crawford H. Toy. The theories of Winckler and Jeremias are described as 'limited in scope and unscientific in methods.' The development of the religion of ancient Israel 'springs from the national fortunes or the experiences of individuals. . . . The stories of Abraham and Moses, as they stand, exhibit human experience and have human interest—they are dehumanized when they are made into reflexions of the adventures of Tammuz and Ishtar.' Much information on *Present Religious Conditions in Germany* is given by Pfarrer Richard Lempp of Stuttgart. 'The most brilliant aspect of German church life' is presented by the work of the 'Inner Mission,' the Gustav Adolf League, and other Christian societies. 'The outlook is much less favourable when we pass from the practical religious life of the Church to the theoretical, to the questions of doctrine.' A somewhat grudging recognition is given of the incontrovertible fact that the influence of the 'sects' has led 'the established Church to greater and more intensive care of the life of its members.' What Germany needs is a revival of evangelical religion; the writer of this thoughtful paper expects too much from philosophical reconciliation of 'the antagonism between religion and culture.' His conclusion is that 'naturalism is outgrown in the best circles of German thinking, but that no distinct new ideal has taken its place.'

**Bibliotheca Sacra.**—The January number contains several articles of general interest. Dr. John Bascom examines *Difficulties in Faith*, his main thesis being that 'Faith must necessarily shape itself by the balance of considerations, and wait on the growth of experience for firmer conclusions. The very fact that there is growth under the notion of theism, that the mind finds it a pivot and swings ever more freely thereon, is of itself a confirmation of faith.' Dr. Albert T. Swing describes lucidly *The Theological Situation in Germany*. To-day, in the Reichstag, the Government party has 28 per cent., the Catholic party 33 per cent., the Liberal party 28 per cent., and the Social Democrats 11 per cent. of the total membership. But in the number of voters the Social Democrats take the lead. Dr. Swing anticipates that ere long 'the alignment' of these almost equal forces will be shifted. He sees Protestantism weakened by division into groups and confronted by an aggressive Roman Catholicism. 'More than this, Germany is fatally weak in the lack of that powerful Nonconformist middle-class which has been the strength of England and the boon of America.' In his paper on *Philosophical Tests of Socialism*, Dr. James Lindsay, of Irvine, Scotland, contends that 'there is no Socialistic aim which can possibly justify or compensate the sacrifice of man's true individuality.' The 'individualism' which sees nothing but self is condemned, but individuality is 'the true and only Socialism, properly so called,' inasmuch as it 'leads me to be myself in order that I may be something for society.'

**The American Journal of Theology** (January) opens with an article by President Faunce on *Public Worship*, the influence of which is declining in the United States; partly, the writer thinks, owing to faults in the Church, partly to certain prevalent characteristics of society. The two papers on *The Ultimate Test of Religious Truth: Is it Historical or Philosophical?* are academic in character and contain rather dry reading. They both recognize, as might be expected, that a sound method of testing truth must include both historical and philosophical elements. Professor Faulkner of Drew Seminary contributes a bright and instructive paper on *The First Great Christian Creed*, giving an account of the Council of Nicaea. Dr. Granbery's paper on *Christological Peculiarities in 1 Peter* assigns a late date to that Epistle, denying its Petrine authorship and finding in it 'no genuine personal reminiscence of Jesus.' Dr. C. H. Dickinson argues at considerable length that humiliation may be better for a church than exaltation, and would have the Christian Church of to-day learn from her many and conspicuous failures. The reviews are long and interesting. If the *Journal* were as strong in construction as it is in criticism, it would be one of the best theological periodicals extant.

**The Methodist Review** (New York, January-February) contains a sermon by Professor Faulkner, mentioned above, on *The Message*

of Baptism, preached to the students of Drew. Dr. R. T. Miller contributes a paper on *The Bishop a Member in the General Conference*—very interesting to members of the M. E. Church. Other articles are *The Civic Value of the Old Testament*, by Wallace Macmullen, a name honoured on this side of the Atlantic; *Thomas Arnold at Oxford*, by J. M. Dixon; *Browning and Omar Khayyam*, by A. W. Crawford, and *Visions of the Christ*, by Professor Kuhns of Wesleyan University.

The *Methodist Review* (Nashville, January) presents a varied bill of fare. The following titles will give some idea of its contents: *Neglect of the Atonement in Present Day Preaching*, by Dr. F. Parker; *The Old-Time Circuit Rider*, by Dr. J. A. Rice; *Gladstone the Christian Statesman*, by Bishop Hendrix; *The General Conference of 1844*, by the editor, Dr. Gross Alexander, and *The Divine Drama of Dante*, by Professor R. Jones. The reviews are ably and carefully written; amongst them we are glad to notice an appreciative estimate of Dr. G. G. Findlay's *Fellowship in the Life Eternal*.

The *Princeton Theological Review* (January) contains three articles only. The first, of more than forty pages, deals with the great living question of *Christian Experience and Dogmatic Theology*. The writer, Professor C. W. Hodge, pleads earnestly the claims—now so generally discredited—of Dogmatic Theology. The next article, by Professor S. Angus, runs to fifty pages, but not one of them will be begrudged by students anxious to gain an adequate idea, in the light of the latest knowledge, of *The 'Koiné,' the Language of the New Testament*. This scholarly survey of a wide field is conducted with great ability. A shorter paper, by C. R. Morey, on *The Origin of the Fish-Symbol*, together with a cluster of reviews, completes the number.

The *Review and Expositor* (Louisville) for January is a Jubilee number. It contains more than a dozen articles reviewing the progress discernible in fifty years, since the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary was founded, of Biblical Research and Theology generally. Professor Tillett of Vanderbilt University discusses the general question of Theological Seminaries and the training of teachers, and Dr. A. H. Strong's account of *The Present Outlook in Theology* is interesting and able. The friends of the Southern Baptist Seminary are greatly to be congratulated on their present position after half a century of chequered history.

#### FOREIGN

**Religion und Geisteskultur.**—The January number is almost entirely devoted to the philosophical aspects of religion and theology. The first paper, by the editor, is entitled *The Transcendental Element in Our View of the World and in Religion*. At the outset an important distinction is drawn between a theoretical recognition of the

transcendental in constructing theories of the world and the practical attitude towards the transcendental which is involved in its recognition in the religious life. Religion implies both the realization of the influence of the transcendental upon us, and our response to that influence. In other words, philosophy is concerned with the problem of the existence of God, religion with our personal relation to Him. With the religious aspect of his theme Professor Steinmann will deal at length in the April number; the most interesting section of this article is that in which he dwells on the reasons for modern reluctance to acknowledge the transcendental, as, for example, the widespread notion that belief in it depreciates the value of the good things of this life. Dr. W. Ernst writes on *The Meaning of Anthropomorphism and its Significance for Religion and Science*. His main positions are: Neither science nor religion can dispense with the use of anthropomorphisms; the danger of anthropomorphic methods of thought is the ascription to the Infinite of human limitations; anthropomorphism must be employed with caution, because in its naïve and grosser forms it may lead to the identification of the eternal with temporal forms of existence; criticism of anthropomorphic theories has led to a purer and more trustworthy statement of the truths embodied therein. Discussing *The Experience of the Divine as the Basal Problem of the Philosophy of Religion*, Dr. Oesterreich examines the ecstatic utterances of mystics, and has no difficulty in showing that by some of them extreme language is used in regard to the absorption of the human ego in the divine spirit. His comment on the explanation of religious experience by Professor James is that in all ages communion with God has been conscious and has not been relegated to the subconscious realm of the spiritual life. Further psychological analysis is held to be essential to anything like a satisfactory solution of the problems involved. An article on *Theology and the Theory of Knowledge*, by Pfarrer Alfred Eckert, is noteworthy, inasmuch as the able author announces that he is treating this important subject more fully in a book shortly to be issued and entitled *Phenomenology of the Ego*. On psychological grounds Eckert challenges the position of theologians like J. Kaftan, who assume the validity of Kant's distinction between relative and absolute truth. Enough is said to awaken interest in the forthcoming work. It is sound criticism to say of the modern historico-religious school: 'Historical theology would have been preserved from many errors and excesses if its methods had been more securely based on a theory of knowledge.' A biographical article is a welcome change, and it is tempting to linger on Frühauf's delightful account of *The Personal Attitude towards Religion of the Philosopher Gustav Glogau*. 'It was simply the power of truth which led this earnest investigator to Christianity' is the testimony of Dr. Muff in his *Idealism*. From the letters of Glogau it is shown that his career is an apologetic argument for Christianity. He was one of the foremost psychologists of the nineteenth century; towards the end of his life he expressed regret that he had not been a

theologian; the resemblances between Harnack and Glogau are pointed out.

**Theologische Literaturzeitung.**—The Calvin quatercentenary, celebrated last year, produced a plentiful crop of lectures and pamphlets. In No. 3 Dr. Lobstein of Strasburg reviews no less than ten publications, some of the most interesting being academic addresses in which German theologians estimate the work of the Swiss reformer. There is unanimity in the recognition of Calvin's immense influence not only upon Protestantism generally, but also upon the history of the world. Lobstein does not expect that Germans will ever be so deeply interested in Calvin as in Luther, but he rejoices to think that these appreciations of him will enlarge the conceptions of those who know little or nothing about Calvin except that he had Servetus burnt at the stake, and that he taught 'the terrible doctrine of Predestination.' In an address delivered in Breslau Dr. Cornill explains Calvin's errors as being due, not to faults of personal character, but to the ideas of his age, and especially to his blending of politics with religion. Preaching in Brunswick, Professor Mirbt said: 'Calvin may impress us rather as an imposing than as an inspiring personality, he may gain our respect rather than our love; but Calvin remains the prophet to whom we must look up with reverence, and in whose presence only serious and solemn thoughts are seemly—an example in piety and moral endeavour, who won over nations to the evangelical faith.' One of the most interesting deliverances seems to have been that of Dr. Wernle at Basle. It had the advantage of local colour, for after Geneva and Strasburg no Protestant town is so rich in associations with Calvin as Basle. Having spoken of Calvin's attitude to Basle leaders—Grynäus, Myconius, and Sulzer—Professor Wernle proceeded to estimate his influence on Protestantism. He supplied two elements lacking in Lutheranism: he insisted on a complete and open break with Rome, and he demanded strict discipline in the churches. Calvin was also in advance of Luther in his missionary zeal. 'But to me what is greatest in Calvin is manifest in all his learned works, namely, that this man knows from experience what he is writing about, that God is to him more than an object of theological speculation. . . . In his own personality Calvin has shown the world what faith is.' Professor Holl, speaking in Berlin University, argued that if Calvin had really been as 'ambitious, cold, cruel, and malicious' as he was often painted, after his death there would have been a fierce reaction against him in Geneva. 'But the building of which Calvin laid the foundation remained standing for 150 years without the loss of a single stone.' Dr. Holl makes a contribution towards the psychological solution of the problem of Calvin's conversion. In opposition to some scholars—amongst whom is Mr. Andrew Lang—he supports Karl Müller's view that Calvin, during his first residence in Paris, became conversant with evangelical ideas.

**Theologische Rundschau.**—Dr. Mayer begins in the January number a comprehensive survey of recent literature dealing with the

question *What is Religion?* (*Das Wesen der Religion*). Comparing the views of Reischle and Kaftan, he points out that Kaftan strives to ascertain the common characteristics of various religions, whereas Reischle seeks to formulate the conceptions which are essential to normal religion. Kaftan is held to have right on his side, but the chief value of the discussion is that it has demonstrated the importance of distinguishing between the two questions *What is Religion?* and *Is a Religion true?* The former is *quaestio facti*, the latter *quaestio juris*, and in answering it estimates of the value and normality of a religion are in place. Mayer is of opinion that the difference between Reischle and Kaftan is more correctly described as a difference of method. Both agree that the religious consciousness cannot be identified with the scientific, or the moral, or the aesthetic consciousness; that the historic religions are sometimes pure, sometimes impure, or sometimes perfect, sometimes imperfect embodiments of the essentials of religion; and that the object of students of religion should be to establish the unique character of the religious consciousness by showing exactly how it differs from the scientific, the moral, or the aesthetic consciousness. Kaftan holds that the end will be more certainly attained by beginning with a comparative study of the various religions; Reischle thinks that the more promising plan is to fix attention at the outset on the normal and genuine religion, that is to say the Christian religion. In a review of *Johannine Literature* Dr. A. Meyer notes that although Wellhausen regards the Fourth Gospel as a composite work, he ascribes such passages as iii. 16 and chap. xvii. to the original author, and that he regards the Gospel as an historical unity, emanating as a whole from the same circle of thought.

*Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, published under the direction of the French Dominican professors in the Theological College at Saulchoir, Belgium, is one of the ablest and most learned religious quarterlies in Europe. It enters upon its fourth year (January-March) with a number of leading articles of great weight and worth: *Le Sens Commune et la Métamorphose*; *De l'Induction chez Aristote*; *La Philosophie religieuse de Kant*; and, most remarkable of all to the Old Testament student, *Le Culte des Dieux étrangers en Israël*. This last is the first of a series that should prove of special value to our readers: it deals with the Queen of Heaven referred to in Jeremiah. These elaborate articles are followed by forty-four pages devoted to brief but luminous and readable reviews of recent books on Philosophy in Europe and America, and by thirty-four pages similarly devoted to the current literature of Biblical Theology. In both these departments the survey is wide, if not exhaustive, and the arrangement of subjects and materials is admirable. Then follows a most interesting Chronicle of cognate events, and no less than thirty pages by the editor on the current periodical literature pertaining to the philosophical and theological sciences. The editor's work is a marvel of condensation and lucidity. The Review may best be described perhaps as a Catholic *Hibbert*

*Journal.* The treatment throughout is scientific, and the spirit of the writers is admirable. Much of the space devoted to philosophy is occupied by recent books on Pragmatism, which is usefully divided into four principal forms: 'le pragmatisme biologique ou théorie instrumentale de la connaissance; le pragmatisme psychologique ou théorie motrice de la vérité; le pragmatisme ontologique ou théorie humaniste de la vérité; enfin le pragmatisme logique qui repose sur ce principe que la vérité d'une proposition dépend de ses conséquences.' The attitude of the pragmatists towards religion is thus described:

The pragmatists do not regard religion either as a collection of truths given by supernatural revelation, or as a philosophical construction, but as a product essentially human. It is from the very nature of man, and from their utility to man, that beliefs derive their authority, and history shows that it is this way that religions have proved themselves. Verification in this case is essentially the same as in the sciences; only it is less advanced. In any case, if religion is not fully proved, the opposite hypothesis is no better established, and, in the absence of decisive rational motives, it is legitimate to choose, with all its risks and perils, the part which opens out the best perspectives. So reasons the pragmatist; but if he were consistent with his principles he ought to reject religion, for his radical empiricism forbids him to believe in the existence of a being like God, who is not included in our experience. The idea of God, he affirms, is true because it is useful; but this does not mean that a God really exists, and this Mr. Dewey seems to recognize. Pragmatism, therefore, ends in a necessary and incurable scepticism, since it replaces by certain aspects of our experience the God of the religious consciousness.

Students of religious experience should not miss M. Victor Giraud's fine article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (February 1) on *L'Evolution Religieuse de Pascal*. Pascal's first conversion (in 1646, at the age of twenty-three) is regarded as an 'intellectual' conversion. That which was touched in him on his first contact with Jansenism was not what he afterwards called 'the heart,' the deepest parts of his nature, his feelings and his will, but rather those which are the most superficial, the intellect of which he was so proud. What passion he had at this period was intellectual and theological. Then followed a period of worldliness in which he found no rest. The various stages which led to his second and more spiritual conversion are carefully traced, and the change itself and its consequences are graphically described. It is a charming and illuminating study of the documents with which many of our readers will be familiar, and makes a rich addition to the literature called forth by the publication of Professor W. James's *Varieties of Religious Experience*.