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THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

JANUARY 1912

‘THE GOLDEN BOUGH’

Totemism and Exogamy. By J. G. FRAZER, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D., F.B.A., Professor of Social Anthropology in Liverpool University, and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Four vols. (Macmillan, 1910.)

The Magic Art, and the Evolution of Kings. (The first part of the third edition of *The Golden Bough*.) Two vols. (Macmillan, 1911.)

Taboo, and the Perils of the Soul. (Part II of the same.) (Macmillan, 1911.)

The Dying God. (Part III of the same.) (Macmillan, 1911.)

Adonis, Attis, Osiris. Studies in Oriental Religion. (Part IV of the same.) Second edition. (Macmillan, 1907.)

Passages of the Bible, chosen for their Literary Beauty and Interest. Second edition. (A. & C. Black, 1909.)

Psyche's Task. A discourse concerning the Influence of Superstition on the Growth of Institutions. (Macmillan, 1909.)

THE recent output of the famous author of *The Golden Bough* has been fairly bewildering in quantity and quality alike. The great work with which Dr. Frazer's name will always be associated appeared in its second edition, greatly enlarged, in 1900. Within the last four years four out of the six projected parts of the third edition

have arrived, and the half is already much more than the whole, for there are over two thousand pages now, as against some fourteen hundred in the second edition. The mere penmanship and proof-correcting of such a book would have been a guarantee of industry. But within the period of this great enterprise there has been another work more extensive still. The four volumes on *Totemism and Exogamy* contain nearly two thousand two hundred pages, of which only the odd two hundred are accounted for as reprints of earlier work. All this is far from exhausting the publications of the great anthropologist during the decade since *The Golden Bough* reappeared in its second edition. We have selected two smaller works for their special interest in the list given above. A mere glance at the pages of these stately volumes will impress the most casual reader with the stupendous industry that underlies them. To those who have been behind the scenes, those masses of detailed references call up long lines of scrupulously neat manuscript books, minutely indexed, in which Dr. Frazer has transcribed extracts from endless treatises and journals, books of travel, missionary periodicals, scientific works on anthropology, *et hoc genus omne*. Faster than a moderately busy man can read them, these marvellous volumes flow from the press, the immense mass of facts and observations sorted out, recorded under their proper headings, indexed and referenced for every student to examine independently; and those who know most of the writer and his methods wonder most how on earth it is done.

But it need not be observed that with Dr. Frazer genius is a good deal more than an infinite capacity for taking pains. He has been not only the foremost collector and systematizer of facts in the young science which he has done so much to force to the front: he takes his place with the great pioneers who strike out far-reaching generalizations which, even if they are destined ultimately to yield their place or suffer material change, yet remain the indispensable

means of scientific advance. There is a wonderful play of imagination in the very conception of *The Golden Bough*. In a paper in this Review published nearly ten years ago the present writer compared it with *The Ring and the Book* in regard of the extraordinary expansion which has made a slight-seeming story supply material for a work of immense extent. Such comments are of course still more pointed now. In two decades the famous treatise has twice doubled its size, and yet the unity is as clear as ever, and padding and irrelevance as rigidly excluded. The constructive fancy of the man of letters, as well as the precise logic of the scientist, are alike involved in the insight which in one strange ritual survival of ancient Italy can recognize a whole series of clues that lead the inquirer far away down the avenues of Time, into usages which on many sides of his nature reveal the very elements of the constitution of man.

The audience which Dr. Frazer now reaches is amazingly large for work of such high scientific quality. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, the first part of the new edition to make its appearance, within a little more than a year ran out of print, and came out afresh, ‘swellin’ wisely’ in the process, after Dr. Frazer’s manner, before the author could be allowed to press on with the rest of the book. When Part I was published, early in the present year, its two bulky volumes, at twenty shillings net, sold to the extent of a thousand copies in the first week; nor did Part II a few weeks later meet a less eager public. The beauty and lucidity of the style has no doubt much to do with the popularity of a work so crowded with exact learning and profound speculation. Characteristically enough, Dr. Frazer has always made a point of reserving time in which to saturate himself in the best English prose, in order to secure for his own English the qualities that his fastidious taste demands. Whether nature or industry, or the happy combination of the two, bestowed on him the gift, no reader will overlook the exquisite literary skill with which dullness and monotony

are banished even from long sections devoted to the presentation of masses of closely similar social facts. And when the subject gives the artist his opportunity, the recounting of some romantic legend, or the setting forth of massive theory or comprehensive generalization, the prose glows with warmth and energy: sonorous but natural cadences, lucid and unforced, with never a suggestion of mere fine writing or meretricious ornament, are lit with flashes of mordant irony or varied with touches of vivid word-painting. In particular we might well single out Dr. Frazer's prefaces¹ as samples of the very best style that our great language can command, the perfect use of words to express serious thought, in phrases that linger in the memory like strains of music. Thinkers and men of science will no doubt always be divided into the literary and the unliterary, the camp of Plato and the camp of Aristotle. We can gratefully recognize the service that a pioneer renders when he so emphatically follows the former idea.

Any attempt to review even the broad lines of Dr. Frazer's latest treatment of his familiar theme would obviously break down on the space limitation that makes exposition impossible. The expansion which has so transformed *The Golden Bough* in its third edition consists, of course, very largely in the incorporation of new evidence, with discussion of points of detail involved therein. But the new form of the book is intended to remind us that the author no longer ties himself so closely to the original motive, the exposition and illustration of the ritual of Nemi. The hints provided there are followed out in various directions which often lead away from the starting-point. Thus in the first volume of *The Magic Art* we now find Dr. Frazer's well-known thesis as to the relation of magic to religion expanded into a whole chapter, instead of being given briefly in strict relation to the special theme. The

¹ That to *The Dying God*, published too late for quotation here, is perhaps the gem of the whole series.

part of magic in the evolution of kingship is also investigated with great fullness. It is when we have thus studied the history of the institution of royalty that we come back to the grove of Aricia and understand what was signified by the dignity of the unhappy ex-slave who reigned as 'King of the Wood' until a stronger than he should pluck the 'golden bough' from the sacred tree, slay the royal priest, and wear his uneasy crown. This serves the minor purpose of linking the discussion with the title of the whole work; but it need not be added that the by-products of this process are of far greater importance than the object supposed to be in view. The historian is perpetually concerned with the person whom the accident of birth or fortune, or (less frequently) his own gifts of body or mind, have brought to rule his fellow men. How did this kingship arise? What led men in the dim prehistoric past to tolerate and even welcome a social institution which gave such tremendous rights to the one as against the many? We learn here that kingship began with duties rather than rights. The king held a position involving a minimum of personal comfort, and of brief tenure, dependent at best upon his continuing to preserve his fullest bodily powers intact. He was there simply to serve his people as a rain-maker, or by other magical arts believed to be inherent in his divine personality. And at the end there loomed before him the day when a sacrificial death, generally of barbarous cruelty, would crown his service and transmit his royalty to another wearer of his dignity. An Englishman takes satisfaction in noting that our own monarchy has developed away from the perversion which made the people the servants of the king, into the loftier ideal by which the king is the servant of his people. And the student of the New Testament observes how strikingly this primitive conception foreshadows the law of the kingdom of God—thus shown to lie along the lines of man's ultimate nature—that service is the one condition of precedence, and that the King of

Men 'came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give His life as a ransom for many.'

We should like to tarry on the fascinating subject of Tree-worship, which occupies most of the second volume of Part I. It is full of interest for the reader of the Old Testament, who remembers the stern fight against the worship of the Asherah; and again for the antiquary interested in old English customs, who goes to Knutsford on May Day to see the artificial survival of the Maypole, which meant so much in our distant forefathers' lives. But we must hasten on. The last instalment but one of *The Golden Bough* concerns the big subject of Taboo, which is kept in close relation with the primitive conception of the Soul. The treatise of over four hundred pages is expanded from what in the first edition was only a single chapter. But in a striking preface Dr. Frazer indicates a line of extreme interest and importance which he has been obliged to touch only in passing, 'the part which these superstitions [about taboo] have played in shaping the moral ideas and directing the moral practice of mankind, a profound subject fraught perhaps with momentous issues for the time when men shall seriously set themselves to revise their ethical code in the light of its origin.' The remark leads the author on to comment in two weighty and eloquent pages on the 'perpetual flux' to which the moral world is subject no less than the physical.

If we speak of the moral law as immutable and eternal, it can only be in the relative or figurative sense in which we apply the same words to the outlines of the great mountains, by comparison with the short-lived generations of men. The mountains, too, are passing away, though we do not see it; nothing is stable and abiding under or above the sun. We can as little arrest the process of moral evolution as we can stay the sweep of the tides or the courses of the stars.

Dr. Frazer's own answer to his question may be inferred best from the little volume of lectures entitled *Psyche's Task*, dedicated 'to all who are engaged in Psyche's task

of sorting out the seeds of good from the seeds of evil.' There he shows how superstition acted as foster-mother to all the most important social institutions of mankind, viz. government, private property, marriage, and respect for human life. As he says in his preface—

If it should turn out that these institutions have sometimes been built on rotten foundations, it would be rash to conclude that they must all come down. Man is a very curious animal, and the more we know of his habits the more curious does he appear. He may be the most rational of the beasts, but certainly he is the most absurd. Even the saturnine wit of Swift, unaided by a knowledge of savages, fell far short of the reality in his attempt to set human folly in a strong light. Yet the odd thing is that in spite, or perhaps by virtue, of his absurdities, man moves steadily upwards; the more we learn of his past history the more groundless does the old theory of his degeneracy prove to be. From false premisses he often arrives at sound conclusions: from a chimerical theory he deduces a salutary practice. This discourse will have served a useful purpose if it illustrates a few of the ways in which folly mysteriously deviates into wisdom, and good comes out of evil.

The optimist view of human development is thus powerfully proclaimed by the savant who has done more than any other writer to show us the horrors through which man has climbed, and is still climbing, to the future glory destined for him. To the relation of all this to religion we shall recur presently: at present it is enough to say that the picture thus painted by science is in complete harmony with the Christian doctrine that the goal of ethical perfection has been already revealed once for all in the 'Imperial Law' by which Jesus of Nazareth made ethics and religion one.

We must hasten away from the Taboo volume, which (if comparisons are to be made) contains perhaps a larger quantity of general interest than any of the sections. *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* has been before the public now for five years. It attaches itself to *The Golden Bough* by the fact that it forms part—only part—of the exposition of the royal sacrifice, by which the divine king is doomed,

like the priest at Nemi, sooner or later to die. These three very similar Oriental cults are part of the field traversed in Part III (just issued), on *The Dying God*. The cults are extremely interesting in themselves, and their local proximity to Palestine gives them special importance for the student of Hebrew religion. The volumes yet to come will all be more or less closely concerned with the subject of Part III. Part V, at present announced under the title *The Man of Sorrows*, will apparently contain Dr. Frazer's revised exposition of his famous theory about the outward conditions of the Passion. I need not repeat here what I wrote in this Review in 1902, but will only say that I hold entirely to my assurance that the devout and intelligent Christian will find nothing to shock him, and much even to heighten his conception of the meaning of our Master's humiliation. The concluding part, *Balder the Beautiful*, takes us to our ancestral Teutonic mythology for a 'dying god' of a special kind; and we may expect also the discussion of the 'Golden Bough' itself, since it was by an arrow of mistletoe that Balder met his fate. The forecast, drawn simply from the second edition, will serve to remind readers that Dr. Frazer may very possibly have kept the best to the last, and in any case has in store for us the very discussions to which Christian theologians will most eagerly turn.

With *Totemism and Exogamy* we pass to an entirely different field of anthropology: how distant is well seen by the fact that totemism does not figure at all in the index to Parts II and IV of *The Golden Bough*, and affects only a few pages in Parts I and III. There is something fairly overpowering about these immense volumes, three of them occupied almost entirely with a survey of the evidence for the ethnographical distribution of the institutions in question. We open first upon the reprint, only eighty-seven pages long, of the little pioneer treatise with which Dr. Frazer helped to bring Totemism into prominence twenty-five years ago.

The notes and corrections in the fourth volume show that there is relatively little to blot, even when the discoveries among the Australian aborigines have made the subject take a new form in so many directions. Dr. Frazer reprints articles of his, twelve years old, in which he showed the significance of these discoveries : like the first essay, these are brought up to date by the notes in vol. iv. The coast is then clear for the description of the institutions of races which are affected by totemism with or without exogamy, institutions ‘fundamentally distinct in origin and nature,’ though brought together by circumstances. We must ignore the survey here, crammed though it is with profoundly interesting facts of savage life over a large part of the globe. The fourth volume contains the summing up and verdict upon a mass of facts unexampled in its fullness and scientific exactness. On Totemism the most conspicuous result is the narrowing of its area. Writers on Greek and Hebrew religion have often discovered signs of totemism among the rudimentary forms which research uncovers. Dr. Frazer is profoundly sceptical.

It is true that learned and able writers have sought to prove the former existence of totemism both among the Semites and among the Aryans, notably among the ancient Greeks and Celts; but so far as I have studied the evidence adduced to support these conclusions I have to confess that it leaves me doubtful or unconvinced (iv. 12 et seq.).

Historians of Hebrew religion will note the bearing of this on Robertson Smith’s famous theory of the ‘totem sacrament,’ which takes a prominent place in attempts to interpret Sacrifice as an institution. Dr. Frazer’s remarks on the theory, as affected by Spencer and Gillen’s Australian discoveries, will be seen on pp. 230 f. of this volume. The evidence limits totemism to ‘the dark-complexioned and least civilized races of mankind who are spread over the Tropics and the Southern Hemisphere, but have also overflowed into North America.’ It appears to have arisen

independently in different regions, under the impulse of similar conditions acting upon a mind essentially similar everywhere, but dying out in prehistoric times wherever free communication between progressive races cleared away the 'clogs on the advance of civilization.'

With the quotation of Dr. Frazer's definition of totemism, and a reference to his theory of its origin, we must leave this part of our subject.

If now, reviewing all the facts, we attempt to frame a general definition of totemism, we may perhaps say that totemism is an intimate relation which is supposed to exist between a group of kindred people on the one side and a species of natural or artificial objects on the other side, which objects are called the totems of the human group. To this general definition, which probably applies to all purely totemic peoples, it should be added that the species of things which constitutes a totem is far oftener natural than artificial, and that amongst the natural species which are reckoned totems the great majority are either animals or plants (iv. 8 et seq.).

The extreme complexity of the investigation into the origins of this 'crude superstition' is well shown by the frank exposition of two theories which Dr. Frazer has held, the reasons which led him to abandon them, and the new theory to which further thought has now brought him. Put briefly, this theory depends on the savage's total ignorance as to the mystery of birth, the very connexion of which with paternity is unknown to Australian aborigines of to-day. Maternal fancies, identifying the unborn child with some external object which struck a woman's notice when she first knew herself a mother, are taken to be 'the root of totemism.'

The allied though distinct subject of exogamy raises many questions that go deep into the problem of man's origin and development. Dr. Frazer sets forth with great fullness of detail the extraordinary system by which the lowest known savages, the Australian aborigines, guard against marriage within prohibited degrees, including in

some tribes a relationship as distant as that of the first cousin. The why and whence of this universal¹ instinct against marriage within the kin is still among the unsolved problems of science. Dr. Frazer allows the probability that ‘the starting-point of the present Australian marriage system’ was ‘sexual promiscuity, or something like it,’² whether or no this represents ‘the absolutely primitive relations of the sexes among mankind’: these he holds we can never hope to determine with any degree of assurance, since even the Australian has advanced immensely from earlier conditions. But whence came this ‘growing aversion to the marriage of near kin’? Dr. Frazer shows that it cannot have been because primitive man found such interbreeding productive of degeneracy, for the very fact is uncertain and in any case hard to detect. He criticizes severely Dr. Westermarck’s attempted solution of the problem, showing (iv. 98) that he has tried to ‘extend Darwin’s methods to subjects which only partially admit of such treatment,’ by omitting to ‘take into account the factors of intelligence, deliberation, and will.’ (The caution is one which some men of science need greatly, and we may hope they will accept it from one of themselves, though they will not from theologians!) The instinct cannot be due to the feeling that the breaking of the taboo will injure the offending parties, for the punishment is always on a scale which shows that the community is believed to suffer from the incest. Dr. Frazer thinks there may have been a primitive belief that incest produced injurious, and in particular sterilizing, effects upon the whole people:—one recalls the tremendous description of the curse following the unconscious crime of Oedipus, in the great drama of Sophocles. But he frankly confesses he has no evidence for this; and indeed if he had, we should only be explaining

¹ The rare exceptions only prove the rule.

² He is careful to state (iv. 188) that there is no *evidence* that this ever existed.

ignotum per ignotius. But the next pages are given to showing that the balance of expert opinion is in favour of the view that 'the practice of exogamy or outbreeding would help,' as its opposite hinders, 'any community which adopted it in the long series of contests which result in the survival of the fittest.' We have then an instinct, practically universal among men, the origin of which is entirely beyond our power to explain, justifying itself by producing results of importance to the race. Are we not face to face with a modernized form of the argument from design? That a blind and unintelligent series of mechanical forces contrived to implant these instincts warning against things that were destined in the long run to produce physical harm to descendants, is a thesis some of us may be forgiven for regarding as more wonderful than any miracle.

Let me close with a few words about the relation of Dr. Frazer's work to Christian apologetics, a subject which has indeed been very near the surface all through the present paper. A sentence from a *Times* review may be cited as focusing in short compass what many have said on the subject—

The verdict of posterity will probably be that *The Golden Bough* has influenced the attitude of the human mind towards supernatural beliefs and symbolical rituals more profoundly than any other books published in the nineteenth century, except those of Darwin and Herbert Spencer.

Prosit omen! Our theological stocktaking has at least got far enough for us to be able to count up our gains from the new spirit which Charles Darwin brought into human thought. (Herbert Spencer's name is incomparably less important, and we need not inquire how far his influence is permanent for good or evil.) If Dr. Frazer's work is to produce the same far-reaching effect upon theology that *The Origin of Species* has left after fifty years, it is not Christian thinkers who will have cause to lament. If I may be pardoned the personal note, speaking as one who

for ten years has been profoundly influenced in all his thinking by Dr. Frazer's books, and yet more by intimate friendship with their author, I can very confidently express the assurance that religion only stands to gain when we recognize evolution as a mode of the Creator's self-revelation to men. Everywhere in the study of comparative religion we see how the deepest thoughts of Christian truth are shown to be in harmony with the very nature of man. It is not mere accident that in absolute independence, all over the world, primitive men should have conceived of the entrance of the divine into human life, and the death of the divinity, undergone that men might absorb his essence into themselves. The forms under which these ideas took shape have been grotesque enough, and often involve terrible cruelty. But the argument of *Psyche's Task* may be fairly applied here. Foolish or cruel, or both, have been the religious sanctions under which social institutions of unquestioned value have grown to maturity. We should call the games of children foolish if we judged them by the standard of grown men; nor is there wanting the analogue to the savage's unthinking cruelty. But we never confuse the childlike, which is natural, with the childish, which merits our contempt. And the childlike, in children and in savages alike, may be recognized as the inevitable stage of development which prepares for the day when maturity puts away the toys of the child as useful things outworn. We may certainly plead that if foolish and cruel taboos served a good purpose when they produced and preserved respect for the institution of private property, we need not cavil at the ways by which men learnt, line upon line, the great lessons of religion, to find at last in the life and death of Jesus every dim and partial glimpse of Truth developed into an ‘immortal feature of loveliness and perfection.’

In work so scrupulously scientific as Dr. Frazer's we do not expect to find the author's personal opinions obtruded on matters lying outside the realm of pure science. The

materialist and the Christian are free to use his facts and theories as they will, and there is no *ipse dixit* to determine their choice. Dr. Frazer's own beliefs are not those of orthodox Christianity, but no one who knows him could regard him as a foe to true religion, however stern he is towards some of its worn-out forms.¹ His sympathetic appreciation of the Bible has been superbly shown in the collection of 'passages chosen for their literary beauty and interest,' which reappeared in enlarged form two years ago, adorned with valuable notes, literary and anthropological. We cannot close better than by quoting from the exquisite Preface to that edition—

Though many of us can no longer, like our fathers, find in its pages the solution of the dark, the inscrutable riddle of human existence, yet the volume must still be held sacred by all who reverence the high aspirations to which it gives utterance, and the pathetic associations with which the faith and piety of so many generations have invested the familiar words. The reading of it breaks into the dull round of common life like a shaft of sunlight on a cloudy day, or a strain of solemn music heard in a mean street. It seems to lift us for a while out of ourselves, our little cares and little sorrows, into communion with those higher powers, whatever they are, which existed before man began to be, and which will exist when the whole human race, as we are daily reminded by the cataclysms and convulsions of nature, shall be swept out of existence for ever. It strengthens in us the blind conviction, or the trembling hope, that somewhere, beyond these earthly shadows, there is a world of light eternal, where the obstinate questionings of the mind will be answered, and the heart find rest.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

¹ Since this was written, Dr. Frazer has been delivering the first series of his Gifford Lectures at St. Andrews, on 'The Belief in Immortality, regarded as a Stage in the Evolution of Religion among the Lower Races.' The syllabus of the first two lectures especially, on 'The Scope of Natural Theology,' suggests that the volume will be extremely interesting to Christian thinkers.

THE HUMAN RACE AS A CORPORATE UNITY

THE pattern which was shown to Moses in the Mount was to be the plan of the Tabernacle on the plain of Sinai. The divine image is not only stamped upon each human soul as it comes into being; it is the ultimate standard towards which all men are growing. In the unit man there is the trinity of body, soul, and spirit. In the world of mankind, as in the divine nature, there is also a trinity of persons. There is the personality of the individual, of the body of believers which is styled the Church, and of the race as a whole. The history of the development of each of these is a yearning to unfold itself fully and to reach a perfect unity. It is a process which occupies the whole term of their existence. The periods may vary in duration. The growth of the first finds its first stage between the cradle and the grave. The second dates from Pentecost, and may require its centuries. The third has been present with the tribes of men in all their wanderings; in their unions and divisions, in their friendships and strifes. As they have increased, diminished, or become absorbed, the idea of a unity to which they would eventually arrive has never been entirely absent. It has waxed and waned with the lapse of years. It is shining before us now as fair as the moon and as commanding as an army with banners.

This corporate life of the human family may be variously described. It may be called *the soul of the race*, *the cosmic consciousness*, or *the solidarity of nations*; but whatever term is employed, the meaning is the same. There is a sense in which all the races on the globe, while retaining their separate characteristics, are developing into one perfect organism. It will be the sum of the separate lives, and yet it will be something more. Whenever a number of men and women are drawn together by a common cause to discuss some

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course of action, there may result a consensus of opinion, a blending of sentiment, and combination of resolutions; but every one feels that the decision arrived at is the action, not of so many persons making a majority, but of the unity of individuals in which their thought and feeling and volition are moulded into one personality which is of them all and is nevertheless distinct.

This theory of a common consciousness may seem to demand a great deal from our imagination. Roughly speaking, there are about twelve hundred and thirty millions of human beings upon this planet. They are in three great strips of colour—white, yellow, and black. Is it possible that one soul may be made to throb beneath these Caucasian, Mongolian, and Negroid skins? That there is a racial unity at the base of their distinct varieties is ethnologically proveable; that this, however, should carry with it an over-soul of a common consciousness which may reveal itself in united thought and action, is another matter. And yet it, too, is happily conceivable, and is capable of being verified. One turns to natural analogies. Derwentwater lake is not merely the meeting-place of the river Derwent and a thousand mountain streams. It has an individuality, with features and moods and voices all its own. No traveller can look upon the elm-tree when bathed in the mystic light of a summer evening without feeling that the pillared bole and rounded masses of leaves and innumerable branches and twigs are not simply united by the sap of a pervading vitality; they are all linked together in a common consciousness. The tree has a corporate life—a soul, one may say—which communes with itself in the noonday stillness and utters itself in the sounding storm and dreams its dreams in the moonlight. In like manner our planetary world, made up of earth and air and water, is a cosmos. It is almost a sentient entity. Its days and nights, its rhythmic tides, its procession of the seasons, impress our thoughts with the idea of personality. The

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mythology which saw in the planets and constellations the forms of male and female gods and goddesses was an early divination of the truth that each world in the universe was animated by a distinctive spirit in which all its diverse parts found form and unity.

The outward expressions of *the soul of the race* are manifold. They have revealed three things: a common intelligence, a common growth, and a common impulse or energy. As to the last of these, there have been from the earliest times strange movements in the peoples inhabiting the earth. Tribes and nations have suddenly struck their tents, and migrated over land and sea to the farthestmost continents. There are records and traces of some of these great pilgrimages. Others can only be surmised. But they are all sufficient to indicate that at some time or other the entire human family has been impelled by a common impulse to wander over all the face of the earth, just as season after season the bees swarm, the lemming in countless numbers cross Siberia, and the shoals of herring sweep along the paths of the sea.

These movements have sometimes followed the generation of a great emotion. The crusades of the Middle Ages hurled the able-bodied men of Europe time after time upon the shores of Palestine like billows before a driving wind. How it came to pass that in a very short space of time every city and hamlet of the nation, and every man within them, was made aware that a crusade had been proclaimed lay the wonder and the mystery. Although there was no network of postal communication, no telegraph wires, and few highways that were always open, no sooner had the appeal to arms been sounded than a universal thrill shot through the length and breadth of the land, and in a few days, or weeks at most, thousands of men who had never met before were drawn together, and, as if with one heart and one mind, were borne along to the Holy Sepulchre. Such united movements indicate that mind can communicate

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with mind, and emotion strengthen emotion, in ways that are swift and subtle and effective beyond our tracing, and that innumerable units so charged with the same feeling and purpose can form an aggregate soul or spirit which guides and sways them all; just as, when the corn has been harvested, scattered bands of starlings that have been flying here and there like wisps of trailing smoke draw together as though obeying an invisible signal, and then, as a cloud whose centre is dense and whose fringes are always fraying, sweep onward; rising, falling, and alighting as if one spirit quivered through every wing. The epidemic spreading of disease is another manifestation of the fellow feeling which makes the world akin. The progress of the black death, the plague, and Asiatic cholera depended quite as much upon mental as on physical conditions. There was a contagion which might be felt, there was also a contagion by suggestion which operated in a realm invisible.

But it is the similarity of thoughts and the simultaneous expression of them by thinkers who are very wide apart which affords the most remarkable proof of the solidarity of the race. We are beginning to realize as a simple axiom of mental philosophy that all minds are inter-related and can influence one another; for, as an anonymous psychologist puts it, 'There is abundant evidence that there is a force which causes one man to think as his neighbour thinks, divided though they be by the walls of their separate houses or by miles of intervening country, without conscious communication and without access to the same visible sources of influence—a force as invisible but as certainly operative as gravitation.' This illustration, it is true, may seem to have a parochial boundary; but the scientific fact it holds can be applied within a universal area.

There are evidences in the religions of the world that devout souls living as far asunder as the Rocky Mountains and the Himalayas have arrived at the same conclusions regarding the character of God, the nature of sin, and the craving of

the soul. In the literature and oral traditions of nations that have either had no knowledge of each other, or between whom there has been no intercourse, the same thoughts are expressed in lyric or dramatic form. They are only fragments of philosophy, strains of poetry; but the harmony between them must be the result of an identical inspiration. For if the bells of St. Paul's in London, of St. Peter's in Rome and of St. Sophia in Constantinople, and the silvery chimes in the temples of Calcutta, Peking, and Yokohama, were on the same day to sound together, we should know that one movement of the earth or one current in the air had stirred them all.

Now and again these racial thoughts and emotions reveal themselves in the utterances of men of genius. It is to their universal origin that we owe the insight, volume, and power of their sayings or discoveries. They are like the upheaval of a stratum of limestone rock here and there above the surface of the earth. On these men may have fallen an afflatus from above; but the thoughts that well up in them have also come from the common brain and heart of humanity. They have arisen when the nation or nations have been swelling with some noble purpose or moved by some new vision of progress. 'Great men,' says Joseph Mazzini, 'can only spring from a great people, just as an oak, however high it may tower above every other tree in the forest, depends on the soil whence it derives its nourishment.' And he might have gone on to say, Great men can only arise when the great nations are thinking and acting greatly. Their advent also in one particular nation may synchronize with the birth of kindred souls in other peoples that are geographically divided and have no visible exchange of thought or commodity. Hints of the simultaneous action of brains that are working in different nations and in different hemispheres are flashing upon us one after another. The English astronomer Adams, and the French savant Leverrier, and Galle of Berlin were on the track of the undiscovered Neptune

side by side. The theory of natural selection was suggested to Charles Darwin amongst his pigeons in the little village of Downe in Kent, and to Alfred Wallace searching for butterflies in the islands of the Malay Archipelago. The two papers announcing these independent discoveries were read to the Royal Society on the very same day. So many, indeed, are the evidences of concurrent and sympathetic thought and emotion over an infinitely wide area, that we should probably not be far astray if we regarded the ideas which suddenly illumine our mind as visitors from other lands, like the atoms of dust from a South American volcano that colour our sunrises and sunsets; if we acknowledged that the throb of passionate love for the good, the true, or the beautiful, which we individually feel in our highest moments, is as truly an impulse from some universal emotion—as the rising of the water in the land-locked Cornish creek is nothing less than the swell of the Atlantic.

If such considerations as these are of practical value, they will serve to show that the visions of a consciously united human race are not Utopian dreams. They have come to men at sundry times and in divers manners, but always when they were lifted above themselves, and when their eyesight was cleansed and quickened. If we put aside the apocalypses of the Hebrew Prophets, and inquire concerning the future of mankind from modern seers, their testimonies, however varied, are emphatically the same. Amiel, Tolstoi, and Ibsen all three were men of genius, but they had no other quality in common. They looked at men and things from a different standpoint. Their creeds of faith and conduct differed. Their methods of expression were dissimilar, and yet they shared the same baptism into the sense of the solidarity of all nations. Writing in his journal on January 13, 1879, the Genevan professor says :

‘ At the present moment humanity is not yet constituted as a physical unity. Now, indeed, the different possibilities

are beginning to combine (union of posts and telegraphs, universal exhibitions, voyages round the globe, international congresses). Science and common interest are binding together the great fractions of humanity which religion and language have kept apart. A year in which there has been talk of a network of African railways, running from the coast to the centre, and bringing the Atlantic, the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean into communication with each other—such a year is enough to mark a new epoch. The fantastic becomes conceivable, the possible tends to become the real; the earth becomes the garden of Man.'

It may be pointed out that this picture is anything but rosy-tinted. No; but these two things must be remembered. It was painted more than thirty years ago. A generation of almost inconceivable progress has intervened, and besides we must bear in mind that while Amiel's intellect was as elevated, serene, and pure as a peak of the Mont Blanc he often had in view, its hopeful brightness was as frequently dimmed through physical weakness as the Alpine summit was by the rising mist.

The extract from Tolstoi's autobiography which now follows was penned before the prophetic view of the solidarity of nations which had opened out before him had faded away. It is a remarkable piece of self-revelation. It reads like a paragraph from St. Augustine's *Confessions*. It admits us into the secret of that transforming moment when he passes through the chrysalis of patriotism into the brotherhood of humanity. It is true that one or two of his statements are startling, and that he saw reason subsequently to modify some of their extreme conclusions. But he never went back from the main avowal that he had merged his individuality into the total life of the men and women of all peoples—that Russia with its boundless steppes was no longer broad enough for his sympathies. The world had become his fatherland.

'I now know,' says he, 'that my unity with others

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cannot be destroyed by a frontier line. I now know that all men, everywhere, are equals and brothers; and remembering all the evils that I have committed, experienced, and witnessed, that resulted from national enmities, it is clear to me that the cause of it all was a coarse fraud—called patriotism and love of one's country. Remembering my youth, I now see that the feeling of enmity to other nations, and of separation from them, never was natural to me, but that those evil feelings were artificially inoculated in me by an insensate education.

‘I now understand the meaning of the words “Do good to your enemies”: do to them as you would to your own people. You are all children of one Father. Be like Him, that is to say, make no distinction between your own folk and others, but behave alike to all.

‘I now understand that welfare is only possible to me on condition of my acknowledging my oneness with all people in the world without any exception. I believe this. And that belief has altered my valuation of what is good and bad, high and low. What seemed to me good and high, the love of fatherland, of one's own people, or one's own Government, and service rendered to them to the detriment of others, as well as military exploits, became to me repulsive and pitiable. What used to seem to me bad and shameful, such as a change of nationality and cosmopolitanism, became to me, on the contrary, good and elevated.

‘If now, in moments of forgetfulness, I may still sympathize more with a Russian than with a foreigner, or may desire the success of the Russian State or people, I can, in quiet moments, no longer abet the snare which destroys both me and others. I cannot recognize any States or nations, nor take part in any disputes between them, either by writing, or still less by serving any State. I cannot take part in any of those affairs which are based on distinctions between States, either in Custom-houses and the collection of taxes, or in the preparation of explosives and weapons,

or in any preparation of armaments or in army service—still less in war itself with other nations; nor can I assist people to do these things. I have understood wherein my welfare lies. I believe in it, and therefore cannot do what certainly deprives me of it.

‘And not merely do I believe that I must live so: I also believe that if I live so, my life will acquire its only possible reasonable and joyous meaning, not destructible by death.’

There is a Finland legend which tells of a mother who found the dismembered limbs of her only son in the bed of the river of Death. She gathered them together within her bosom, and as she rocked to and fro and chanted her magic song they were united, and the spirit of her son revived. The spell of this folk-lore story may have been on Ibsen’s mind when he predicted an approaching corporate unity of all races. At any rate, he had been sitting at the feet of St. Paul, who saw through the bars of his Roman prison into the future, and beheld the ‘building up of the full-grown man unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ.’

Now but in shreds and scraps is dealt
The spirit we have faintly felt;
But from those scraps and from those shreds,
These headless hands and handless heads,
These crooked stumps of soul and thought,
A Man complete and whole shall grow,
And God His glorious child shall know,
His heir, the Adam that He wrought!

There may be added to these individual testimonies an experience which came to the delegates of the All-world Missionary Conference in the Assembly Hall, Edinburgh, in June, 1910. As these twelve hundred men and women were met together in one place, they beheld a vision, as the author of *Cristus Futurus*, who was present, describes it:

‘The vision was of the unity of humanity and of God with humanity. The soul was taken up into an exceeding high mountain by the Christ of God, and shown all the

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kingdoms of the earth as one—men as members one of another, nation one with nation, race with race, man with man a unity, and in every man the latent leaven, and Heaven brooding over all to bring forth in every man the divine care for men which is the Christian salvation.'

This vivid description inspires a comment. The words of the narrator, be it noticed, say '*the soul*,' not our *souls* were taken up. A proof that the unifying power of love had began its work—that the hearts of the twelve hundred were beating as one, which was in itself an earnest of the greater unity which they foresaw and saluted with rapture.

If this corporate humanity possesses a spiritual sense, is it developing—becoming more enlightened and sensitive? It is in the same school, and has the same schoolmasters, as the faculty of the individual. But the rooms of instruction are ampler and the teaching more varied. The scroll of nature lies open before it. Her powers are ever at work. Her voice is never silent. It will certainly attain a clearer definition and strength as the nations more fully realize their common life. What signs of this are patent? The influence of man on man in social intercourse, international commerce, political agreement, the exchange of literature and invention, is ever in full play, weaving beneath the sun and stars as the years go on its invisible threads, which are binding the nations to one another in bonds which it is becoming more and more a crime to break.

One is sensible also of an indefinable yearning of the scattered peoples of the world to look one another in the face and to enter into each other's consciousness. The first Universal Race Congress just held in South Kensington was the outcome of this irresistible desire. The representatives of more than twenty different Governments were present, and as many papers by writers of the various nations were read before the assembly. And this was its object: 'To discuss in the light of science and the modern conscience the general relations subsisting between the peoples of the

West and of the East, between the so-called white and the so-called coloured peoples, with a view to encouraging between them a fuller understanding, more friendly feeling, and heartier co-operation.' The effects of such a conference must be immense and far-reaching for all the races concerned, although for the moment the great Metropolis in which it met was as little impressed by it as the combatants at Waterloo were by the apparition of the rainbow which spanned the battle-field.

There are other political and social tendencies in silent operation which are making for the unity of mankind and the quickening of the common moral sense. The treaty of International Arbitration between Great Britain and the United States has struck a keynote which will slowly but surely be followed one day by a burst of universal harmony. The spirit of federation is entering every sphere in which men combine for any purpose whatever. It is linking together Churches, and gathering thousands of men hitherto outside the ecclesiastical fold into brotherhoods. It is animating all labour unions with a common spirit of mutual strengthening and defence, binding with ties of family kinship all English commonwealths, bringing the European peoples nearer one another, and moving the Western Hemisphere to stretch out its hands to the farthest East.

The labours of science are being directed for the same great end. Although they have been, and still are, enlisted in the barbaric art of war, they are rapidly being released from such shameful service. The most brilliant of modern inventions are those which do not destroy men's lives, but save them. The task which science is setting itself to do is threefold: to remove the barriers which hinder or delay the communication of the scattered inhabitants of the globe with one another; to satisfy more easily and richly the bodily cravings of man, and, as a consequence, set free his inner and intellectual nature to attain its full stature and inheritance. According to the most recent scientific teach-

ing, the time for this has come. 'His physical evolution is no doubt complete. He will never have wings, or more legs, or longer arms, or a bigger brain. His development henceforth must lie in the mental and spiritual direction.' So writes John Burroughs.

But when he begins to discuss the *how*, his pen stops short or wavers. It is here that the teaching and influence of Jesus the Christ are indispensably needed. He shows the end towards which the liberated energies of the souls of men must move—the perfect flower which refused to blossom so long as the sap was only running into broad and variegated leaf. And—what is of equal importance—He supplies the moral energy which impels them upward to their crowning goal.

But it is to the ministry of the Church, rightly defined, in concert with all other forces which are bent on man's well-being and righteousness, that the unification of the races of mankind has been assigned. There are few who will question this assertion. Even Sir H. H. Johnston, discussing the problem of the union of the races in the *August Contemporary Review*, admits that applied Christianity is the main factor in its solution. He avers that 'the Christian principles that were laid down in the authentic Gospels and Epistles still remain unsurpassed as a rule of conduct, as a basis of practical ethics.' He goes further, and declares: 'Of all other faiths and rules of conduct that have ever been placed before the world, from Greek philosophy and Egyptian theology to the Babism and Prometheanism of to-day, it may be said that what there is that is true and of practical good is to be found in the simplest exposition of Christ's teaching, and what is foreign to that is not worth listening to or preserving.' But while thus emphasizing the importance of Christian teaching and practice, he puts in a plea for a simpler creed. We must all agree, whether we are seeking a basis for the manifest unity of the sects in Christendom or shaping a message for those beyond its pale,

a simple confession of faith is a first essential: it must contain the essence of the Christian Evangel. It may be compact, but it need not be shallow. This is how one who was present at the Edinburgh Conference outlined the Christianity in which all denominations would find standing room and to which the assent of all converts might be invited. 'The worship of God in the Divine Man, the belief that His image is latent in all men, and that the practice of Christianity is the eager effort to evoke in all men that image of physical, intellectual, and spiritual perfection.'

But while the missionaries of the united Church are proclaiming their message, there is another force which is silently and invisibly working. Indeed, the Church in its spiritual task must employ two forces: one which attracts men as steel filings to the magnet, as doves fly to their windows, and the other which impels the streams of a new life through the veins of humanity. It is from the living Christ within the body of believers, from Him who is the very heart of the new humanity, that the life-blood flows. These forces are at work together. Neither will achieve the mighty task alone. If either suspended its action, it could never be accomplished. If we had to wait until every human ear had heard the Evangel, until every man had been visibly united to the growing company of believers, millenniums would intervene. But the pervasive influence of the life of Christ within the souls of men is pouring itself forth with an energy which is swifter than light or heat, and mightier than the sap at springtime.

The evidences of its diffusion are apparent and manifold. A craving for truth and liberty, a higher sense of political justice and social morality, the recognition of man as man apart from convention and environment, and the universal manifestation of that sympathy which makes the whole world kin, are signs that He who hath made of one blood all nations is vitalizing that blood with His own spirit of righteousness and love. It is in His image that man is

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being remade; and when all the parts of humanity are reunited, it will shape itself into the stature of the fullness of Christ. It is then that man will enter into his kingdom. It is love, love in the heart of the one united Man that will enlarge his capacity and anoint his eyes. It is the Open Sesame before which the doors of all treasure-houses fall asunder. It knows the pass-word into the confidence of bird and beast and the inhabitants of the seas. It can read the mystic scroll of sunset skies and starry heavens. The laws of the universe are in harmony with it, and the Angels are at its bidding. It lives and moves in God.

EDWARD J. BRAILSFORD.

NOTE.—The first article of the series, entitled 'Does Spiritual Insight keep pace with Material Knowledge?' appeared in October 1908; the second, on 'The Sphere of the Mystic Sense in Modern Spiritual Life,' in July 1909. In January 1911 'The Education of the Spiritual Sense' was discussed. Its development in the Human Race as a Corporate Unity now considered is a continuation of the series.

CHARLES DICKENS: HIS WORK, AGE, AND INFLUENCE

The Centenary Edition of Charles Dickens' Works. (Chapman & Hall, 1911.)

Two Centuries of the English Novel. By HAROLD WILLIAMS, M.A. (Smith, Elder & Co.)

Life of Charles Dickens. By JOHN FORSTER. (Chapman & Hall.)

Life of Charles Dickens. By FRANK T. MARZIALS. (Walter Scott, 1887.)

Dickens. By A. W. WARD (English Men of Letters). (Macmillan & Co., 1909.)

LESS than a year separates the centenaries of the two greatest masters in the art of fiction who adorned the Victorian age, and who will, perhaps, finally be pronounced as the two greatest novelists who have at any time written in the English language. Thackeray's birthday was duly celebrated during the summer of last year; the hundredth anniversary of the opening of Dickens's life will be commemorated not less impressively, and more affectionately, in the course of the twelve months now opening. Dickens and Thackeray were not only the products of the same period, but as nearly as possible exact coevals. They were, in fact, separated only by an interval of between six and seven months; for while Dickens was born February 1812, Thackeray first saw the light on July 18, 1811. Each of them during his life, as well as since his death, has been written about to nearly the same extent by critics of every school, united by a common interest for their subject, and differing chiefly in the degree of competence for their task. Previously to

the issue of the volumes forming the occasion of these remarks, no more careful and effective estimate of the illustrious pair had been given than by David Masson in the long defunct *North British Review* (1851-2). About this time also, the completion of the serial numbers, in which *David Copperfield* and *Pendennis* originally appeared, supplied a *Times* reviewer, Samuel Phillips, with the text for a clever comparison of the two books in particular, and of the two men in general. Masson's criticism has no doubt been reprinted in Messrs. Macmillan's edition of his works some forty years since. The *Times* article received, as it well deserved, the honour of republication, with other of its author's pieces, anonymously in Murray's *Railway Reading*. This composition ends with the award of the palm to *Copperfield*, on the ground that 'the epic is greater than the satire.' Immediately after reading the *Times* article, Thackeray, à propos of its closing sentence, remarked to James Hannay, from whom I had the story, that he was quite prepared to abide by the verdict. Thackeray himself, it may be recalled, in one of his lectures, spoke of the love his more popular rival had secured in the nursery and school-room, telling at the same time how his own children would come to him and ask : 'Why don't you write books like Mr. Dickens ?'

It is only nine years less than half a century since Arthur Stanley, Dean of Westminster, preaching on the Sunday after the Abbey had received all that was mortal of Dickens, dwelt on the simple and sufficient faith in the Saviour in which the novelist had lived and died. 'Lord, keep my memory green' were words that Dickens often repeated; if he did so as a prayer, they have been literally fulfilled. Those who happened to visit our British Santa Croce this last Christmastide may have seen, as Mr. Frank T. Marzials in his charmingly executed Dickens monograph tells us he himself once beheld, a tribute of the season's holly laid upon the grave in the southern transept, near the

tombs of Geoffrey Chaucer, of John Dryden, of Samuel Johnson, of David Garrick, and of Richard Brinsley Sheridan. Upon the resting-place of Dickens look down also the stone effigies of Shakespeare, Addison, Goldsmith, and, among the more recently dead, of Burns, Coleridge, Southey, and Thackeray himself. The late Sir Mountstuart E. Grant-Duff used to tell a story, doubtless to be found in his *Leaves from a Diary*, about a proof Thackeray received of the narrow limits within which literary reputation is confined. Some fellow passenger in a railway carriage, having seen the name on his luggage, inquired of him whether he was the Thackeray of Thackeray's Patent Stoves. The novelist shook his head, and was presently asked whether he could be the Mr. Thackeray celebrated throughout the Midlands for his zinc wire. Alas! Even to that honour W. M. T. could lay no claim. 'Then,' said the man, now getting rather impatient, 'in the name of Heaven, what Mr. Thackeray are you?' Some years before there had been any coolness between the two novelists, Thackeray, standing for Oxford city against Cardwell in 1857, implored Dickens to come and electioneer for him. 'I have found out,' he said, 'that not more than six per cent. of the constituency have ever heard my name before; but I really think it possible that perhaps eight in every hundred may have heard yours.' The consciousness of the disadvantage in which, by comparison with Dickens, he found himself as regards the favour of the multitude underlay, of course, Thackeray's contemptuously satisfied acquiescence in the *Times* judgement already quoted. Nor is it only, as the closing sentence of Phillips's review put it, that the epic is greater than the satire. Psychologically, a Dickens is, and must always be, a rarer product than a Thackeray. Dickens, as Carlyle said of Burns, belonged to Nature's own most cunning workmanship. Thackeray was the outcome of social and academic influences. Take from Thackeray what he owes to Addison for style, to Carlyle for philosophy,

and above all to Balzac for analysis and synthesis of character; how small is the residuum of originality in comparison with that due to Dickens, after payment of any debts to Fielding, Smollett, or those nearer his own day.

As time products, Dickens and Thackeray came too close fully to be understood apart from each other. Hence the distinction already drawn between them. Historically to fix the place of Dickens, not less than Thackeray, in the evolution of the English novel, one must remember certain facts about the relations of both to those predecessors in their art whom each of them not only rivalled but in many cases surpassed. During the nineteenth century's first decade and a half, two different schools of English fiction closely and almost contemporaneously competed with each other for English favour. Horace Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*, Mrs. Radcliffe's *Mysteries of Udolpho*, and *The Monk* by the first husband of the future Mrs. Benjamin Disraeli, not only marked the romantic novel's triumph in this country, but spread their influences to Germany. Some years earlier, Fielding, Richardson, and Smollett were basing on their varied experience and systematic observation, the novel of modern life, character, and manners. In the generation after Richardson, and in the same line of writing, came Fanny Burney (Madame D'Arblay) with *Evelina* and *Cecilia*, to be followed, during the years between 1795 and 1847, by Maria Edgeworth, whose Irish stories suggested, as he himself said, to Walter Scott the fictitious treatment of scenery, personages, and incidents belonging to his native land. Scott, indeed, united in himself the most notable of the aforesaid influences, as reflected in the English novel's growth. Broadly speaking, the novel was the child of the seventeenth-century stage, and, in its rise to popularity, was helped by the discredit into which, with decent people, the theatre gradually fell. What a century did towards bringing English fiction into vogue may be judged from the fact that thirty thousand different novels are recorded as having lately

appeared, in a publisher's or library catalogue of 1819. All these, of course, with scarcely an exception, have long since been forgotten.

The year of Thackeray's birth was that also of Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility*, a book destined to give colour and impetus to the genius alike of Thackeray and Dickens. Thackeray, belonging to the era he did, and trained in an upper-class, if not aristocratic, environment, could not but write of and for the classes rather than the masses. London club life began with the 'United Service' in Pall Mall after the veterans of the Napoleonic Wars had re-established themselves in their capital, to pass the residue of their days in quietness and ease. Belonging to a well-to-do Anglo-Indian family, possessed of good connexions and much better introductions, Thackeray no sooner discovered his literary gift than, of set purpose, he began the reflection in his writings of the new social and fashionable order now opening in St. James's, in Mayfair, or in those provincial districts overshadowed by the manor house, the deanery, and the barracks that might lodge a crack cavalry corps. How well the work was done, it does not come within the scope of this article to show. His subject, his method, his easy indifference to plot, to central incidents, or to any other leading characters than are ready to his hand in the puppet box, have practically confined his popularity to England, and in England to a comparatively restricted set of readers. Thackeray's superficial familiarity with foreign capitals has won him credit for cosmopolitanism. His real and most dominant characteristic is his insularity. For English literature's most genuine and permanently established citizen of the world, it is to Dickens that we must go. The leading portraits of the immortal Dickens gallery have to-day the same place in the affections of France as of England. From Madrid to Moscow, from Paris to St. Petersburg, Sam Weller passes not only for a favourite, but for a type as universal as Sancho Panza.

Notwithstanding the contrast between the two men, their powers expanded generally upon similar lines and, as regards the literary form taken by their fancies, in nearly the same order of composition. The complete editions of Dickens and Thackeray, now easily accessible, show a certain resemblance between the earliest efforts of both. Among the contents of the volume to-day called *Sketches by Boz* is *Mr. Minns and his Cousin*. This, by its whimsical humour, and its social satire stamped in every sentence with the Dickensian hall-mark, presages the qualities that were afterwards to form the chief features of Dickens's fame, just as most of Thackeray's characteristics are shown in germ in his earliest production, *The Yellowplush Papers*. Dickens, then, like Thackeray, began with satire, but at the outset differs from his rival in making satire an accident, and not the essence of his treatment. The compositions among which to-day *Mr. Minns and his Cousin* has its place unfold the panorama of lower middle class life in all its hopes, fears, sorrows, in its contrasts of drollery and pathos, of tragedy and fun, and especially, with the young, the defenceless, and the poor, in the touching alternations of suffering and joy, of privation and relief, that were afterwards brought out in his novels by the matured master. *Our Parish, Early Coaches*, to mention perhaps the most noticeable out of several, explain and justify the verdict pronounced by acute critics long before Dickens's authorship of an entire book, that Fielding and Smollett had now been succeeded by one who might deserve to be called the Hogarth of the pen. All this time, the 'Boz' sketcher was a reporter for the *Morning Chronicle*, at five guineas a week, with an additional two for such descriptive articles as the editor approved.

The paper of most autobiographical interest in the series is entitled *A Parliamentary Sketch*. It displays Dickens himself in the midst of his Gallery work, surveying the personages on the floor of the House below, or, as cicerone, pointing out to us the chief celebrities whom he elbows in

the Lobbies. Here, for instance, is Sir Francis Burdett, a stout man with a hoarse voice, in the blue coat, queer-crowned, broad-brimmed white hat, white corduroy breeches, and great boots. Next to him comes the dandy and democrat of the period, Mr. Thomas Duncombe, generally known as 'honest Tom,' a smart-looking fellow in a black coat with velvet facings and cuffs, wearing his D'Orsay hat in a very rakish fashion. Among the others described, and less easily identified, is a gentlemanly looking man in blue surtout, grey trousers, white neckerchief, white gloves, of manly figure, broad chest, who has fought many battles in his time and, like many heroes of old, with no other arms than those God gave him. Surely this may well be the great Sir Robert Peel. Near him, in loose, wide, brown coat, with enormous pockets on each side, in immensely long waistcoat, below which a silver watch-chain dangles, is an old hard-featured man, of the county member type now nearly extinct, perhaps Charles Callis Western.¹ He can tell you long stories about Fox, Pitt, Sheridan, Canning, and about the superiority of the days when the House rose at eight or nine p.m.; as for young Macaulay, this parliamentary veteran always thought him a regular impostor. He admits, however, that Lord Stanley (afterwards fourteenth Lord Derby) may do something one of these days, 'though at present he is too young, sir.' But now there appears on the scene quite a novel figure, a young man in a rough greatcoat, who has accosted every member on his entrance to the House. He himself is not a member, only 'an hereditary bondsman,' in other words the Irish correspondent of an Irish newspaper, who has just got his forty-second frank from some one he has never seen before in his life. These extracts, unfamiliar as they will be to many, form some among the few traces in Dickens's writings of his Gallery and Lobby experiences.

¹ The famous old Tory M.P., afterwards ennobled, was the Essex squire who declared that his nominal leader Canning was stark, staring mad, and ought to be locked up.

They also remind one that Dickens had all the experience necessary for drawing from life Mr. Gregsbury, M.P. in *Nicholas Nickleby*, and Sir Leicester Dedlock's political guests in *Bleak House*. Thomas Barnes, before becoming editor of the *Times*, and the author of certain *Random Recollections*, both left some sketches of life and character at St. Stephen's in the era that preceded the burning of the old House in 1834. The building occupied by M.P.'s before being settled in their present premises, as well as all that appertains to the existing palace of Westminster, have found many delineators. Dickens has dealt specially with the parliamentary period during which the elected of the people, after being driven by the flames from old St. Stephen's, settled themselves in a transitional home.

Genius of the first order, whatever its condition in life, has generally contrived to pick up the training most useful for its life's work. Dickens affords a typical instance of this truth. Imagine him, by the intervention of some special providence, after his deliverance from the blacking business, and the ordeal of Wellington House Academy, reflected in the Salem House of *David Copperfield*, sent to a good private school with a view, perhaps, to Rugby or Harrow afterwards, with Oxford or Cambridge in prospect. Would he, if thus circumstanced, have acquired literary nurture more fortifying than he contrived to assimilate in the dark and shabby old book-room, where, as a boy, for the first time he lighted on the master builders of English fiction? Can any one, in a word, suppose that a Dickens who, like Thackeray, had passed through Charterhouse and Cambridge, would have written English better fitted for his thoughts than that which makes him an artist in words as well as a photographer of human nature? It is the tendency of intellect to exercise a refining influence. Would that refinement in Dickens's case have been the more marked, so far as concerns his views of character and of the whole outlook on life if, when he started work with his pen, he

could have written certain frequently valueless academic initials after his name? As a fact, too, though he had never been at any really good schools, Dickens had contrived to bring away from them such a smattering of the ingenuous arts as, according to the old Latin Grammar example, 'softens the manners, nor permits them to be brutal.' Yet, while Dickens found his most valuable reading in the study of his fellow creatures, he was also the first to set an example widely followed by his pupils and the writing class generally, during the first half of the Victorian era. In other words, he had no sooner obtained the first start for his pen on the *Chronicle* than he began seriously to make good his educational deficiencies. His future brother-in-law, George Hogarth, supervised the *Chronicle's* evening edition, wherein appeared so many of the Boz pieces. While writing these, and at the same time reporting for the morning issue, he sent himself to school in the British Museum reading-room. There he did not, as many have done, lose himself in a wilderness of books. He showed in these studies the same power of concentration that largely explains the success of his writings, and that, if applied to politics, might have fulfilled the hopes of those who, with offers of a seat, urged him to enter Parliament. Moreover, he had no sooner turned stenographer than he found himself the member of a company, calculated beyond all others to quicken and instruct his mind. The parliamentary galleries were, in Dickens's time, manned, as they have always been, by journalists not less noticeable for their intellectual calibre and general knowledge than for the variety of their antecedents. Men who had taken good university degrees, members of the learned professions, and especially ex-clergymen of all denominations, were among the colleagues, to his intercourse with whom Dickens owed so much when he joined the *Morning Chronicle's* reporting staff in 1834. He was only thirty when, in 1842, he crossed the Atlantic for the first time. He had already become so intimate with the

tragedian Macready that the great actor volunteered to take charge of his children during his American absence. To know Macready, as the present writer was once told by one of his pupils in the art of elocution, the late Canon J. B. Fleming, was 'of itself a little education.' Book-learning, throughout these years, was being plentifully acquired by him from his British Museum studies. The social companionships and adventures of his own craft did all else that was necessary for training and stimulating his genius to the great *Pickwick* success of 1837. So, too, was it with the continental pieces that followed eight years later.

As little here as there had been in the *Sketches by Boz*, was there any straining after literary effect, or parade of newly and specially acquired knowledge. But every paragraph showed a mastery, as of the art of observation, so of literary workmanship in all its details. The taste, about which so much has been said, of these earlier writings never falls below the then accepted standard of polite reading. Yet, even in that respect, at some points Dickens afterwards showed there was room for improvement. In proof of this, compare the episodes of Miss Jemima Evans or Mr. Augustus Cooper in the occasional sketches with the little passages between Sam Weller and Mr. Nupkins's pretty nursemaid in *Pickwick*. The manner also of *Pickwick's* farewell to Nupkins shows that Dickens could succeed in gradually educating the character who first made his fame into as genuine a specimen of English gentleman, though of a different kind, as the novelist afterwards delineated in the John Jarndyce and Richard Carstone of *Bleak House*. Dr. Ward, in his admirably executed Dickens contribution to the 'English Men of Letters' series, mentions that Dr. Donaldson of *Cratylus* and *Varronianus* fame found the origin of Sam's gnomic philosophy, and of the elder Weller's apophthegms, in Theocritus.¹ That discovery would have

¹ Ward's *Dickens*, p. 25.

had not less novelty for him who drew them than for the Wellers themselves. But in whatever degree the Wellers, or he who imagined them, were indebted for their cockney wit to the father of Greek bucolic poetry, Dickens's intellectual growth, and the capacities for 'culture' inherent in his genius, declare themselves very decidedly in his *Pictures from Italy*. These, like all his continental sketches, lose nothing by comparison with Thackeray's earliest pen-and-ink efforts in the *Paris Sketch Book*. Sam Weller as in his shrewdly sententious and laughter-moving vernacular, so even more in his invincibly high spirits and buoyancy, is to a great extent Dickens himself. The *Pictures from Italy* might, therefore, according to the expectation of some, have been painted in the Wellerian colours. Coming from one who had not been fortunate enough to pick up with Thackeray the shreds and tags of Latin and Greek at Charterhouse or Cambridge, they might not have borne inspection by gentlemen and scholars of Thackeray's type. As a fact their tone is higher and their artistic criticism really better than Thackeray's in the Paris sketches; the views of national life and personal character are less conventional. Thackeray's work is smart and clever, but very superficial journalism; while Dickens, with equal ease and absence of effort, raises his impressionism to the level of literature. In this connexion, too, there is an autobiographical interest in the chapter of the famous novel published in 1887, containing Mr. Pickwick's last speech. Delivered in a low voice with much emotion, this address is something more than the supposed speaker's apologia, and shows the more serious purpose seen, at least by Dickens himself, in the book as well as its author's never absent feeling of a responsible mission for the social and moral good of his generation. Pickwick's previous life had been devoted to business and the pursuit of wealth. He had no conception of the scenes which had dawned upon him since he and his brother clubmen began their travels. Very

early in his literary course, Dickens began keenly to realize his possession not only of powers but experiences, calculated, while he amused the public, to rouse an interest with the prosperously indifferent half of the world about the way in which the other needy and oppressed half contrived to live. Samuel Pickwick, therefore, as designed by Dickens in his graver aspects, was a type of those 'fat and greasy citizens who, as Shakespeare puts it, "sweep on" in comfort undisturbed by any thought of the stern realities around them, unless and until, as happened to Pickwick, some humour or accident takes them out of themselves, and places them where they cannot choose but see the shadows as well as the lights of their many-sided existence.'

The reputation set by *Pickwick*, on the basis never to be disturbed by changes of taste or the competition of contemporaries, not only grew but found the novelist not less keenly susceptible than formerly of fresh impressions as the season's lion in his own Mrs. Leo Hunter's and other drawing-rooms, and at the same time on terms of intimacy with the most distinguished representatives of the old-world literary *Mæcenas* in the persons of Lord Carlisle and Lord Lansdowne. His future rival, Thackeray, had not then entered into the running against him, was known as a struggling artist and as an unsuccessful candidate for the honour of illustrating *Pickwick*. Not till the latter part of their careers was there anything like visible coldness or jealousy in the relations between the two. They were guests, though not at the same time, at the same great houses, and, when Thackeray followed Dickens he was noticed for his anxiety to find out the impressions which the departing guest had left. Till that magazine of human curiosities closed its doors in 1849, the two men might have met, though they do not appear actually to have done so, in Lady Blessington's drawing-room at Gore House. Here Dickens, who throughout his life, whether from peer or plutocrat, received homage rather than offered it, in a well-known corner of

the drawing-room, was encouraged by his hostess to hold a little court of his own. Those were the days of the dandies. Count D'Orsay not only paid Dickens the compliment of inviting him to their number; he wished the novelist to become a member of the Alfred Club, while the future Earl of Beaconsfield, then Benjamin Disraeli, already known as a brilliant novelist, was still awaiting admission to that modest and exclusive Society. As regards the footing of Dickens and Thackeray in the polite world, Dickens had no sooner achieved distinction than the qualities of his genius and the recognition of their public usefulness made him a coveted visitor beneath all those roofs where Thackeray's entrance had been due to the opportunities given by the accidents of social position, rather than by any fruits his genius was yet to bear. So, too, their earnest and deep purpose had made Dickens's books favourites at Court long before his presentation to Queen Victoria in the last year of his life. Meanwhile, on industrial and social subjects of the time, he had been called to confidential communications with the political leaders on both sides, most frequently with Lord John Russell, sometimes with Palmerston, and occasionally with Lord Derby. As regards his slight contact with Lord Derby's representative in the Commons, four years after Disraeli had become member for Maidstone, that statesman applauded Disraeli's refusal, about which more presently, to stand for Reading, because, as he said, 'Not even Boz could do two things at once.' The historian Lord Stanhope desired to please Disraeli by getting up a little literary dinner-party. Thackeray was suggested as a guest. 'I would sooner not,' said Disraeli. 'Can't you secure Mr. Dickens?' Dickens came. Recalling the occasion in future years, the then Earl of Beaconsfield, who could not tolerate the professional conversationalist or wag, said: 'I found Mr. Dickens the most entirely interesting, entertaining, and in every way agreeable guest I had ever met among English writers.'

Semper amicus, semper hospes, Dr. Ward justly characterizes Lord Houghton; but independently of that amiable and accomplished amphitryon, Dickens, among secular writers, shared with the seventh Lord Shaftesbury among statesmen the honour of having brought philanthropic movements of all kinds into the front rank of public questions. Hence his close connexion with the statesmen of his time. Such were Lord John Russell, with whom, about Ragged Schools, and decent dwellings for the industrial poor, he found himself in constant interchange of ideas. Dickens was thus fortunate in his epoch. He appeared at the height of the demand not only for a writer whose imagination should, as Fielding and Smollett had done before him, cover the whole field of English life, but for one whose force and fervour should herald a new crusade against the domestic scandals and administrative abuses of the time. Thus, as the latter half of the nineteenth century advanced, the literary champion of the defenceless and poor, the satirist of the law's delays, as well as of official red-tapeism, were united in Dickens. His contempt, partly, perhaps, rooted in his Gallery experiences, for Parliament men, Government men, and their doings, had been expressed in Carlylean phrase, 'cheap-jacks,' 'national dustbin,' and so forth. The appeal for Poor Law reform articulated his earliest solicitude for his humblest clients. The administrative scandals of the Crimean War period, after much consultation with public men like Milner Gibson and Richard Cobden, prompted and emphasized the Circumlocution Office's exposure in *Little Dorrit*. The year to which belonged that novel (1855) witnessed Dickens's earliest political appearance, June 27, at the Drury Lane Administrative Reform meeting. Dickens's politics have been sneered at as sentimental; they seemed, however, at least to his ordinary fellow men, so practical that, as has been already seen, they brought him, in 1841, the offer of a parliamentary seat at Reading.

As in the world of action, so in spiritual beliefs. Dickens was all ardour for what he considered the fundamental truths of the Christian faith. Without ever having passed through a religious crisis, or having given much thought to doctrinal speculation and sectarian dogma, he accepted, and in his writings honoured and illustrated, the central truths of the New Testament creed. So keen a student of manners could not but watch with equal closeness the development of character, and the idiosyncrasies which impair or stunt its growth. Here his ethical system may be compressed into a sentence. The highest virtue, he held, must be rooted in unselfishness. Of that truth he placed on record (1858) his heroic example when, in the *Tale of Two Cities*, he describes Sidney Carton redeeming his past errors by taking his friend's place at the guillotine. Self is the enemy of human happiness in the mass, the deadly foe of whatever is or might be noble and beneficent in the individual; such was the great truth that, from the very first, had borne itself in upon Dickens, not as one of childhood's trite moralities, a mere copybook heading, but as a progressively established deduction from a growing knowledge of nature and life, never, probably, shaped by him in words till the bitter experiences of contact with his kind of all degrees had burnt it into his inmost soul. Long after *David Copperfield* had become the delight not only of the English but of the European public, its author revealed to his guide, philosopher, friend, and biographer, John Forster, that it was also the thinly disguised record of the vicissitudes through which he himself had passed. It contained also, in the character and entire episode of Steerforth, the most dramatic and circumstantial of the author's warnings against human nature's surrender to the tyranny of an overmastering passion, whether it be the indulgence granted to love of pleasure or love of power. Self, as the one enemy to be guarded and fought against; that, the central lesson taught by *David Copperfield* in 1849,

had indeed been taught six years earlier in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, just as *Dombey and Son*, coming between *Copperfield* and *Chuzzlewit* in 1846, showed from various points of view the folly and misery of pride. It has been repeated *ad nauseam* that Dickens has given us caricatures rather than likenesses of men or women really representing the polite society of his day. The truth is that, in Dickens's day, popular fiction had been almost as much overdone with portraits of 'ladies and gentlemen' as the walls of the Royal Academy themselves. As to the essential attributes of 'gentle' manhood or womanhood, no one understood better what these were than Dickens, or has indicated them more graphically in his writings. From beginning to end, David Copperfield himself is a perfect gentleman. So were certain minor personages already mentioned. So, too, at some points was Pip in *Great Expectations*, and might have been so altogether but for the self-consciousness that made him, in his wealth, ashamed of his humble relations. The qualities in Dickens which most impressed such good and such different judges as Lady Blessington, Washington Irving, and Sir Arthur Helps were the native refinement that enabled him to paint low life without the least taint of vulgarity, the uniform refusal to palter with right and wrong, and the constantly growing sense of responsibility brought by his first success. A stimulating consciousness of obligations to the whole community placed on him by his own good fortune and opportunities was deepened by a conviction gathered from experience, if sometimes exaggerated, that the people's recognized teachers, political or religious, did not put enough heart into their work. Hence what the domestic statesmen of his day agreed with the Baroness Burdett-Coutts was his unaffected and consuming desire to live and labour till he had brought about a lasting betterment, material and moral, for the unrepresented and inarticulate multitude whose cause he espoused. Thus, after several tramps, as he called them, through the more

necessitous districts, he set forth in prose and verse too the hard lot of the ill-housed tillers of the soil long before parliamentary inquiries had probed the subject. Dickens's *Hymn of the Wiltshire Labourer* is a well-meant echo of the spirit animating the rugged music of Ebenezer Elliott's Corn Law rhymes. Together with some short prose pieces on the subject, his rhymes thrown off in the intervals of editing the *Daily News* proved at least welcome if not invaluable to the conductors of the Anti-Corn Law agitation. Meanwhile, if never personally intimate with any of its leaders, he had watched sympathetically the Christian Socialist movement. With Charles Kingsley's and F. D. Maurice's teachings about this life and that which is to come, he was not only in the most real harmony; he sometimes, perhaps unconsciously, put their moral in his own words. Especially did he do so in a passage of *Great Expectations*, that points out the danger of repentance as a religious process morbidly prolonged, weakening the energies for future good works. In estimating the attitude of Dickens to the orthodox religion, and especially to the religious parties of his time, certain considerations must not be forgotten. The godless educational system, an afterbirth of the French Revolutionary teachers, promoted by Lovell Edgeworth, by Thomas Day, and illustrated by the latter in *Sandford and Merton*, had provoked its inevitable reaction in the teachings and writings of excellent people like Mrs. Sherwood. These enthusiasts, as Dickens believed, did more evil than good by their propagandism. The severity of their social creed alienated the masses, not only from the Established Church, but from religion itself. The Evangelicals, indeed, being politically in the ascendant, had, as not only Dickens but more competent judges sometimes thought, more than their due share of the loaves and fishes. Lapped in prosperity, and secure in all their temporal comforts, they seemed to Dickens and to his many disciples criminally forgetful that Christianity began with

being a religion of the poor and the afflicted, and that its Founder, about the divinity of whose mission Dickens never had a moment's doubt, by precept and practice, made ministration to the necessitous and the afflicted the first duty of His followers generally, but of His apostles and their spiritual descendants in particular. The Georgian age that witnessed the novelist's birth was one of philanthropic deadness, as well as religious, and Dickens's mistake lay in imputing to religion faults that were those, not of a faith or a sect, but of the period. Finally, the Master of Peterhouse, in his contribution to the volumes named at the head of this article, has paid Dickens's fame a just and useful, as well as novel, tribute in his reminder of the extent to which the first novelist of the Victorian age saturated the literature of his own land, and brought foreign readers under his spell. The opening of *Amos Barton*, Mr. Gilfil's love-story, Janet's repentance, and the Bob Jakin of the *Mill on the Floss*, the packman who defends Tom Tulliver, show George Eliot as the close, if perhaps unconscious, student of Dickensian originals. Bret Harte has found the metre of at least one of his lyrics in Swinburne's *Atalanta*; he would have been the last to deny, or rather the first to admit, that his Californian studies and sketches would have lacked much of their human pathos, but for the inspiration of Dickens. Nor need one cross the Atlantic for proof of the world-wide limits within which the genius of the English novelist has operated on contemporary writers. Dickens and no other was Gustav Freytag's true model and master in latter-day Teutonic fiction's latest triumph, *Debit and Credit*; while Freytag himself said that, so far back as 1846, his fellow townsfolk at Kreuzburg in Silesia had become admiring readers of Boz. As for those who in some degree coloured and informed the greatest personal force in nineteenth-century fiction, there sounds an echo of Smollett's alliterative titles, *Roderick Random* and *Peregrine Pickle*, in *Nicholas Nickleby*, even in the *Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick*

Club. Dickens had not only read, as a child first, re-read afterwards at intervals, and modelled himself on these early writers generally. Fielding's eye to dramatic effect, with his unique combination of tenderness and humour, made him so much Dickens's favourite that the name of the author of *Tom Jones* was given, by him who wrote *David Copperfield*, to his sixth son, now a distinguished ornament of the legal profession, Mr. Henry Fielding Dickens. Dickens's English is as pure as the moral tendency of his whole writings; in its most characteristic features it is visibly informed by, and seems actually to breathe forth, the spirit of him who guided the pen which committed it to paper. The contemporary, as at one point or another he was, of Washington Irving, of Thomas Carlyle, and of Wilkie Collins, Dickens's intellectual fellowship with these is seen, not in the reproduction of any of their qualities, but, particularly when his mood is more serious, in the unmistakable if indefinable signs of his belonging to the period that had also given these other great men to the world.

T. H. S. ESCOTT.

THE KINSHIP OF ST. PAUL TO GREEK THOUGHT

ONLY within recent years has there been any approach to general recognition amongst New Testament scholars of a certain Greek element in the thought of that Pharisee and son of a Pharisee who was the first Christian theologian. The bulk of former opinion endorsed the verdict of a competent critic who declared that 'St. Paul shows few if any traces of Hellenism.' Few now would care to advance a statement so sweeping. It is no extravagance to say that the labours of Sir William Ramsay have given a new conception of the world and work of St. Paul; and he, more than any one else, has demonstrated the connexion between St. Paul and Greek life. When Baumgarten suggested that, subsequent to his conversion, St. Paul may have studied Greek thought with an apologetic purpose in view, Dean Farrar curtly dismissed the possibility. Yet Sir William Ramsay favours it, and Dr. Findlay, who is not inclined to rate highly the influence of Greek thought upon the Apostle's mind, agrees in this respect. Indeed it may now be taken as virtually established that a strictly Jewish measurement will not embrace the fullness of St. Paul's conceptions. At the same time the critics are far from agreement as to the extent of the Greek strain in St. Paul's intellectual pedigree. Pfeiderer has always contended that there is a twofold source of Pauline doctrine, Pharisaic theology and Greek speculation. Harnack, whilst admitting that the Apostle was not unacquainted with Greek culture, considers that at its base his conception of Christianity is independent of Hellenism. Possibly the unconscious influence of the philosophical sympathies of the two weighs in the

balance of their judgement. The Hegelian tendencies of Pfleiderer beget the conviction that Hellenism means idealism, whilst Harnack's Ritschlian sympathies suggest the suspicion that Hellenism means metaphysics. It is as possible to find in the many-sided thought of St. Paul the germs of an idealism, as to demonstrate the unmetaphysical character of much of his reasoning.

Probably the truth occupies its not unusual place, midway between the two conflicting views. Although to arrive at any final judgement in such a matter is not possible in one brief paper, it is of great interest to follow, even partially, the comparisons and contrasts that may be drawn between some of the thoughts of St. Paul and those of the religious leaders of Greece. As a preliminary step it will be necessary to recall the opportunities which were granted to St. Paul of contact with the Greek mind and influence.

I. It will be remembered that Tarsus was a university town, and a seat of Stoic learning. The majority of the rabbis discouraged acquaintance with Gentile thought; but, in his subsequent education at Jerusalem, St. Paul found in Gamaliel a master who had studied Greek literature. On the other hand, neither in St. Paul's autobiographical allusions nor in his arguments are there any significant traces of Greek culture. Though three classical quotations are employed by him, they are familiar and almost proverbial, and there is no need to invoke a classical education to account for them. Indeed, in a writer who quotes so frequently and readily as St. Paul, it might reasonably be argued that had he much direct knowledge of Greek literature, a far larger number of quotations would be found scattered through his epistles.

It would seem, therefore, that there is not sufficient evidence to conclude that St. Paul was directly influenced by Greek thought. On the other hand, the indirect influence of Hellenism on the mind of the Apostle must have exerted a pressure which has scarcely been sufficiently appreciated. To realize its probable extent and importance, it is necessary to remind

ourselves of what Hellenism meant in St. Paul's day and amongst the people with whom he laboured.

The term Hellenism is conveniently attached to Greek life, thought, and influence of the post-classical days. Its beginning, however, must be dated from the time of Alexander the Great. Almost contemporaneously began the Hellenization of the Jews. Judaea was circled by a belt of Greek cities; and the establishment of Jewish colonies in Antioch, Alexandria, and elsewhere, which never lost touch with the homeland, fostered the influence. During this period the Septuagint was made, unconsciously destined to fulfil the twofold purpose of putting Gentiles into touch with Hebrew religion, and of opening Hebrew minds to Gentile influence. In St. Paul's day the Septuagint rather than the Hebrew original had become the Jewish Bible. It is of course true that the efforts of Antiochus and others to hellenize Hebrew religion were resisted unto death, and the spark which set aflame the great and successful national rising under the Maccabees was the attempt directly to lay alien hands on the ancient faith. But what sword and persecution could not do, was gradually accomplished by natural and inevitable means. Whilst direct interference failed, the three centuries between Alexander and the New Testament witnessed a slow leavening of Jewish life by Hellenic conceptions. The work of Philo proves that even outwardly religious ideas were susceptible to the change. Even more must have been the inward and indirect influence.

For, 'At the beginning of the Christian era the mind of every educated man was formed on Greek literature, rhetoric, and philosophy. This composed then the whole mental atmosphere. . . . Whoever thought at all had to think on this plane. . . . Greek philosophy was in those days all, and more than all, that science and ethics are now; and Greek rhetoric was the great means of education to all men of intellectual ambition.' In these words Dr. Gardner has well expressed the pervasive and controlling influence of Greece upon the thought of St. Paul's day. Associated in childhood with

a Gentile city, designated in after life by the will of God to be the Apostle of the Gentiles, this son of the Pharisees who writes so often in the terms of the Old Testament, and with the thought and style of the rabbis, must none the less, even if unconsciously, have felt the power of Greek thought. Then as now, what was taught in the lecture-room, stripped of its technicalities of thought and expression, filtered through to the street, to form part of the mental atmosphere with which St. Paul was constantly brought into contact. It is a psychological impossibility that any system of thought can proceed wholly out of relation to the *Zeitgeist*, even if it should be entirely opposed to it. The life and work of St. Paul make it incredible that he should be impervious to the atmosphere in which lived those to whom he wrote, and among whom he worked.

Moreover, St. Paul had Hellenistic companions, notably St. Luke. As Harnack remarks, 'St. Paul and St. Luke stand as contrasting figures' (*Gegenbilder*: the translation scarcely suggests the idea of reciprocity, which the original conveys as well as the idea of contrast). 'Just as the one is only comprehensible as a Jew who yet personally came into closest contact with Hellenism, so the other is only comprehensible as a Greek who had nevertheless personal sympathy with primitive Jewish Christendom.' St. Luke was 'the first to cast the gospel into Hellenistic form, and to bring the clarifying influence of the spirit of Hellenism to bear upon the evangelic message.' Personal influence, with most natures, is stronger than either the pressure of thought or the direction of education. It is hardly possible that St. Paul could be continually associated with the Hellenistic standpoint without being susceptible to it, and it is natural to assume that the companionships of St. Paul made his mind more open to receive a point of view which, if inconsistent with his inherited Hebraism, was not ungermane towards the new evangel of which he was the messenger. If the friends of St. Paul were unable to introduce him to classical modes of thought, they at least

brought him into contact with the nationality from which these had sprung.

The frequent references of St. Paul to the stadium, the theatre, and other institutions of Greek life, are doubtless only natural in one travelling amongst and addressing Hellenes; but they are not without significance in indicating the liberality of the Apostle's mind. Here at least is no bigoted Hebrew, counting all that is not of Israel as of evil. To such a one there could be no barrier of insurmountable national or religious prejudice to shut out whatsoever thoughts might be borne in from without. Rather would he be willing to learn all things from all men that he might save some.

St. Paul was, moreover, a disputant. He who would contend with Stoic and Epicurean in the Agora, and debate with the passers-by, could not have done so on the qualification of ignorance of his opponents' position. It is not necessary in this connexion to discuss the subjective criticism that denies St. Paul's visit to Athens, or more commonly still, the historical character of the speech reported there. Strangely enough, a critic like Weizsäcker, who rejects the account of St. Paul's visit to Athens, recognizes in the speech a true example of St. Paul's method; whilst others, accepting the fact of the visit, are convinced that St. Paul could not have so argued. Under the circumstances it is safe to pass by the critical question, and assume that probably at Athens, and almost assuredly elsewhere, such disputes must have occurred, and, however indecisive, they must have ended in affording the Christian apologist an increased knowledge of the views of his adversaries. Moreover, the constructive work of every thinker is naturally built with some relation to his controversial experiences. It has been recognized by almost every commentator that the short speech at Athens reveals a just appreciation of the Stoic philosophy.

II. Enough has now been said to do some measure of justice to the indirect influence of Greek thought upon the Apostle's life and mind. The next step must be to indicate

some points in which the effect of this influence seems to be displayed. The mention of Stoic philosophy will serve to introduce the first phase of the subject, namely, the parallels which can be drawn between St. Paul and certain Stoic teachers, notably Seneca. The so-called *Letters of Paul and Seneca* have, of course, long been recognized as spurious. Lightfoot's famous dissertation on the relation of St. Paul to the Roman moralist has expressed all that is most worth saying with regard to St. Paul and the Stoics. Lightfoot realizes the probability of the Stoic influence of Tarsus, and appreciates St. Paul's recognition of the elements of truth contained in the Stoic system, and 'a studied coincidence with their modes of expression' revealed in the speech at Athens. Two examples are quoted of traces of Stoic phraseology in St. Paul's epistles, namely, in the portrait of 'the wise man,' and in 'the cosmopolitan teaching of the Stoics.' Beyond that, however, the comparison, in Lightfoot's view, yields coincidence rather than connexion. Lightfoot's estimate has been generally accepted. St. Paul seems to have had a general acquaintance with the principles of Stoicism, extending to a knowledge of certain Stoic writers, but not more than any man of intelligence, circumstanced as was St. Paul, might have gained. The effect of Stoicism, moreover, is almost wholly confined to the ethical teaching of the Apostle, and has little weight in the formation of his general standpoint.

Turning from the Stoics to Plato and Aristotle, the comparison becomes at once more interesting. Yet, unhappily, few have endeavoured to elucidate it. Lightfoot recognized that subsequent Christian theology owed more to Plato than to the Stoics, and was inspired by the Academy rather than the Porch; but he did not attempt to connect St. Paul with the greatest of Greek thinkers. Hatch's Hibbert lecture on the influence of the usages and ideas of Greece upon Christian thought begins with the post-apostolic age. It may well be asked whether this is not a generation

too late. Dr. Inge, who finds substantial agreement between the doctrine of the Fourth Gospel and St. Paul's doctrine of Christ, remarks that 'it is a rather foolish mistake to suppose that the identification of Jesus Christ with the Word, the Logos, was a discovery of St. John's old age. Apollos, the learned Jew of Alexandria, must have taught the same at Ephesus a whole generation earlier.' If that be so, it is hardly a rash experiment to seek in the teaching of St. Paul some trace of the influence of the noblest thought of Greece. So far only a little has been done to connect the two. What work has been attempted has proceeded from those who have been concerned with the Greeks rather than St. Paul, and is chiefly to be discovered in the late Prof. Adam's *Religious Teachers of Greece*, and to a less extent in the kindred work of the late Dr. E. Caird. From the other side the most noteworthy example is to be found in a paper by Canon, now Bishop, Hicks in vol. iv. of *Studia Biblica* for 1896, and incidentally of course in much of Sir W. Ramsay's work.

A few general illustrations may be cited to indicate some of the most pertinent points of comparison and contrast. In the first place, what may be called the general philosophy of St. Paul rests upon a conception which is thoroughly Greek, a conception never absent from Greek thought since the days of Heraclitus, and one that was revived and reinforced by the Stoics. This is the idea of the universe as a constant flux, and life as an ever-flowing change. It must strike every student of St. Paul's epistles that for him the universe and life upon it are in a state of continual development, ever progressing towards the eternal purpose of God which He purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord. The manner in which St. Paul's ethical and theological teaching rests upon a definite principle, which for him is Christ, is also illustrative of Greek habit. Semitic ethics mostly takes the form of wise maxims, epigrammatic but disconnected, such as may be found in Proverbs or Ecclesiasticus. St. Paul leans far more to the Greek method. His arguments are consecutive,

and capable of analysis, as are the arguments of Plato and Aristotle; and Bishop Hicks in the paper mentioned remarks that he never reads 1 Cor. xiii. without being reminded of the Nicomachean ethics. It may be asserted that in the general philosophy of St. Paul there is an unmistakable Greek element, and one is inclined to attach more importance to this than to striking but external similarity of detail. That may be fortuitous, and sometimes arises between the most divergent systems of thought. But when one finds at the base of St. Paul's teaching a conception and method so akin to the Greek standpoint, it is not unreasonable to assume that there must be some essential connexion between the two.

In passing to a few of the more striking detailed comparisons it may be asked why they are confined to classical Greek philosophy. The three centuries between the death of Aristotle and the birth of Christ brought many changes into Greek thought. The comparison between St. Paul and contemporary Greek ideas would be interesting, but unfortunately there is comparatively little material for estimating the Greek philosophy of St. Paul's day. Were there more, it is possible the comparison would be not very highly instructive. The age was singularly destitute of intellectual achievement. It was a period of degeneration, not development. To rely on the clearer ideas of an earlier time need not vitiate the result. What is desired is not a comparison between St. Paul and contemporary Greeks, but between St. Paul and the Greek mind. Even in St. Paul's day that mind retained the general characteristics of the classical period. It had strayed from the centre, but had found no fresh centre upon which to remodel itself. In short, it had lost its distinction rather than its distinctiveness. Though unworthy of its traditions it had not wholly drifted from them. It would certainly be not the later modification but the surviving power of the noblest elements in Greek thought that would be likely to commend itself to St. Paul. The Fathers went back from their own age to Plato to borrow for

their new Christian philosophy of religion : the best tradition was alone fitted to serve. In like manner St. Paul would appreciate the influences of the greater age, rather than the weakened doctrine of the later time.

One of the most striking affinities which exist between St. Paul and Plato will be found in comparison of their doctrines of human nature. Broadly speaking *νοῦς*, or intellect, in Plato, and *πνεῦμα*, or spirit, in St. Paul, correspond. On the other hand, a similar correspondence exists between the Pauline *σάρξ*, or flesh, and the Platonic *σῶμα*, or body. The opposition between the flesh and the spirit in St. Paul and the corporeal and intellectual in Plato is almost identical. Aristotle, on the other hand, fails to realize as do Paul and Plato the struggle between the higher and lower within. Whilst there is nothing to suggest that St. Paul studied the Dialogues of Plato, the comparison is close enough to make it a strong possibility that St. Paul had become acquainted in some way with this Greek conception of the higher and lower natures and their mortal conflict.

The first step in the way of release is also conceived alike. In the *Phaedo* Plato counsels a policy of abstention. Every indulgence in bodily pleasure increases the bondage of the mind to the body. Hence the conception, so famous in Greek philosophy, which Hegel reiterated, 'Die to live.' A score of parallels could be quoted from St. Paul. 'I die daily.' 'I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live.' As Plato hopes for release from the bodily by self-discipline and by death, in this metaphorical sense of death to the lower and fleshly elements, so St. Paul counsels his Colossian hearers to mortify their members, and so he also employs the term death in a figurative sense, not of bodily dissolution but of the destruction of the fleshly desire and carnal thought.

The parallel extends still further. Corresponding to the higher and lower within is a twofold order without. Plato's allegory of the Cave is designed to show that the world of

sense is temporal and transient, the ideal world is eternal and permanent. For St. Paul the things that are seen are temporal, and we walk by faith, not by sight. In both, the realization of this truth of the higher and lower within, and of the eternal and temporal without, involves for the man who realizes it a fresh standpoint and a fresh valuation of existence. The Platonic term is *περιαγωγή*, a wrenching round or revolution. A similar function is served in St. Paul's theology by the new creation in Christ. In Christ Jesus a man becomes new, life is valued from a new moral and spiritual standpoint. The eternal becomes the real, and the affections are set on things above, where our life is hid with Christ in God.

In tracing the comparison, however, the first signs of the contrast have been made manifest. The higher part in Plato is divine or heavenly wisdom. In St. Paul it is likewise the wisdom of God, but not merely intellectual wisdom. It is the divine will and purpose, expressed in the divine-human Christ. Plato's appeal is purely philosophical; St. Paul's is religious. The new life is not in wisdom but in Christ, and thus St. Paul imparts a moral and spiritual motive which echoes a plea more winsome, more compelling, than Plato could have dreamed.

Is not this the reason why for Plato as for Greek philosophy in general (even the Neoplatonism of the Christian era had advanced no further in this respect) evil can be subdued but not destroyed? So long as the material and sensible exists, evil necessarily exists with it, for by nature it is evil, and its nature is unchangeable. The unchangeableness of the natural was no part of St. Paul's doctrine. He who had seen Jews, pride-bound with legalism, and Greeks enslaved to sensuality, reborn to holiness in Christ, had no doubt as to the redemption of the natural. St. Paul's philosophy embraces a glorious vision of the natural made spiritual, and though as yet we see not all things subject unto Him, he could cherish the hope that 'the creation itself

also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God.'

Turning from the doctrine of man to the doctrine of Christ, the Logos, the comparison is closer than one would expect, realizing the immense difference between the God Plato knew, and the God who had revealed Himself to Paul. The Good is Plato's Supreme Idea. Using the words in another, but not less true sense, Christ is the supreme idea of St. Paul. Plato's Supreme Idea is the cause of all. In Christ, says St. Paul, all things are created. Plato's Supreme Idea is the cause for all, the Omega of creation as well as its Alpha. 'That He might sum up all things in Christ' is the last word of St. Paul's philosophy. Plato's Good is immanent, striving to establish itself upon earth. 'He must reign till He hath put all enemies under His feet,' declares the Apostle. For Plato the Good is the principle of both moral and cosmic unity. So is Christ for St. Paul. It is interesting to note that the word used by Plato to denote the indwelling of the Ideal in the actual is *παρουσία*, or presence. Parousia in the New Testament refers chiefly to the Second Advent, and the reign of righteousness that should follow it. Yet as Dr. Adam puts it, 'Parousia in Plato means partial incomplete attainment; in Christianity for the most part it signifies the final consummation. That is the obvious difference so far as language is concerned, but it is not a mere question of words: the point is rather that the doctrine of the Parousia as the presence of the Infinite in the finite underlies the deepest religious teaching of St. Paul's epistles, as well as the gospels and epistles of St. John, having attained of course to a new vitality and power by the embodiment of the divine Idea in a divine yet human personality.'

Space will not permit any comparison between St. Paul's teaching and that of Aristotle. The difference between Aristotle and Plato will explain why Aristotle and St. Paul have less in common. One particular feature, however, may be named in passing. Aristotle's treatment of the divine in

man as a consciousness of God is not without its relation to St. Paul's belief in the inward witness of the Spirit.

III. What then is the probable explanation of the relation which seems to exist between St. Paul and certain of the thoughts of Greek philosophy? Before answering the question two objections must be weighed. If Hellenism, it is urged, had any considerable bearing upon St. Paul's thought, why are not the affinities more striking between St. Paul and the Jewish Hellenism of his own day, in the manner in which, for example, Alexandrine Hellenism seems reflected in the Epistle to the Hebrews?

There is evidence to suggest the high probability that St. Paul was acquainted with the Book of Wisdom. He has, moreover, certain similarities with Philo, especially in his use of allegory, and in the manner in which he speaks of the absolute and inexorable working of the Divine Will. There is, however, no proof of direct dependence. It would therefore seem probable that such Hellenism as St. Paul exhibits was not gained from Alexandria. If that be so, it is no ground for expecting any close parallel between St. Paul and the standpoints of Hellenistic Judaism. Between them is set a complete divergence of aim. Philo and his fellows were engaged in the fascinating task of decking ancient Semitic conceptions in the guise of modern Hellenistic speculation. St. Paul was expressing to Jew and Gentile a gospel which he received as not from man or by man, but by direct revelation of God. It is no more likely, under the circumstances, that St. Paul should be directly influenced by Hellenistic Judaism than by Plato. Whatever may have been the extent or limits of St. Paul's acquaintance with the school Philo represents, its distinctive characteristics would yield him few suggestive thoughts, and this may well account for the slenderness of the existing parallels.

It is also urged that St. Paul adopts an attitude expressly disparaging to *σοφία*, or philosophy (cf. 1 Tim. i. 4, and else-

where). None the less the critic of any system is by no means the person least influenced by it. The many who rejected the system of Spinoza, for example, profited as much from it as the few who were his avowed disciples. Greek philosophy, in its degeneracy, offered a ready target for criticism. It lacked earnestness and moral purpose, and its intellectualism had become severed from vital experience. To St. Paul, who doubtless more than once had heard his empirical pleading disdainfully waved aside by some shallow and superior philosophical pedant, confident that the uncouth ideas of the barbarian Jew were not worth a syllogism to refute them, it may well have appeared that philosophy, at least in the hands of its usual exponents, was foolish and vain babbling, engendering strife. The low estimate that the pastoral and other epistles place upon the philosophy of the day is not unjustified. It does not follow, however, that St. Paul's opinion of it debarred him from using anything that seemed good in it. It has been attempted to suggest here only such comparisons as the spirit of Greek thought may well account for, and they need in no way be related to the quibbling pettiness of the decayed philosophy of St. Paul's day.

Perhaps the safest conclusion will be not to attempt to give in static terms the measure of the Greek element in St. Paul's thought, nor to dogmatize upon the manner in which it comes to be there. Similarity of thought never proves direct genealogical relationship. Coincidence, or the joint sharing in a common stock of ideas, are always possible hypotheses. If we cannot say dependence, however, we must at least admit kinship. It seems impossible to regard the connexion between St. Paul and Greek thought as wholly fortuitous. The Greek associations of St. Paul already mentioned, together with the possibility of some even closer acquaintance, can perhaps best account for this kinship. The modern portrait of St. Paul, however, and the modern estimate of his teaching, must be undertaken

with due regard to these indications which tend to show that the Greek influence upon Christian theology began not with the Fathers, but with the father of the Fathers, St. Paul. The fact has been disguised by the fashion of interpretation, which for many years has regarded him as a debtor to the Jew rather than to the Greek, and in its turn this misapprehension arose largely from St. Paul's own insistence on his Pharisaism. The poet's intuition often anticipates the scholar's conclusions, and when Browning wrote of 'Attic Paul' he was nearer to the truth than men of the time, better qualified to judge than was he, imagined. If we cannot accept the unqualified epithet, we can at least say Paul, Pharisee and Hellenist. To realize this is to see yet more abundantly the wisdom of God. Almost before it had left its cradle in the most exclusive race in the world, the new faith, whose star arose in the East, began to draw, in the teaching of its greatest missionary, the thought of the West to itself, and bound East and West, Hebrew spiritual ideals and Greek philosophical conceptions, into a holy alliance to fulfil the eternal counsel of God.

ERIC S. WATERHOUSE.

FREDERIC HARRISON'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Autobiographic Memoirs. By FREDERIC HARRISON, D.C.L.,
Litt.D., LL.D. 2 vols. (London: Macmillan. 1911.)

ONE of the advantages of an autobiography is that it enables us not only to look into the man who writes it, but, as Carlyle would say, to look out of him, to view the world as he views it, and to enlarge our estimate of it by thinking through his mind; and when the eyes through which we look are so wide open and observant as the eyes of Mr. Frederic Harrison, one of the two surviving publicists and men of letters of the great Victorian age, and the mind at our disposal is so powerful as his, so richly-gifted, stored and cultured, the advantage is both great and rare. It is for this purpose that, for the moment, we shall use the voluminous and vastly interesting memorials which, in his eightieth year, he has collected of a long and busy life passed in the public eye, and lavishly expended in the service, as he deemed it, of humanity. The outline of that life need not detain us. Born in 1831, at Muswell Hill, of yeoman English and of northern Irish stock; educated privately and at King's College School, London, before graduating at Wadham College, Oxford; called to the Bar, and studying and practising the Law against the grain; devoting himself to literature and art in private, and in public to the service of the community on various Royal Commissions, as Alderman of the London County Council, Vice-President of the Royal Historical Society and of the London Library; lecturing at Oxford and Cambridge, across the Atlantic, and all over the United Kingdom on all sorts of subjects, historical, social, literary, and,

in the midst of all, studying the political and industrial problems of the time, and maintaining an active leadership and propaganda in that Positivist movement which has been to him a religion and an apostolate, the author of these memoirs has seen much of the world, has mingled with men of all classes and conditions and of many nationalities; he has travelled much, and written much, and in these crowded pages he has furnished the materials, when the time shall come, for the portrait of an attractive personality, a shrewd and independent thinker, an active and industrious servant of humanity according to his lights. With undue depreciation, Mr. Harrison refers to these memoirs as 'unconsidered jottings,' and assumes that when he is gone 'they will have little interest for any one outside' his own family and friends. On the contrary, writers will find in them valuable material for the history of his time, and it will be possible, out of the luxuriant and scattered data he has left us, to construct the story of a noble, happy, and eventful life. Ours is a less ambitious but delightful task. We shall use these goodly volumes as a means by which to look through his keen eyes at places he has visited, at persons he has known, and at the changes he has witnessed in the course of his career.

With ample means and leisure, Mr. Harrison has been able to indulge his love of travel to the full. His *Wanderjahre* have lasted all through life. France and Italy and Switzerland are as familiar to him as his native land, and he has much to say of Egypt and the nearer East. 'If, in my eightieth year,' he says, 'I can say that I have never had an illness to keep me to my bed for a single day, I owe that rare immunity from ailment, together with habitual care of health and absence of all worry and fatigue in life, to my practice of devoting my holidays, from my early boyhood to an advanced old age, to walking in the mountains or along the coasts of our island and of the Mediterranean, and in the midst of magnificent landscape scenery.' His

earliest recollections are of the then lovely country around Muswell Hill, with its 'limpid stillness, and the knolls where the cowslip and violet grew under oaks on the region now covered by the Alexandra Palace and its grounds.'

Still o'er these scenes his memory wakes,
And fondly broods with miser care.

The aroma of these meadows, now engulfed in London's suburbs, lives within his mind and quickens the waning energies of his advancing years. 'The roar, the hustling, the cinematographic whirl of modern existence' he regards as 'a veritable disease of mind and soul.' We can only preserve our health, our sanity, and our civilization, he believes, by withdrawing from time to time into the only 'rest-cure,' the true spiritual 'retreat'—a quiet countryside. 'In old age I return to it wholly, as I have never entirely forsaken it in any part of my life. And again I renew the magical inspiration it gave me as a child.' As a boy he passed two summers at Boulogne, two in Normandy, and one in the Highlands of Scotland. In later life his travels took a wider range, and many of his *Reisebilder* are as graphic and as full of interest as those of Goethe or of Heine at their best. But his 'heart untravelled' always turned with eagerness towards home. In England, and especially among the hills and dales of Cumberland and Yorkshire, he found scenery to be compared with any that he had explored in Switzerland and Italy, and ruins as romantic and as beautiful as any he had seen abroad.

At first the English Lakes were disappointing, but he came in time to feel their unique grace and charm. 'The forms of the hills are certainly very beautiful, and nothing equals the richness and variety of the verdure and the foliage.' Passing over into Yorkshire, the moors and rivers and abbeys and castles were new to him, and aroused in his heart 'a storm of delight.' Dearest in his memory remains 'the vision of that softly smiling gentle valley of Bolton Abbey in Wharfedale—so severe, so simple, so

inspiring—of all spots in the world I think the richest in its fullness of calm, and joy, and peace.' Harrogate did not please him : he describes it as ' without exception the vilest hole I ever was in in my life ' ; but he could not avoid it on his way to York. Of the three great abbeys in the county of broad acres, he says, ' The scenery of Bolton would most delight a painter; the ruin of Fountains, the historian; the solemnity of Rievaulx, the poet. Rievaulx is far more than a beautiful spot. It is impossible to see it without some new ideas upon the mediaeval Church. . . . We see how admiration for the forest trees and love for flowers and plants grew into a Gothic church, reviving and recalling in stone the best features of the landscape. The ruin gives a charm to the scene, and the scene leads the eye to dwell upon the ruin. The whole together carries us back to times when men could live whole lives of unbroken repose, beauty, and devotion, when mediaeval life was surrounded with every grace—a time when the earth swarmed with abominable ruffians and not a few real saints.' The whole country from York to Manchester, he says, resembles the country round Rouen, ' but is far finer. Nothing out of Switzerland is more picturesque than these valleys.' Of York Minster it is almost startling to hear a Radical and a Positivist free-thinker expatiating as follows, but the passage throws a welcome gleam upon the writer's inmost soul :

What a world of tender fancies and patient labours is around one !
 What a noble gallery of statues, what graceful carving in oak,
 what monumental slabs and graven marbles, what memories of
 all fair things upon the earth, and of all noble arts among men !
 What an endless stream of holy song has ascended to heaven age
 after age, night and day for a thousand years ! The choir has not
 ceased crying, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth. What
 harmonies have risen as the crowded aisles took up the hymn, or
 as a few sweet voices have sung the evening song, whilst the setting
 sun streamed through the western window ! How infinite, rich,
 and harmonious the whole ! How enormous, immovable, and aspir-
 ing, and how worthy to be a temple of God ! What a pyramid of
 infinite energy, devotion, and skill, the centre whence all North

England was evangelized, the noblest efforts of the best hearts and brains of countless generations!

The same sympathy with all true piety peeps out in many of his letters, as e. g. in describing one of his Swiss tours he says, 'The hand-post which shows your way points directly to a figure of Christ, the stream from which you drink flows from His image pierced at the heart'; or, when visiting the cell of Marie Antoinette in the old prison of the Conciergerie in Paris, he writes: 'I am no Royalist and no devotee, but I felt almost faint in the dungeon where the proud daughter of Maria Theresa poured out her soul in the last hour of her life. The crucifix to which the woman turned all night in her last agony is still there—an exquisite ivory of sacred passion.' It was during the same period that he notes a pathetic incident which occurred shortly before he visited Paris at the close of the Commune in 1871. The military were busily executing the men of the barricades. The prisoners were put in a line against a wall and shot down in heaps.

As the word to fire was about to be given, a *gamin* of fourteen or so, a sort of Gavroche, stepped out and cried, 'Mon Capitaine, laissez-moi donner ma montre à ma mère avant de mourir!' (Let me give my watch to my mother before I die). 'Be off,' shouted the captain with a grin, 'va-t-en, petit diable!' and was not sorry to be spared murdering the child. But the last victim had hardly ceased to writhe when, to the amazement of the officer, the little lad returned. 'I am ready now,' he said, as he took his place against the bloody wall.

Hidden away in his appendices, some of Mr. Harrison's best descriptive passages reward the searching eye. Vignettes like these abound in letters home from Venice and from Rome in 1864-6:—

It is my abiding belief that Venice is the most poetical, weird, fascinating city in the world, one which wholly fills and even transcends the most ideal and romantic conception ever yet created to express it. . . . At all hours and in all lights it is beautiful, but in this full-moon time it is simply marvellous, the double tier of arcades with their exquisite tracery standing out white in the

moonlight against the deep shadows of the colonnade, the wall it supports above, delicately diapered and tinted with every rosy and russet tone, ending in the quaintest of arabesque figures against the sky, this reflected with a line of lights in the piazza, the gondolas gliding like weird black swans over the sea and darting black across the columns of moonlight, the distant domes and campaniles rising from the islands round, and poised like clouds of white mist upon the sea, . . . the chimes of many bells, the cries of sailors in the ships far off, a song accompanied by a guitar or violin on the quay, and this with a glassy sea, a balmy evening, and a mellow moonlight, far exceeds everything that one can conceive of bewitching and fairy-like.

Childe Harold gives to my mind the noblest and the truest picture of Rome, and embodies *all* the impressions. There is nothing more, nothing else to be said. . . . I don't know that anything impresses me more than the extreme smallness of everything. The Forum would go in our kitchen garden, the Palatine hill is about the size of the Bank of England, the Via Sacra, the scene of a thousand triumphs, might be taken for a gutter. . . . Gracchus could not have addressed a thousand men. Veii, the rival of Rome, might be Sydenham, and Alba Longa might be Chislehurst. Fancy the wars of London against the villages of Surrey. . . . One word more about the only modern and living thing I can endure in Rome—the Romans. They are glorious. Ah, the Roman women are something like women, with such eyes, such voices, such hair, such a look, such a gait, such manners. . . . The men too, if not so uncorrupted, are a fine race yet. Nowhere have I seen such grace, and courtesy, and dignity, such life, such breeding, such refinement. I never shall forget the strange scene at Montalto. It chanced to be sunset, one of the most splendid I ever saw, intensely rich in crimsons, orange and gold. The picturesque towers and gates of Montalto stood up black and gloomy in the crimson sky. All round was a motley group of travellers, bishops, canons, priests, friars, police, soldiers, all crowded together, the 'Roast-pigioso' family placidly seated a little apart, chewing the cud of vacancy, like Campagna cows, and all round us the entire population of Montalto, which seems wholly devoted to the profession of mendicancy—blind beggars, lame beggars, leprous beggars, old beggars, young beggars, sturdy beggars, cadaverous beggars, felonious beggars and idiotic beggars; ragged children, fever-stricken women, blackguard banditti-looking men, half-naked children crawling in the mud, girls carrying the graceful copper pitchers on their heads, rascaldom, disease, misery, dirt, superstition, ignorance, all in picturesque confusion . . . all under that magnificent sunset, and with the dreary waste of the Campagna in the background. It was a picture which Salvator Rosa and Turner together might have painted, but no one painter in the world.

To pass through Mr. Harrison's portrait gallery is like a visit to Madame Tussaud's, except that in his pages there is no chamber of horrors, and the figures are alive. All that we shall be able to do will be to 'glance and pass' in Dante fashion, and to listen to the memories and impressions of our guide. Of the preachers he has heard he thinks that 'the *ethike pistis* of F. W. Robertson was the most impressive, and the eloquence of Bishop Wilberforce the most memorable. But no English preacher in my seventy years of sermon-hearing ever came near one of the great Italian friars preaching to a Catholic congregation in a Jesuit church or a mediaeval cathedral.' In one place Mr. Harrison speaks of 'the penchant to caricature and exaggeration which disfigures' his 'familiar correspondence.' Neither of these literary vices was his forte, and we shall not disfigure our pages with the unfair picture of Maurice, and the atrocious libel upon Spurgeon, which, unhappily, he has reproduced. More interesting to our readers will be the glimpse he gives us of one who figured once in Methodist history: 'Another visit I made was to the Rev. Joseph Rayner Stephens, an Independent minister of Staleybridge. Stephens was a Tory-Democrat, agitator, journalist, and preacher, who had worked vigorously with Richard Oastler in the Factory Act agitation, 1830-40, and then in opposition to the Poor Law. He was a powerful open-air speaker, and still in his old age retained the devoted loyalty of a congregation, of which he made himself sole pope and spiritual guide. . . . He was an inimitable talker, a genuine relic of the old Evangelical philanthropist, a born orator, democrat, and autocrat. He gave me an entertainment that I cannot forget—Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*, played in his own chapel by his own people in costume—all mill hands, and speaking the broad Lancashire brogue. . . . It amused me to imagine an Anglican dignitary turning stage-manager in his own church on Saturday night, and preaching from the pulpit on Sunday

as soon as the canvas walls of Rome were removed. But Pope Stephens did that; and, I regret to say, he preached at me, pointing the finger of scorn at the infidel, as I sat beneath him.' Mr. Harrison speaks highly of Mill, but tells us little about him. 'To have known such a man, as I believe the most self-devoted and most scrupulous of all the politicians of his age, is indeed the honour of a lifetime.' Bright he regards as the finest orator of the second half of the century, and tells a story about a meeting at which he was present in St. James's Hall, when Mr. Ayrton 'used rude language about Queen Victoria.' Mr. Bright, who was chairman, saw at once how mischievous was the reference in such an assembly. 'He sprang to his feet, and poured out a reproof in indignant eloquence so full of pathos, generosity, and fine feeling, that it electrified the audience. The meeting broke out into cheers, and dispersed chanting "God save the Queen." And, before I knew what had happened I found myself towards midnight marching up Regent Street, arm-in-arm with a column of joiners and masons, shouting, "Confound their knavish tricks! God save the Queen!"' Though never a whole-hearted follower of his, Mr. Harrison speaks of Mr. Gladstone as the pink of courtesy and kindness, as 'the most delightful of talkers, but not really brilliant in conversation'; and of him and his great rival he paints a piquant picture that in our time will not fade away. 'I remember that at a big garden party on Camden Hill there was a "Punch and Judy" set up on the lower lawn to amuse the children. There stood Gladstone, laughing and open-mouthed, as delighted as any girl or boy of them all. Opposite to him were Disraeli and Montagu Corry—to whom the creator of "Peace with Honour" seemed, by his look of contempt, to be saying—"They call this a statesman."' Cardinal Manning and Mr. Harrison were on the friendliest and most intimate terms. 'He was one of the most picturesque and versatile men of his time—in person a mediaeval saint

—a St. Anthony of Padua by Perugino—in manner alternately graceful, ascetic, imposing and simple; in mind subtle, ingenious, and of wide culture; in principles an ardent apostle of temperance, ecclesiastical discipline, social sympathy and popular reform.’ On one occasion, when Mr. Harrison said that on the disestablishment of the English Church he would gain millions of new adherents to Catholicism, the Cardinal replied, ‘Yes, I know that; but you, Free-Thinkers, Agnostics and Positivists, would gain the rest.’ On another occasion, the Cardinal told him that ‘Comte’s Catholic mother and childhood had inscribed on his heart the truths of religion in invisible letters which began to reappear in old age’; ‘again, he said that “Positivism was a noble torso from which the head had been cut off.”’ On which Mr. Harrison remarks: ‘It was indeed just the reverse. It was the head, the brain, the intelligence, that Comte found wanting in Catholicism: the heart had been sound originally and its yearnings might even be revived.’ But surely this was to miss the Cardinal’s meaning. What he meant, probably, was that Religion without God, as William Arthur, in his book with that title, abundantly proved, is a truncated simulacrum of religion. To this, should space permit, we may return.

For the moment we are in the portrait gallery, and the faces are still crowding round us. Here is Tennyson, ‘at the head of all the poets of the nineteenth century since the death of Shelley’; Browning, ‘the most original and the most sane spirit of the Victorian writers,’ but ‘no music’ in his poetry; Swinburne, with ‘the luscious music in him, but no deep or original thought’; Matthew Arnold, of whom it is rather tartly said that ‘he was essentially the critic—the arbiter of a somewhat silver age in literature—the mentor of a society wherein he could never forget that he was the son of a great Churchman and the associate of great magnates. . . . Whether he was criticizing poetry, manners, or the Bible, one imagined him writing from the

library of the Athenaeum Club. His theological disquisitions were a curious mixture of intellectual audacity and social orthodoxy. As I told him, he tossed about his sceptical epigrams and his risky *bons mots* like a free-thinking Abbé at Voltaire's supper-parties.' This is on a par with Mr. Harrison's unkindly cut at Thackeray, and is not typical of his remarks. Of Thackeray he says, 'Once when I was invited to meet the great rebuker of snobs at dinner, he was kept away by an attack of "gout."' We learned from the *Times* next day that the remedy he had taken to cure his gout was dining with a duke.' Ruskin, as befitted one of Mr. Harrison's chief friends and most contemptuous critics, has a chapter to himself. Another is devoted to the French celebrities whom he has known—to Comte, of course; to Millet, to the merits of whose pictures Ruskin was so strangely blind; to Guizot, 'the most imposing character, and, in spite of his retrograde tactics, the most philosophic statesman of the second half of the century, as Thiers was the most adroit and versatile'; and a host of others, such as Michelet, Gambetta, Renan, Scherer, and Père Hyacinthe, of whom, as in his other works, he has much that is of general interest to say. But the most complete of all the portraiture is that of Mr. Harrison himself as seen with his own eyes, and as reflected from the workings of his many-sided mind.

As a rule, throughout these memoirs the writer takes himself too seriously, and is too easily disgusted with the men and things of this imperfect world. 'Disgusted' is a word as characteristic of Mr. Harrison as 'bright' is of Milton, or 'sweet' of Shakespeare, and if a man is known by his expletives, here is a revelation indeed. Another is to be found in the heroes he worships. Amongst these his favourites are St. Bernard and King Alfred. Of the latter he writes to a lady friend: 'He is the only *perfect* statesman and king, one who to consummate policy brought a religious heart and a spotless character. He unites

everything that a great public leader ought to be or can be. He is Lycurgus, Hadrian, Hannibal, Godefroi, Jeanne D'Arc, St. Bernard, Lorenzo, Milton and Cromwell all in one—general, sovereign, lawgiver, theologian, preacher, moralist, philosopher, poet, historian, artist, engineer, inventor, student, seaman, hunter, crusader, deliverer and regenerator. . . . In Alfred there is not only no flaw, but no deficiency : he is perfect in fullness as in goodness.' If this is not a portrait of Mr. Harrison, it is one of his ideals, and ideals are portraits of the inner man. Though an athlete, he is no hunter, and, if he is not known as a poet, it is possibly because he has not yet revealed himself in this high character, except in too rare lines like those which he appends to the delightful chapter on ' Friends Unforgotten ' :

When I remember all
The friends so link'd together
I've seen around me fall
Like leaves in wintry weather,
I feel like one
Who treads alone
Some banquet hall deserted.

Here and there are welcome gleams of humour, as when he speaks of his ' senile garrulity,' or when he assures us that the young man who signed his early letters was ' neither a sanctimonious ass nor a hysterical nincompoop ' ; and that he is not so devoid of sentiment as might from much in these volumes be inferred, is clear from his occasional allusions to his forty years of singularly beautiful and happy married life. If he does not ' wear his heart upon his sleeve ' it is not that ' the writer is not sensible to tender affections, but rather is absorbed in an affection too strong and too deep to be either concealed or expressed.' That one so cultured and fastidious in taste should always have been ' a most awkward speaker ' is not wonderful ; nor does he seem to have succeeded as a popular, however brilliant may have been his triumphs as an academic, lecturer. Relating his experiences in addressing even fashionable,

cultivated audiences in the West End of London, he says : ' One might as well preach sermons on the Simple Life to the smart folk in the Grand Stand at Ascot.' Perhaps it was as well that Mr. Harrison did not enter Parliament, as he was often urged to do. He tells us that he ' was not made for party politics, which mean incessant compromise, the acceptance of the least of several evils, and continual surrender of one's own deliberate judgement.' He always thought Coriolanus ' a good model for electioneering purposes ' : he would have been the antipodes to Cowper's kissing candidate. That last indignity to noble minds was spared him. On the other hand he takes a delight in recalling his achievements in the public service, as architect, as bibliophile, as law reformer. Was it not he who made the first design for Kingsway and Aldwych, that greatest of all modern London street improvements ? Was it not he who spent two precious years in ' clearing up the mystery of the Gibbon manuscripts, and in securing for the public these rich and fascinating remains of our greatest historian ' ? And who does not know with what herculean labours he brought order into part at least of Cromwell's ' godless jumble,' English Common Law ? The most significant, perhaps, of all his self-revealings is contained in his reflections on the great defect in his early education. In childhood, he informs us, he never read the *Arabian Nights* or any of the Scandinavian and German fairy-tales, and adds : ' This melancholy defect in my education must, I fear, be accountable for the prosaic insensibility to the mystical with which I am so often and so justly charged.' This does not strike us at all an adequate explanation of his strange, and, as we must regard it, foolish substitution of a vague ephemeral abstraction like Humanity as the basis of religion for the real and living God ; but, within our present limits it is impossible to discuss the matter. Nor is the subject of much ' actuality ' ; for the trend of European thought for many years has been away from Positivism, and, by a

curious irony of fate, its chief apostle and its noblest and most powerful exponent in this country has lived to see the dictum of his master once more falsified. The famous 'three stages' have been reversed before his very eyes: the tendency at present is through science to metaphysics, and, unless we are mistaken, there are numerous signs of a revival of theology.

It is pleasant to picture Mr. Harrison in his Kentish home at Hawkhurst, a country squire and county magistrate, 'gardening, strolling in the old Wealden Forest, walking or driving in its lovely scenery, exploring old buildings, basking in the scents, breezes, sounds and sunlight of Southern England, entertaining old friends—but certainly not chasing vermin or mangling birds'; and, reluctantly passing over his reflections on the changes he has witnessed in his time, it is gratifying, as the shadows gather round him, to reciprocate the feelings of goodwill which breathe throughout his farewell admonitions of the world. In great serenity he chants his *Nunc Dimittis*, and with a passage of impressive beauty brings his memoirs to a dignified and solemn close: 'I close this book with words that indeed resume in themselves all that I have ever written or spoken during half a century, which is this—that all our mighty achievements are being hampered and neutralized, all our difficulties are being doubled, and all our moral and social diseases are being aggravated by this supreme and dominant fact—that we have suffered our religion to slide from us, and that in effect our age has no abiding faith in any religion at all. The urgent task of our time is to recover a religious faith as a basis of life both personal and social. I feel that I have done this, in my poor way, for myself, and am closing my quiet life in resignation, peace, and hope.'

T. ALEXANDER SEED.

A SYRIAN FATHER ON THE GOSPELS

An Exposition of the Gospel Harmony, made by SAINT EPHRAEM, a Syrian teacher, translated into Latin by JOHN BAPTIST AUCHER; his version revised, annotated, and edited by DR. MOESINGER. (Venice, 1876.)

Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus upon the Diatessaron. By J. RENDEL HARRIS. (Cambridge, 1895.)

FOR some years to come, the interest of New Testament textual critics is likely to centre round the so-called Western text, represented for the Gospels and Acts by Codex Bezae (D); for it is felt on all hands that the question of its origin is very far from being settled: when a theory has been advanced which commands general acceptance from acknowledged experts, it will then be possible to pass a general and perhaps a final verdict upon its numerous textual variations, additions, and omissions.

It is not intended to enter upon this large question in the following article; but it should be noticed that an increasingly important place in the discussion of the subject is being assigned to the *Diatessaron*, or *Harmony of the Four Gospels*, compiled by Tatian. This Harmony was put together in the second century by the great champion of the Encratite heresy, and was used extensively in the Syrian Church until the middle of the fifth century, when it was replaced, under the authority of Bishop Theodoret, by the original Four Gospels. On the whole, Tatian seems to have been much more respectful in his dealings with the text than most other heretics,—than Marcion in particular; additions, omissions, and variants which can be traced to the *Diatessaron* generally have some other attestation. In at least one instance, however, even Tatian could not conscientiously leave the text as it was. Being an Encratite, or ascetic, the animal diet ascribed to John the Baptist in

the wilderness was shocking to him. The 'locusts' of the accepted text must be altered somehow; accordingly, the Diatessaron reads in Matt. iii. 4 (as we learn from Isho'dad), 'his meat was milk, and honey of the mountains.' Bar Salibi, a Syriac Father of the twelfth century, explains that Elizabeth travelled with her son, and for fifteen years supplied him from her breast with the necessary milk! This emendation throws a vivid light on the possibilities of corruption in the biblical text, due to sectarians with dogmatic axes of their own to grind. Another interesting instance of Encratite tampering with the words of the New Testament may be noticed, occurring in the clause relating to Anna's married life, which of course presented a difficulty to people of this persuasion. After all possible deductions it remains, however, true that the Diatessaron is a work of surpassing critical and historical importance to students of the New Testament. Unfortunately the Harmony itself is lost; and though translations are extant, in Arabic (edited by Ciasca, with a Latin version) and in Latin (the Codex Fuldensis of the Vulgate), the value of both of these witnesses is seriously impaired by the fact that they have been obviously assimilated to the normal Gospel text.

By far the most reliable reconstructions of the text of the Diatessaron are those that have been carried through in our own day by Zahn and other scholars on the basis of Ephrem's Commentary thereupon,¹ the work which supplies the topic of the present article. This Commentary is of such extraordinary interest and suggestiveness, and is at the same time so little known, that some account of its contents may be useful and welcome. Ephrem was a Syrian Father of the fourth century, and was not only a

¹ It will be remembered that the author of *Supernatural Religion* devoted a chapter to his proof that no such book as the Diatessaron of Tatian existed. He was refuted by Lightfoot, and afterwards, more completely, by Dr. Rendel Harris in the *Contemporary Review*. An interesting identification of the author of *Supernatural Religion* will be found in Dr. Harris's Paper.

voluminous writer, but an eloquent preacher and hymnodist.¹ Besides the above Commentary written on the Gospels as they are presented in the Diatessaron, he published Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles (accessible in Latin from the Armenian), and on the Acts; the last-named work is lost, but extracts from it, derived from a Syriac *catena*, have been translated from Armenian by F. C. Conybeare, and are reproduced in Dr. Rendel Harris's *Four Lectures on the Western Text*. Ephrem's Commentary on the lost Diatessaron was first published in 1886 by the Armenian Brethren of the Mechitarist monastery of San Lazzaro (Venice), and in 1841 Aucher translated the Armenian version into Latin; Moesinger re-edited this translation in 1876. Unfortunately Moesinger's edition—the only one available—has many misprints, and the editor was unhappy in his use of authorities for the text; an adequate English translation is sorely needed.

Ephrem's merits as a commentator are very great. For one thing, he is never tied down to one explanation of any passage, but always has quite a number ready to hand,—these sometimes delightfully inconsistent with one another. His ingenuity is amazing, and he has a very charming habit of discursiveness. Very often he 'drops' into poetry, and frequently introduces long passages from his own sermons and hymns. In most respects this able Syrian Father is the opposite of the modern commentator; and indeed to some of us who find the fashionable theory that only one idea is to be sought in any one parable somewhat arbitrary and oppressive, he seems in many points to do fuller justice to the richness and profundity of the gospel than his more precise successors.

One instance of Ephrem's valuable gift of digression is of peculiar interest, because it contains a subtle indication, and a virtual defence, of his method; it is found on p. 12 of

¹ Wesley read some of his 'Exhortations' to his parishioners in Georgia, and calls him 'the most awakening writer, I think, of all the ancients.' In the *Journal*, May 21, 1761, a long story from Ephrem Syrus is given.

Moesinger's edition, and is as follows : ' Nor let him to whose share any part of the treasure of the word has fallen, believe that there is naught in it but what he himself has discovered ; let him rather think that he has only been able to find one thing out of the many which it contains. . . . Rejoice then that thou art over-matched, and be not sorry that the word is too great for thee. The thirsty man, when he drinks, rejoices, and is not sorry that he cannot drink the whole fountain dry ! Let the fountain prevail over thy thirst, but not the thirst over the fountain ; for if thy thirst be satisfied and still the fountain be running, thou shalt come again a second time and drink of it. . . . What thou hast attained to and made already thine own, that is thy present portion ; and what remains is thy future inheritance. Try not churlishly to swallow down at one gulp what cannot be taken all at once ; nor let lack of perseverance deter thee from making thine own what can only slowly be attained.'

Marcion, as might be expected, figures largely in Ephrem's Commentary, chiefly as a target for various well-aimed arrows. Ephrem himself, as Dr. Harris says, was a theological star of the first magnitude, and a notable champion of orthodoxy ; although, as will be gathered from one of the passages quoted below, the exigencies of his apologetic lead him occasionally into very strange assertions,—assertions that more than once flatly contradict his own principles. To quote Dr. Harris again (*Ephrem on the Gospel*, p. 1), ' The stones which he throws at the Docetists are usually of the nature of replies ; and the stones which had originally been thrown at his own party can be found lying under his windows.' Marcion, it will be remembered, was anxious to dissociate Christianity altogether from Judaism, and, by implication, from the Old Testament and the God of the Old Testament. For this purpose he was compelled to maintain that Jesus appeared abruptly in the synagogue, coming straight from heaven into it (' Everything happens suddenly with Marcion,' said Tertullian). What, then, is

one to do with the words 'He went, as His custom was, into the synagogue'? (Luke iv. 16). Marcion simply leaves them out in his text of Luke. 'This was written,' says Ephrem (Moesinger, p. 129), 'that the Marcionites might be convicted of lying and might pay the penalty for it.' Here Marcion is supposed to intervene; he argues at some length that Jesus on this occasion must have spoken against the God of the Old Testament, inasmuch as the words, 'Physician, heal thyself,' and the allusions He makes to Elisha, etc., do not explain His congregation's wrath; 'we must therefore allow,' says Marcion, 'that this was the first time that He addressed' Jews of this place. To which Ephrem makes the very obvious retort, that the very words Jesus used about the 'prophet' being 'without honour in his own country' imply His previous residence amongst them. It is noticeable in this connexion that Ephrem shows by repeated references that he believed that Jesus was actually thrown down from the hill-top at Nazareth, and that Marcion, in order to expurgate the story of all reference to the birth and upbringing of Jesus, placed the synagogue in question not at Nazareth but *at Bethsaida!*

A much more piquant passage-at-arms between the Marcionites and Ephrem is reproduced for us in the latter's comment on the Transfiguration. It will be remembered that Marcion distinguished between the two Gods revealed in the Bible—the just God of the Old Testament and the good God of the New—and that he and his followers spoke of Jesus as 'deus peregrinus,' 'the stranger God,' as being, so to say, no native of the world but a visitor. 'But if Christ,' says Ephrem, 'is "a stranger God," why did Moses and Elias speak with Him? Is it not Christ Himself who called Moses back to this life, and Elias from heaven? And notice that He summoned them out of that former time of the "Just God." But if He had gone up and carried Elias down from heaven by violence, He is not "Good," for He snatched Elias from the arms of the "Just One," and (by

fraud) made him a witness to Himself. And if "the Good," without the consent of "the Just," tracked Moses out and appropriated him, He made Himself a thief, for He stole and embezzled from the grave even the bones which "the Just" had hidden from the sight of men. And when the voice came from heaven, "This is My beloved Son, hear Him," where then was "the Just"? Was He afraid? Did He hide Himself and refuse to answer to the voice of the Other? Or perhaps the word of "the Foreigner" passed quietly by, without "the Just" hearing, . . . and so on. It will be obvious that we have reproduced here the atmosphere and the very catchwords of those early controversies. Indeed, the 'peregrinus' comes into the controversy as persistently as King Charles's head into the thoughts of 'Uncle Dick.'

In much the same fashion Ephrem deals with the Crucifixion. 'And if Christ,' he writes, 'were the son of the Foreign God, the sun would not have been darkened at His crucifixion, but the Creator (the "Demiurge") would have shed forth a more abundant light, for that His enemy was being taken away from before His face; and would have caused His light to rise upon the Jews, for they were doing His will. And the Temple would have put on a costly veil, because it had been freed from the complaints of its enemy, and because the destroyer of the law had been cast forth from it' (cf. Tertullian *adv. Marcionem*, iv. 42). Almost equally interesting are the raids of Ephrem upon the Docetists (cf. Moesinger, pp. 115, 256).

Against the Encratites, and by implication, therefore, against Tatian, on whose Harmony the Commentary is based, Ephrem is equally lively in attack. In this connexion Ephrem's comment on the scene in the Upper Room is worth quotation: 'He first washed the Bread, and then gave it to him (Judas). The former covenant was washed away from this bread, because it had been prepared beforehand by the new covenant. His avarice rent Judas away from the members of the Lord, now made perfect. Even as

also the Saviour, in this quiet fashion, taught that he (Judas) was not of the body of the Church, but was only the dust which clung [till then] to the feet of the disciples. And so, on the night on which He separated him from them, He washed away from them the dirt destined for the fire. In the same way the Lord separated Judas from His disciples *by water*, when He gave him bread dipped in water, for he was not worthy of that bread which was given to the Twelve with wine.' The same curious depreciation of water in comparison with wine will be found in other passages,—especially, to be sure, in Ephrem's comments, or rather sermon (for a whole sermon, not suitable for Temperance Sunday, is introduced here) on the miracle of Cana. It will be obvious that in this remarkable piece of exposition, which forms the peroration of the sermon, both Marcionites and the Encratites are aimed at. 'On this occasion it was clearly shown that Christ, although like a foreigner He was invited, yet is Lord of marriage; because at this marriage He supplied what was lacking by His own word, which makes perfect all imperfection. Moreover the Lord did not produce by this miracle an altogether different thing, nor did He finish His work by leaving the same old substance as it was before; for He did not offer the guests water to drink instead of wine. Still He did not go quite outside the sphere of natural water altogether, for He produced the wine which He made from *created* water [a hit at Marcion]. So then He did not bring to the feast some *foreign* liquor, but the same primal substance He so changed as to prove Himself its lord, and showed them, inasmuch as He did not choose to create any different liquor, that neither water nor wine is to be despised or rejected.' From this point Ephrem goes on to suggest the larger thought, that the Lord, who 'by an instantaneous command changed the water into the [much preferable] wine, will at the end of time restore to all created things a savour the sweetness of which is unspeakable.' This last sentence may give the reader some idea of Ephrem's power of suggest-

ing large poetic conceptions in a few words. The preacher also makes a good point when he says that *the Lord's* wine had a flavour all its own; and he ends, somewhat abruptly, with this sentence: 'The Lord first accustomed men's palate to the taste of His wine, designing afterwards to conquer their ears and lead them on to receive His sweet teaching.' This comment has in it a subtle suggestion as to our Lord's methods that will repay thought.

There are many curious readings scattered through Ephrem's expositions, a full account of which cannot possibly be given here, though some of the more striking of them may be noted. In the Greek of Luke x. 1 we read, 'He sent them two and two before His face' (πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ). Ephrem understands this, oddly enough, as meaning 'according to His likeness'; that is, as he explains, 'as He preached without pay, so also should they; . . . in the same way, they should reckon, that He was portrayed in them as in a picture.'

In expounding the threefold charge given to Peter, as related in John xxi., Ephrem speaks of the 'three parts of the flock.' The practical force of the passage would seem, indeed, to be strengthened, if in the threefold, varying repetitions of question and answer it could be supposed that Peter was given charge over three distinct divisions of his Master's flock. Might these three have been *the children, the mothers, and the men?* (cf. Isa. xl. 11, 'He shall gather the lambs in His arm . . . and gently lead those that are with young'): τὰ προβάτιά μου, 'my sheep,' would cover both genders. There are traces, however, in other quarters indicating that *the goats* were the third part of the flock intended by Ephrem (*lambs, sheep, and goats*).

Another very attractive reading, several times repeated and insistently dwelt on by our author, is the addition he makes to the text in Matt. v. 38, supplementing 'an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth,' with *alapa pro alapa*,—'slap for slap!' This may be compared with γρονθοῦν ἀντὶ γρονθοῦ

(‘fist for fist,’) as it is found in Polycarp’s quotation (Ep. ch. 2). Certainly this supplies an easier transition to the following precept, ‘If any one strike thee on the right cheek,’ &c.

A curious interpolation in the dialogue of our Lord with the Samaritan woman—an addition apparently regarded as part of the text—is the saying put into His mouth, ‘My water comes down from heaven’ (cf. John vi. 38, &c.); another gloss, less easily explicable, occurs in the comment on the account of the Last Supper in Matt. xxvi. 20 et seqq., ‘They had begun to say, Behold he is here’ (i. e., the traitor). It is difficult to reconcile this with the question of the several disciples, ‘Lord, is it I?’

Other additions, cited as integral with the text of the Gospels, are : in the story of the petition of James and John (Mark x. 35 et seq.), ‘He answered them, I will do it for you’; and in the incident of Peter and the swords,—‘He added, “Two are enough.”’ This latter passage is worth observing as an example of Ephrem’s exegetical ingenuity: ‘He said “Let him that hath not a sword of his own, buy one,” to teach them humility. Simon had one of these swords, and it was in this way that when he was going to show his zeal with his sword, the Lord taught him to understand the words of Scripture, “Whoever smites thee on the cheek,” &c. For these words Simon in his love [to Jesus] had forgotten. Or perhaps He said this to show him that not only when we do not possess things of this nature or cannot get them, should we abstain from them, but even then, when we have them and they are ready for use like a sword in thine hand, still all the same we should not use them. And that He might make it plain that He spoke to instruct Peter, and was not speaking of swords literally, for purposes of war, He added, “Two are enough.”’

There are indications besides in Ephrem of traditional sayings of Jesus wanting in the canonical text of the Gospels. Such is the sentence, ‘Where there is but one, I am present with him;’ perhaps also, ‘He who preaches not the gospel

commits a sin.' The latter stands in close connexion with the maxim, 'Give not the holy things to the dogs.' Traces of this last λόγιον may be found in Justin's *Dialogue*, 88, and perhaps in 1 Cor. ix. 16, and Jas. iv. 17.¹

The Diatessaron, as it is reproduced in Ephrem's Commentary, supplements the story of the Baptism of Jesus by the statement that 'Our Lord took John's right hand, and put it on His own head' . . . 'so,' he explains afterwards, 'receiving both prophetic and priestly dignity at the hands of John.' Ephrem also refers to 'the light' which at that time, according to tradition, 'shone over the Jordan;' this circumstance is related in the Diatessaron itself, according to Isho'dad's testimony. There are many other small textual additions and omissions indicated by Ephrem as read in the Diatessaron; but by far the boldest of these variations occurs in the story of Peter and the half-shekel. The passage is worth a more detailed quotation (see Moe-singer, p. 61): 'Anticipating Simon, He said, "The kings of the earth, from whom do they receive tribute? from their sons or from strangers?"' (Matt. xvii. 25.) For they (the tax-collectors) had come, to find an excuse for accusing Jesus; for they did not exact the tribute from everybody. But they reasoned in this manner with themselves: Perhaps you will say, "A Rabbi does not pay tribute," and so we shall hold you a rebel. But if He pays, He will be taken at once for a stranger. . . . "Lest you cause them to stumble," He replies, "Go to the sea and cast forth there a net." Because they have taken Me for a stranger, let the sea teach them that I am not only priest but king. *Go then, and do you also pay as one of the strangers.* . . . So then all created things recognized the coming of this High-Priest, and all things hastened after their own fashion to pay Him tribute. The Angels did obeisance to Him by Gabriel, the powers of the heavens by the star, the Gentiles dispatched the

¹ I am indebted for these and other references to Dr. Rendel Harris, to whom my obligation is very great.

Magi, and the prophets so long silent, sent Scribes who said, "He shall rise from Bethlehem-town." The coin minted in the throat of the fish and stamped in those waters with the image of the King, proved to those who were only seeking contention . . . that even the great ocean submitted to this Stranger.' ¹ There is an unmistakable reference to Isa. lx. 7 in the last sentence, and the whole passage is notable for its play upon the word 'alienus,' and consequently for its Anti-Marcionite polemic; but it will be seen at once that its chief importance lies in the clause added to the instructions of our Lord to Peter, 'Do you also pay, as one of the strangers.' It seems certain that Ephrem found this in Tatian. Dr. Rendel Harris discovered the same reading in a Greek Codex of the Gospels contained in the collection of Miss Algerina Peckover at Wisbech; it suggests a rather subtle textual problem.

One other Logion, wanting in the Gospels, which may be mentioned as occurring in Ephrem's Commentary, is the following (p. 168): 'Buy for yourselves,' He says, 'O sons of Adam, by these temporal things which are not yours, what is your own and is eternal.' (Cf. Luke xvi. 9.)

Certain strange, and to our taste far-fetched, analogies recur again and again in Ephrem. Two may suffice for illustration. 'As death entered by the ear of Eve, life entered by the ear of Mary; and as man had become debtor by a tree, Christ came and paid the debt by a tree.' The familiar Patristic notion that the Virgin conceived through the ear, is here applied in a style very characteristic of Ephrem. Similarly the two boats of Luke v. 2 are explained as *circumcision* and *uncircumcision*, while the Sea of Galilee represents the world. Bede also has the former comparison.

Ephrem's comment on the 'woman with an issue of blood' is very ingenious (it will be noted that he expands and underscores Mark's reflection on the physicians): 'The

¹ 'Obedientia,' in Moesinger's text, should perhaps be 'abundantia' here.

doctors tried to soothe with their remedies the pains of the disease, as though these were beasts roused to madness; and therefore they [the pains] behaved like mad beasts and drove them, with their remedies, here, there, and everywhere. At the hands of One [Healer] those pains were driven away in mockery, whereas they had driven many doctors away in mockery before. . . . While the woman was paying many doctors, her disease received not the slightest relief; but when her hand was stretched out empty, her lap was filled with health. . . . Although she paid her money in trust, she did not receive the reward for her trust; but when she offered as pay only a secret theft, she received as reward for that a secret healing.' In other words, she offered faith, and stole healing.

The widespread belief that Jerusalem is the world's centre will be found in several places. Here is a curiously fanciful comment: 'Where Abel was killed, there perhaps was the mouth of earth, for "the earth has opened *her mouth* and drunk in thy brother's blood"; and where the Lord was buried, there perhaps was its heart, for (He said) "The Son of man shall be in *the heart* of the earth," like Jonah in the belly of the fish.' An idea round which the fancy of the Syrian Fathers often played will be found on p. 2 of Moesinger's edition: 'Samson destroyed many with the jawbone of an ass; but the serpent destroyed the whole human race (by a jawbone)'! We may trace here a double allusion to Eve's eating of the apple, and to the Master's saying about 'smiting on the cheek' (*maxilla* = jawbone). Ephrem continues, 'So then clad in the same armour by which the enemy had conquered and brought condemnation on the world, the Lord came down into the arena, and in flesh taken from a woman conquered the world, overcame the enemy and condemned him.' We recognize in this interpretation the common idea that we are saved by the curse which was inflicted on humanity, and on our Lord as Son of Man.

Ephrem makes at least three strange historical blunders in his exposition. One of these, hinted at already, results from the exigencies of doctrinal discussion. The entire passage should be quoted, in order to show how Ephrem had entangled himself. It forms a comment on 'Blessed shall be [*sic*] the womb, which bore thee' (Luke xi. 27). Ephrem proceeds: 'Marcion says, In these words they are only trying to find out whether He really had been born. And those other words, "Behold thy mother and thy brethren are seeking Thee," signify the same.'—'Yes; but I answer, He gave them even His *body* to eat. Why did He do this? He (Marcion) says, To hide His greatness and lead them to think He was in bodily form, because they could not understand Him yet.' 'But why,' asks Ephrem (returning to the original passage), 'did He seem to deny His birth? For if it were to follow from His denial here that He had not been born, on the other hand He could never have made Himself *brother* of the disciples: *they* certainly were born! So,' he goes on, 'we must believe that He was born too'! Then follows this startling sentence: 'For if when He denied His origin from His mother, He had really forgotten His equality [*sic*] with them [the disciples], yet by His confession of brotherhood with them, His origin from a father (Joseph) was made manifest!' Obviously, this text-banding is a dangerous business! Ephrem is on safer ground when he compares the saying of Luke xi. 27, 28, to 'Why callest thou Me good?' 'So,' says he, 'here He is saying as it were, Why callest thou Me conceived and born?'

A more surprising, because less accountable, mistake is the confusion Ephrem makes between Judas Iscariot and Judas the Twin (Thomas). 'Thomas' is interpreted as meaning 'abyss'; and Ephrem says, 'Unjust Judas came to complete his abysmal fall (*ut magnam suam abyssum consummaret*). . . .' It may be noted in this connexion that Ephrem makes no attempt to harmonize the varying

accounts of the Resurrection (it would seem that Tatian was at fault here), but simply comments on certain verses of Matthew, Luke, and John, on the assumption that Judas = Thomas. The Thomas-incident of John xx. is distinctly mentioned, so that the Judas-Thomas confusion must surely be an inadvertence on his part.

The last, and most glaring and unhappy, mistake of all is the confusion made by Ephrem between the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene. This error is often repeated; one sentence will prove its existence: 'but behold He blessed Cleopas and his friends, and showed His side to Thomas; why then did He hinder Mary from touching Him? Perhaps because He had handed her over to John!' The prophecy of Simeon, 'A sword shall pierce thy heart,' is also quoted in this connexion, and is interpreted as fulfilled in the Magdalene's 'denegatio,'—her doubt or denial of the Lord ('she supposing Him to be the gardener'). Amongst topographical errors, pardonable in a writer of North-eastern Syria, may be mentioned the confusion between Bethesda and Siloam, and the erroneous statement that the Samaritans lived on the way from Jerusalem to Jericho.

In two much-discussed passages, the interpretation adopted by Ephrem is worth noting. One of these he refers to quite incidentally: "'Woe to you, lawyers, for you have hidden the keys'"—because they hid the knowledge of the revelation of the Lord, which was in the prophets. For if the Lord, as He Himself testifies, is the door, it is clear that keys also for the knowledge of Him have been given. By this door of life the Scribes and Pharisees were not willing to enter, as also He had said, "Lo the kingdom is within, in your heart," and this He spake of Himself, who was standing in their midst.' In the other passage (John xiv. 16), it is noteworthy that *Paracletus* is explained as 'Comforter,' not Advocate.

An extraordinary textual omission, made also by the original scribe of Codex M, may be noted as apparently

found in Ephrem: it is questionable, however, whether much stress should be laid upon the absence of 'He gave' in his interpretation of the words of John iii. 16. The text on this shorter reading stands, 'So God loved the world as His only-begotten Son!'

In conclusion, we will quote three passages that are typical of Ephrem at his best—two of these characteristically fanciful, and the third a delightfully humorous and powerfully dramatic exposition of one of the most human stories in St. John's Gospel. The first is his comment on the Feeding of the Five Thousand: 'But consider His creative power, who penetrates all things. . . . What men take ten months most laboriously to make and transform, His ten fingers did in a moment. Under the loaves of bread He laid His hand like the soil, and over them He spoke like thunder. On them He scattered His drops like rain, and His warm breath like sunshine in a moment of time ripened and brought them to perfection, though each of these elements takes a long time to do its share of the work.'

The second is as follows: 'Then the high-priest laid his hand upon the edge of his garment, and tore his robe (*stola*)¹ . . . because he was under the influence of the new wine. In the month of March the flowers break from their stems and come forth; and leaving them bare and impoverishing themselves, they become a crown for others. So also the high-priest in the month of March rent asunder his own priesthood and left it bare and empty, and it was gathered up in our Saviour.' Ephrem is very fond of this 'parable from nature'; indeed it forms part of one of his extant hymns.

But the following passage is, in our opinion, the fine flower of the book. The story of the woman of Samaria is told throughout with great verve and spiritual insight. 'Our Lord,' says Ephrem, 'came to the well like a fisherman. He asked for water, that He might give water. He sought

¹ Note that Matthew and Mark are combined here.

something from the woman, that she in her turn might seek something from Him. . . . He had ordered His disciples to be gone, lest they should disturb His prey. Then He cast His bait to this pigeon, that He might catch the whole flock. . . . "Give me water to drink." See how he wove the beginning of the talk . . . He asked for water, and then forgot His request, as the woman also forgot to take away her water-pot. . . . Little by little He sought to take the veil from her heart. For if at the beginning He had said, right out, that He was the Christ, the woman might have shrunk from Him.' . . . Then comes the Logion quoted already, 'My water comes down from heaven.' The commentator continues, 'He says to her, "Go, call thy husband to me [*sic*]."' He opened a door for Himself, that like a prophet He might show her hidden things. "Five husbands thou hast had in turn." . . . The woman says to Him, "Master, it seems to me that Thou art a prophet." By this saying He lifted her one step upward,'—and so on. The plan of the exposition is obvious, but the conclusion must be quoted: 'And so from the beginning of the talk He had avoided making His person manifest to her; but He showed Himself to her first as a Jew, then as a prophet, and last of all as Christ. Stooping down He led her up the steps to the summit. First she caught sight of Him as a thirsty man, then as a Jew, after that as a prophet,—at last as God! She wanted to argue with the thirsty man; she scorned the Jew; she asked questions of the Rabbi; she was carried away by the prophet;—and she adored the Christ!'

It will be seen that the above exposition furnishes a highly suggestive outline for a sermon on the subject. But the whole Commentary is full of interest for preachers, as well as scholars; for if the scattered quotations given here allure any of our readers to a study of this old Syrian Father, they will be richly rewarded, and the collection of these fragments of the feast will not have been made in vain.

J. A. FINDLAY.

CONCERNING JOHN RUSKIN¹

NOT long ago, one of a party steaming up Coniston Lake pointed out Brantwood as the residence of Ruskin. 'Who is Ruskin?' asked the man addressed. 'Oh, he was a writer. He's dead now,' was the answer. 'I see,' said the questioner, 'something like Hall Caine.' And it stood at that! But, long since, some of the greatest of Ruskin's contemporaries ungrudgingly acknowledged his genius. Charlotte Brontë referred to him as one of the few genuine writers, as distinguished from book-makers, of the age, and maintained that he wrote 'like a consecrated priest of the Abstract and Ideal.' 'I feel now,' said she, after reading the first volume of *Modern Painters*, 'as if I had been walking blindfold—this book gives me eyes.' Mazzini said that he possessed the most analytic mind in Europe; Tennyson, when asked to name the six stateliest English prose-writers, replied: 'Hooker, Bacon, Milton, Jeremy Taylor, De Quincey, and Ruskin'; George Eliot believed that he had the inspiration of a Hebrew prophet, and was one of the greatest teachers of the grand doctrines of truth and sincerity in art and of the nobleness and solemnity of human life; Tolstoy declared that he was the foremost prophet of the time; 'No other man in England that I meet,' wrote Carlyle to Emerson, in 1872, 'has in him the divine rage against iniquity, falsity, and baseness, that Ruskin has.' The Brownings, with many others, no less emphatically placed themselves on record; 'This man,' wrote William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones (in a joint review), 'is like a Luther of the

¹ *The Life of John Ruskin.* By E. T. Cook. 2 vols. (George Allen & Co., Ltd., 1911).

arts'; Edward Thring, afterwards the famous head master of Uppingham, owed to Ruskin and *Modern Painters* 'more of thought and fruitful power than to any other book or any other living man'; and competent critics said that he was the leading living master of the English tongue and possessed every resource of language.

Nearly three years have passed since one of the most memorable achievements in the history of publishing was completed by the issue of the final volumes of the 'library edition' of Ruskin's works. A noble monument of almost unexampled magnitude was thus reared to a man who, besides being one of the immortal glories of the splendid Victorian age, was also the most winning personality among our men of letters since the death of Lamb. Mr. E. T. Cook, the chief editor of that great edition, accomplished much in his introductions to its many volumes, but all such work was of necessity scattered and disconnected, and so was robbed of any completeness as a picture or continuity as a narrative. Here, however, in the *Life*, we have a presentation of Ruskin at once authoritative and final, and lacking in no element essential to an adequate biography. The subject is vast and many-sided, and, in every aspect, of unfailing fascination, but the writer has an unrivalled knowledge of his subject, and perfect mastery of his material, is strong in sympathy but true in judgement, enthusiastic but not sensational, always observant of detail, but never narrow in outlook, and throughout scholarly and effective in style. Already we knew that in Ruskin we had a unique and pervasive personality, whose influence went far beyond anything he ever wrote; but now that fact is placed outside the remotest range of uncertainty. And not only have we here the one life of Ruskin, but one of the most thorough and satisfactory of all biographies; it is a finely told story of a great career, a worthy revelation of a wonderful soul. Some fault, however, might be found with the choice and number of the portraits and illustrations. A reproduction

might have been given of one of the Barraud photographs to which Ruskin referred as the first ever taken of him that expressed what good or character there was in him for his own work. As pure photography they seemed to him to go as far as the art could at that day, and he did not believe it ever could do much better.

An extraordinary upbringing Ruskin undoubtedly had, and there can be no question as to the effect it produced on the formation of his character. Rarely, if ever, has the early life of a man of genius been so unreservedly recorded, and few pages in these volumes have the interest of those that treat of it. The lifelike picture of the parents needs no additional touches. The elder Ruskin—a remarkable man—was exceedingly successful in business, but resolutely refused to lay the foundations of his own fortune until he had paid in full the debts left by his father; he was of tranquil mind, strong and intelligent love of literature and art, close critical faculty, and keen perception of character. The mother was proud, shy, exemplary in entire conscientiousness, and singularly undemonstrative. ‘I have seen my mother,’ says Ruskin, ‘travel from sunrise to sunset on a summer’s day without once leaning back in the carriage.’ She maintained the same unbending attitude in the training of her son; and while the father was quietly but devotedly paternal, the mother loved her child with a fierce love and kept him under Spartan-like authority. ‘One evening,’ says Ruskin, ‘when I was yet in my nurse’s arms, I wanted to touch the tea-urn, which was boiling merrily. It was an early taste for bronzes, I suppose; but I was resolute about it. My mother bid me keep my fingers back; I insisted on putting them forward. My nurse would have taken me away from the urn, but my mother said, “Let him touch it, nurse.” So I touched it—and that was my first lesson in the meaning of the word liberty. It was the first piece of liberty I got; and the last which for some time I asked for.’

It was a well-intentioned thralldom, but none the less it

kept the boy in a veritable prison-house of affection. Under such rule, however, he learned 'the perfect meaning of Peace, in thought, act, and word.' He never knew his father and mother have a difference even to the extent of an angry or offended glance. He never heard servants scolded; he saw no disorder, no haste, no grief. He received also 'the perfect understanding of the natures of Obedience and Faith.' He obeyed his parents without effort, 'simply as a ship her helm.' His faith was shaken by no vacillation, withered by no falsehood; every promise was fulfilled, every threat inflicted, nothing told that was not absolutely true. He was taught also 'the habit of fixed attention with both eyes and mind.' Further, his palate was nurtured to 'an extreme perfection,' and his health, perhaps, effectually promoted 'by the utter prohibition of cake, wine, comfits, or, except in carefullest restriction, fruit.' The garden at Herne Hill was to the young Ruskin 'the first joy of the year.' There he would pass much of his time in 'watching the ways of plants,' staring at them or into them 'in admiring wonder,' pulling every flower to pieces till he knew all that could be seen of it with a child's eyes. There he found pleasure in the colours of the fruit and flowers, and the purple and gold of the clouds. (He may, as Mr. Cook suggests, have owed to his London birth and upbringing his keen eye for skies and vapours of the air.) Long afterwards he wrote of the world that 'God had placed its real happiness in the keeping of the little mosses of the wayside, and of the clouds of the firmament. Now and then a wearied king, or a tormented slave, found out where the true kingdoms of the world were, and possessed himself, in a furrow or two of garden ground, of a truly infinite dominion.' In this garden his mother often planted and pruned beside him, and in the evening they had tea under the white-heart cherry-tree with his father. His chief prayer in those early days for the kindness of Heaven in its flowerful season was that the frost might not touch the almond blossom. In the evening his ear and brain

were trained by his father's readings aloud from Shakespeare, Pope, Smollett, and Byron; and side by side with them all was the series of the Waverley novels—Ruskin's first love and his last.

This exceptional training was not without its calamities. Ruskin had little that was animate to care for but himself, a sociable bird or two, and some nests of ants which the gardener would never leave undisturbed. He had nothing to love—his parents seemed to be but visible powers of nature to him—and so he was left unaffectionate and selfish. His life was without endurance—danger and pain were so far removed from him that he had never to exercise patience or strength or courage; and his judgement of right and wrong and power of independent action were left undeveloped. There was too much precision, too little freedom; law and liberty were in no right proportion and equipoise.

A remarkable child he certainly was, and amazingly precocious. Here are some lines, suggestive of Shelley, produced by him when only eleven :—

The desert stretched its ocean sweep,
All vast and boundless as the deep,
In mighty solitude;
Night, like a lion o'er his prey,
Above the vast, the desert way,
In silence stern did brood.
I stood beside one tree that flung
A gloomy shadow, where it hung;
And not a column—not a stone—
Marked out the site of Babylon.

When he was fifteen he published, in *Loudon's Magazine of Natural History*, an article 'On the Causes of the Colour of the Water of the Rhine,' and at the age of seventeen he wrote a passionate defence of Turner. Ruskin was twenty-six years old, and the first volume of *Modern Painters* had been published for nearly two years, before he ever took a holiday without his parents, and great was their anxiety on his behalf. 'I am very careful about ladders,' he wrote from Florence, 'and always try their steps thoroughly and

hold well with hands.' So again : ' I will take great care of boats at Baveno, merely using them on calm afternoons for exercise ; ' and on his way to Venice : ' You needn't be afraid of railroads ; I shan't trouble their dirty ironwork.' ' My parents,' he said to Mr. Allen, 'debarred me from all exercise but walking. They wouldn't let me ride lest I should be thrown ; boating was dangerous, because I might be drowned ; and boxing my mother thought a vulgar form of exercise.' Once, a lecture he had promised to give to an audience of working men had to be abandoned because his parents considered that his presence in the East End would be dangerous and undignified !

From the beginning, Ruskin's parents seemed to perceive that their son was a genius ; but even when he went to Oxford, the mother must live there all the time, and the father must be there every week-end ; and when Ruskin was over forty, and one of the foremost men of the day, they continued to keep him in leading-strings. Would that they had left him alone in certain private relations ; then his disastrous marriage would never have occurred ! When he lectured in Edinburgh, in 1858, the old people demanded the most detailed accounts of all that was transpiring ; he told them what he said, how he said it, and how he was received ; but they must also know how he was dressed ! About a year before his father died, Ruskin wrote to him in words apparently exaggerated, if not indeed bitter : ' Men ought to be severely disciplined and exercised in the sternest way in daily life—they should learn to lie on stone beds and eat black soup, but they should never have their hearts broken. . . . The two terrific mistakes which Mama and you involuntarily fell into were the exact reverse in *both* ways—you fed me effeminately and luxuriously to that extent that I actually now could not travel in rough countries without taking a cook with me !—but you thwarted me in all the earnest fire and passion of life.' Such words show what he must at times have felt ; still, there was understanding behind

the hands that held the leading-strings, and those hands were not untender. Here is an incident of charming significance: 'To Ruskin's father the publisher came one day exhibiting a thickly scored final revise, and explaining that continuance in such practices would absorb all the author's profits. 'Don't let my son know,' said the old gentleman; 'John must have his things as he likes them; pay him whatever would become due, apart from corrections, and send in a separate bill for them to me.' It can hardly be doubted that the parents, especially the mother, placed too much emphasis on law, and succeeded in chilling their son's sympathy with that delight in freedom which has been one of the mightiest impulses in advancing humanity. But, notwithstanding all, there was ever in him a profound filial gratitude, and his unfailing attitude towards his parents was that of ungrudging and delightful deference. It should not be forgotten that to his father's sympathetic generosity Ruskin owed his familiarity with Turner's pictures and his knowledge of the continent, without which his greatest works would never have been written. And what a debt in respect of style was owed to his mother by this immortal master of artistic speech—this master of the inevitable word, the flashing phrase, the richest affluence of rhetoric, the flying impetuous pen. For that style of incomparable opulence and power came above all through the Bible: Ruskin's mind was saturated with the Book, and in the course of his writings he made no fewer than five thousand appeals to its pages; the Bible seems to be heard in almost every sentence and felt in almost every thought. Year after year, with unwearying patience, his mother had read it through with him from Genesis to Revelation, compelling him to learn a portion every day and to repeat it with fastidious care in pronunciation, emphasis, and accent; thus was the majesty of English words instilled into that marvellous mind. In the Bible also was the source of that consuming energy of conscience which was at once the inspiration

and the torture of his whole career—the central fire that gave unity to all his thought and work.

Whatever may be the varying judgements on Ruskin as an expositor of art and ethics—and yet, even those who detest all his dogmas breathe unawares an atmosphere which he has done most to create—his sovereign craftsmanship in literature cannot be successfully assailed. Among the great Victorian masters of prose, De Quincey at his best, and only then, seems to rival Ruskin in exquisite phrase and melodious and richly coloured words; but he is ever laying on sonorous Latinisms, and his diffuseness and complexities are often distressing, while in personality, which always crimsones Ruskin's writing, as well as in power, Ruskin is incomparably De Quincey's superior. Macaulay is, perhaps, a greater master of powerful short sentences, but his style has the vice of unrelieved facility, lacks subtlety and delicacy, has sometimes a specious glitter, and seldom the note of real distinction. We need only compare his use of alliteration with Ruskin's to be persuaded of his inferiority. Carlyle will rank with Ruskin in force and vividness, and possesses that magic gift of portraiture which alone Ruskin seems to be denied, and yet not wholly denied, as witness his charming words about Severn, 'Lightly sagacious, lovingly humorous, daintily sentimental, as if life were but for him the rippling chant of his favourite song, "*Gente! e qui l'uccellatore.*"' But Ruskin is not always Germanizing the language, like Carlyle, and in beauty and pleasantness there is no possibility of comparison between them. Surely no student of English style would place the sage of Chelsea with him of Brantwood. In Thackeray we have a literary artist with a distinction that received even from Carlyle the highest praise, and has won for him from extreme admirers the title of the first prose classic of the century. But in beauty, eloquence, felicity, and finish—merits which mark the style of Thackeray—Ruskin may well be deemed his master. Ruskin also is essentially

English, while Thackeray is constantly peddling with little Gallicisms. Newman has, no doubt, with Ruskin, what Matthew Arnold, who has it not, called the grand style, and is probably unsurpassed in such a passage as that on music in his sermon on 'The Theory of Developments in Religious Doctrine' (*Oxford University Sermons*, No. xv.), or in the peroration of his sermon on 'The Parting of Friends' (*Sermons on Subjects of the Day*, No. xxvi.), the latter being, according to Kingsley, one of the two finest examples of prose—Ruskin's description of Giotto's Campanile being the other—in the English language. Newman's method may seem simpler and more direct, easier and more vernacular; but, with all his powers, most of his work is only 'occasional,' and of the art of description he has little or no command. Walter Pater is unquestionably a master in the choice of words, but scarcely in their articulation; he is wonderfully successful in the rhythm of short sentences, but he often fails in the organic development of a sentence, and not seldom so entangles his thought that we are bewildered as we seek his exact meaning. Swinburne has certainly an astonishing gift of copiousness, and in his *William Blake*, for instance, reaches splendid heights; but he impresses us as being copious because he wishes to say something, and not, as Ruskin, because he has something to say. Probably, however, some students of literature may contend that Swinburne is copious because he wishes to say some particular thing as strongly as possible, and Ruskin because he has so many particular things to say all at once. Still, in point of style no one can think of Swinburne as in any real sense an equal of Ruskin. It can hardly be necessary to demonstrate Ruskin's superiority to other stylists who are often cited to-day, such as Goldwin Smith, 'Mark Rutherford,' and John Morley; and we have but to contrast Ruskin's treatment of nature with Stevenson's and Hardy's, or to put beside Mrs. Meynell's essays on Grass, Cloud, Winds of the World, and the Sun, with their

laborious preciousness, Ruskin's passages on similar subjects, to see clearly that Ruskin's method and style are not simply different, but incontestably finer. No one has availed to fuse emotion and argument and imagination into such pensive and delicate and rhythmical and glorious and original prose—prose with such insight of vision and such accuracy of word.

We cannot follow Ruskin as he treats of art, of science, of economics, of politics, of history, and of religion, or dwell on the many gifts, graces, and virtues which illuminate his limitless life. In certain respects that life was, as Mr. Cook well puts it, private and secluded—'It seldom chances,' said Ruskin, 'my work lying chiefly among stones, clouds, and flowers, that I am brought into any freedom of intercourse with my fellow creatures'; but though 'persistently literary,' and little mixed with public affairs, everything in it seemed addressed to practical issues. 'Before 1860 he was in his principal activities the interpreter of a Beautiful World; after 1860 he was principally absorbed in a mission to reform the world.' It is also true that he lived, as he wrote, at white heat, and that if, as Walter Pater has it, 'to burn always with this hard gem-like flame, to maintain this ecstasy,' be 'success in life,' then was Ruskin's life successful above common measure. He was, admittedly, at once a prophet who railed against the world and a magician who revealed its beauty.

According to Ruskin, the lives worth writing are those about which truth can be told in the greatest of sciences, that of Humanity, and which reveal what is 'beautiful or woful' in an individual soul. Never before has that which was beautiful in the soul of this supreme enthusiast for beauty been so understandingly and graciously revealed; never before have we so felt the throb of his passionate sympathy—controlling and haunting—with all things pitiful as well as beautiful, or been so moved by his delight in the loveliness of nature and his grief over the misery of man;

and never before have we been brought into such intimate association with the agony of his woe. We can now enter far into the meaning of such references as those to his severe illnesses of 1879 and 1881: 'But both these illnesses have been part of one and the same system of constant thought, far out of sight to the people about me, and, of course, getting more and more separated from them as they go on in the ways of the modern world, and *I* go back to live with my Father and my Mother and my Nurse, and one other—all waiting for me in the Land of the Leal.' The pathos of much of this wonderful record is wellnigh overwhelming—it lies on the yonder side of tears—but the heart of the reader is touched with pure gladness when he finds how Ruskin was shown 'with lovely initiation, in how many secret places the prayer was made which I had foolishly listened for at the corners of the streets; and on how many hills which I had thought left desolate, the hosts of heaven still moved in chariots of fire. . . . The story of Rosy Vale is not ended; surely out of its silence the mountains and the hills shall break forth into singing, and round it the desert rejoice, and blossom as the rose.'

R. WILKINS REES.

CONVERSION A PSYCHOLOGICAL FACT

WE have conversion of stocks, and there seems no just reason why we should not have also conversion of souls. As a matter of fact, it seems to be one of the many miracles that do happen daily. Unless we agree to refuse the testimony of history, and the vital experience of human hearts in myriads, we must believe this. *Fiat lux! Et facta est lux—e tenebris.* Were the miracle of conversion confined to things spiritual alone, and the evidence of mere subjective feelings, we might fairly question its truth. *Dubitatio*, as Cicero says, *de omnibus rebus*, has its uses. Doubt acts as a safeguard against precipitate conclusions or false inferences—‘doubts, too, may have some divinity in them.’ But when we are perpetually knocking against universals, and conversions grow as plentifully as blackberries—upon every hedge, so to speak—any misgiving seems absurd. When, for instance, we see a revolution in somebody’s conduct evident to all, a selfish life suddenly transformed into an unselfish one, pursuit of pleasure renounced for service and sacrifice, the autotelic choice exchanged for the heterotelic, and a complete transvaluation of all old values, in the light of the Cross, we must agree that some tremendous spiritual crisis has occurred. *Old things are passed away: behold, all things are become new.* ‘When heaven begins and the dead arise, no trumpet is blown,’ no banners are waved. But we see a difference, not only at the circumference but at the centre. Conversion, then, though a miracle (and *omnia exeunt in miracula*), does happen every day and every hour. Each new grand creative idea means something of exactly the same kind. It carries with it the dynamic destiny, the energizing power, of a spiritual conversion. In religious matters it comes not so much a statement as a

confession of faith, not so much a confession of faith as an act of worship, not so much an act of worship as a fresh relationship, and not so much a fresh relationship as a changed standpoint and a different outlook on life and the cosmos. It is fundamental, organic, universal, in its sweeping range. In conversion the soul passes immediately from the sense of a general relationship towards God to the sense of a special and particular relationship—and not simply towards God, but towards other souls and the whole world. A new heaven and a new earth begin. Nay, more than this, because conversion implies the positive and actual and direct enjoyment of the altered relationship. The creature grows conscious that his personality (imperfect in itself) needs the supplementing factor of another Perfect Personality and its driving force, to render life completely a link in a larger and catholic attachment. Deep calls unto deep, and spirit to spirit. In some mystical and divine manner God appears Himself but a Part and not a Whole, until we have surrendered ourselves to Him. In an inexplicable, transcendental way, we are necessary to the fullness of His Being *sub specie temporis*. He desires us and wants us, as truly as we desire and want Him. To effect this wonderful union, we must put off the old man, the animal in us, the principle of self-will, and put on the new man, the Christ, our complement. Not till then do we understand ourselves, or God, or the simplest fact in the world.

Conversion involves a new budding-point, an abrupt departure in a new direction, like one of Hugo De Vries's mutations. An arrest, a suspension, in the old growth has taken place, in the hidden chambers of the heart. The appearance may be startlingly sudden, but nevertheless there has been a process before the visible event, and sometimes of lengthy duration. No one now for a moment entertains the idea that the conversion of St. Paul arose out of the journey to Damascus and originated on the way. The vision and the voice that he then saw and heard proved

but the occasion for the display of the revolution in his soul. St. Stephen's martyrdom, and many other heroic confessions of faith, had shaken his old world to the foundations. The revelation on the road added the consummating touch, the one thing needful. It crystallized the fluid process. Tennyson knew this when he wrote in his *In Memoriam*—

Thou deep chilling vase of tears,
That grief hath shaken into frost.

Only the Apostle's crystallization was one of flame, that gave him a burning heart of fire. Creative processes can be sudden and immediate merely in this ultimate manifestation. The secret work may have been going on for years, and have cost a vast expenditure of mental and moral suffering. Lightly come, lightly go. Anything to be permanent and fruitful demands time and thought and prayer and proving. Ages of patient effort lie behind the humblest leaf or flower, before the final form and requisite balance and perfect correspondence with the environment were obtained. The first reactions would be necessarily timid and tentative and quite inadequate. In an arena of universal competition the surviving organisms, souls or plants or animals must have fought, and fought hard, and paid the bitter price for their efficiency in the end. Readjustment followed readjustment, before the desired equilibrium resulted in autonomy of life responding to every impact of its surroundings, and attaining the dignity of a separate existence solely by being a co-existence. 'Those which others term crosses, afflictions, judgements, misfortunes, to me who inquire farther into them than the visible effects, they both appear and in event have ever proved the secret and dissembled favours of His affection.' But how did Sir Thomas Browne learn this deep teaching? Not casually, or capriciously, or in an hour or two of reflection or endurance, but only in course of time and after many falls and failures and

The years that bring the philosophic mind.

The purchase-money was weighed out in tears and fears, in anguish of heart, through bereavements and losses. As none ever became a scoundrel in a moment—*nemo subito turpius fuit*—but only after long preparation and perpetual surrenders to folly and vice and cowardice, so assuredly none ever became a saint without much suffering and the uttermost price. Epicurus even recognized the cost of any great attainment when he said, ‘For God’s sake crowd on sail, and flee from all culture.’ This was of course pure perversity, as the right kind of culture must help and cannot hinder the most delicate and sensitive soul. But we appreciate conversion better than we can describe it, and we must live it in order to know it. As writes Prof. Taylor of St. Andrews, ‘It is often the things which are hardest to picture which can be most readily defined for the understanding.’ We may see the logic of a fact clearly, but to represent it clearly in popular form seems often impossible. *Solvitur vivendo*.

Epicurus said practically, if not in so many words, long before Locke, ‘Nihil est in intellectu quod non prius fuerit in sensu.’ He even makes the highest happiness consist in the reproduction (inevitably often feeble) of old past ‘somatic thrills.’ This conveys but a half truth—we give what we receive. But the other half states the very opposite—

O lady, we receive but what we give,
And in our life alone does Nature live.

Goldwin Smith recognizes this truth, in his written record of an expedition to Europe and a series of visits to centres of literary and historic interest. ‘What you bring back from a tour, depends on what you take to it.’ We read, to put it a little differently, that a mummy has been unearthed on the banks of the Nile, wrapt up in strips of an Etruscan book written on linen and cut up for the purpose. There we find the fact, and yet we may truly say that the explorer’s intelligent mind placed there those tell-tale clippings. But

for the play of the imagination, nothing Etruscan would have been discovered. We meet not so much what we hope or expect consciously, as what we unconsciously contribute. Now in conversion we fall, so to speak, suddenly on God, whom indeed we bring with us as the Higher, Best, and One Perfect Self. It seems impossible to say where this vital and elemental process begins or ends. For the principle, the creative factor of conversion, runs through mind and matter alike, through the evolution of the ego and the evolution of the cosmos. Transformation, development, change, growth, the production of the many from the one, confront us everywhere as a familiar fact. Single and simple impressions are compounded into more and more complex expressions, and the somatic thrill receives a new value and new name when it has entered the psychological machinery and taken the stamp of the spiritual and been utterly and entirely re-minted. But for the creative energy of conversion, as for instance in the case of chlorophyll, how would the world exist a day? When we see this transmuting operation so persistent and so triumphant in the material sphere and the shaping of phenomena, how can we logically deny its presence and power in the mental and moral and spiritual and religious regions? What, in truth, is life but metabolism? And what shall we call conversion but metabolism or a new life? The fixed and final, so far as anything can be fixed and final, where motion or unstable equilibrium appears the cosmic law, rests as it always did and always will on the fleeting or impermanent. The surface perpetually alters its appearance, the constituent elements pass from one re-combination to another, but the thing, the principle, the ultimate reality, remains the same amid a thousand thousand different forms. Conversion, in some way or other, is the law of life and growth in every thought and in every thing.

Eternal process moving on,
From state to state the spirit walks.

Consistency, that perpetuates a type which has been long outgrown by its age and ceased to energize usefully, and returns no appropriate reactions to the pressure of events, acts far more dangerously than inconsistency.

Our little systems have their day,
They have their day and cease to be;
They are but broken lights of Thee,
And Thou, O Lord, art more than they.

Nietzsche imagined that physics proved the non-existence of God, while, of course, they prove His existence, as much as anything can. What lies, what works, behind physics but principle, and what behind principle but directivity, and what behind directivity but Personality, *Τέλος θεός*. But then God reveals Himself always as the Supreme Converter. All the grand forces seem to be allelomorphs, or forms of one another. Science even now easily transmutes power into work, and work back again into power. The cosmos, on examination and analysis, proves to be but the playing-ground of the Divine and Eternal Child. Yes, for God at work means invariably God at play—as the ‘ fairy tales of Science ’ for ever are informing us. And at the bottom of progress and civilization resides the ability to convert energy into useful service. Sacrifice seems the root of all. Conversion bears the trade-mark of the Cross—for God also trades with souls. *Dieu me pardonnera (me changera), c'est son métier*. And when He wishes to get something, something more and something creative, out of a life that needs expansion by suffering, He takes away everything in order that He may give everything. The particular soul puts off the ‘ old man ’ and puts on the ‘ new man,’ in a transvaluation of values. Death of a kind ensues—*mors janua vitae*. That which incessantly goes on in the tissues and in the body, by destruction and repair, by excretion and secretion, goes on in a healthy living soul. The old spiritual tissues are shed just like waste matter, and new ideas and new feelings take the place of those excreted and discharged. But

they transmit in the act of dissolution the permanent and universal in them to their successors, the divine handwriting, as surely as the *ostraka* recently excavated at Samaria reveal the Hebrew (and not the Babylonian) character of the language. Philosophy, said Epicurus, is an activity, which by means of reason and discussion produces a happy life. This may be questioned. But certainly spiritual life, the greatest of all activities, achieves its happiness (or perhaps rather blessedness) by the exercise of a higher reason and a deeper discussion—namely, the reason of the heart which stands above reason or is a reason of its own, and that divine discussion which God requires and ever commands. ‘*Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord. Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.*’ Nothing ever was more logical than the heart, and yet it abides also as *διλογον* π. Anaximander in the early part of the sixth century before Christ, and much more Empedocles in the fifth century, virtually taught evolution. But, from the beginning of the world, antecedent to both of these great philosophers, the human heart recognized and acted upon this tremendous truth, because there never was a time when it did not own the power of Christ’s creative Love, making all things new. ‘*God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself.*’

From the very first, Christ dwelt and energized by conversion in the mind of man, by conversion of the static into the dynamic, hidden power into fruitful works. Through the fundamental psychological principles of resistance and submission or non-resistance, through competition and co-operation, always inseparably united—through surrender and perpetual belligerence, a constant correspondence of self-readjusting active and passive faculties, the disintegrating functions of

The thoughts that wander through eternity—
The consecration and the poet’s dream—

it was still Christ the Converter who inspired and directed rebel man, onward and upward to the full height of heavenly privileges. But just as the eye does not perceive the waves and vibrations of light but colours, so we throughout history and the evolution of the ego have too often mistaken mere accessories for the cause. We have failed to see the inspiring and informing and evolving Christ Principle—‘*by whom also God made the worlds.*’ Philosophy has not recognized the ultimate realities, and has been diverted from its legitimate course by the contemplation of mere accidents and antecedents that were only accidents and antecedents, by sequences that were not consequences, and collaterals that were not coefficients. It beheld the process of conversion going on, but missed the presence and plan of the Converter behind, by whom the raw material of consciousness and inarticulate feeling was gradually worked up and out into ethical adventures dimly discerned in the loose intercourse of animals, till the moral rudiments gravitating slowly to their centre became ‘a naked intent stretching unto God,’ clothing itself by degrees with the substance of religion, while in a few elect and select souls this upward and inward *nîsus* grew at last ‘privied in Him that is All.’ It has been asserted that we shall never get a philosophy of science, because experience is at the best individual, and we can never conclude universals from particulars. This sounds convincing, but to spiritual testimony it hardly appears to apply. Subjective feelings may not be the criteria of objective realities. But, when the subjectivities and particularities universally agree in type and broad outlines and fundamentals, if not in details owing to the entrance of the personal equation, we surely need entertain no suspicion that the results reached are not satisfactory and solid. *Coelum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.* The human heart, or mind, exposed to the same spiritual environment, invariably acts or reacts in the same general way. As the displacements noticed by Spitta and others in St.

John's Gospel do not impair the value of the Gospel, so the intrusion of the particular and personal element cannot shake the central fact of conversion. The existence even now of Quietists, as the early Epicureans undoubtedly were, and their repudiation of public life and the solidarity of society with the accompanying duties, does not alter the truth, that we possess a public life and definite responsibilities to that and to the society in which our lot has been cast. Now conversion will never be identical at all points in different human beings, or the world would be beggared of its perennial attractiveness in fresh charms and unfailing novelties. But who does not in some shape or other yield to the yoke of its educating force? Plato unquestionably recognized the root of conversion, as he recognized most truths, when he taught that life should be an increasing conformity to the likeness of God. Nor was Aristotle far behind him, when he said we should transmute the mortal into the immortal and as it were cultivate immortality. And above all Heraclitus darkly proclaimed the truth. There was from the first, wherever we place our first, a capacity for conversion or power of variability. Aristotle rightly proclaimed this, when he declared potentiality was prior to actuality in time (*ἐν γενέσει*) and in knowledge (*ἐν γνώσει*), though actuality was always presupposed by potentiality, and so far *φύσει* or *ἀπλῶς πρότερον*. And it is the soul's capacity for conversion or endless variability in an endless evolution, that renders it religious or spiritual and therefore immortal. We call God unchanging and eternal, and so He necessarily must be. But, at the same time, while His divine character remains everlastingly the same, if His conduct did not change with changing conditions, there could be no cosmos and no development and no progress. For, like Iris, the Deity stands revealed *per mille coloribus arcum*. In accepting the terms of finitude, through creation, God accepted also thereby the *varium et mutabile semper* which is Divinity no less than woman—

Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.

Life, while it remains continuity, rhythm, and freedom, nevertheless defines itself most practically by conversion, which holds good of the saint no less than of the sinner. Consciousness, its highest form, will never be reduced (as Ernst Haeckel holds) to phenomena of physics and chemistry. It does not present a mere physiological problem. Indeed, in his latest utterances, he appears disposed to come to terms of a kind with the spiritual. In the conversion of the hardened sinner, we behold a natural (as well as a spiritual) process, the dawning of the Christ conception always there though latent, and the renunciation of the beast rule transmitted by the animal ancestry. There occurs in the awakening soul not merely an acquisition but a sacrifice, while the acquisition is really but an explicit appropriation of what was implicit, the energy of the Cross which arises by falling and gains by losing and lives by dying. And to this end we need the clash of conflict, the sweet antagonisms of social and public effort or intercourse. Religious seminaries too frequently subside into religious cemeteries. The soul, always and instinctively a fighting being, demands room and opportunity for its expansion from the simple to the complex, from the good to the better, from the better to the best, and from the best to the most best, and so on eternally. We find ourselves confronted by three great powers, heredity, the environment, and the personal factor, and all operate in conversion. But the driving dynamic behind all is Christ.

F. W. ORDE WARD.

A GREAT ENGLISH NOBLEMAN

The Life of Spencer Compton, Eighth Duke of Devonshire.
By BERNARD HOLLAND, C.B. In 2 vols. With Portraits
and other Illustrations. (Longmans, Green & Co., 1911.)

THE chief interest of these fine volumes is, of course, political, but they give so many glimpses of the life and spirit of a great English nobleman that every reader will follow with deep interest the story which Mr. Bernard Holland has told with conspicuous ability and success.

Sir John of Cavendish, the little Sussex village on the banks of the Stour, was Chief Justice of England during the reign of Edward III. His son 'slew, or rather completed the slaying, for the Lord Mayor began it,' of Wat Tyler in Smithfield. The young King Richard knighted him on the spot. But the Suffolk rioters had their revenge when they captured the elder Cavendish at Bury St. Edmunds and beheaded him and his host, the Prior of the Monastery, in the market-place. The first descendant of this lawyer to win abiding reputation was George Cavendish, who remained faithful to Wolsey throughout his days of disgrace, and wrote the beautiful Memoir which never fails to touch the heart of an Englishman. His younger brother married the famous heiress, Elizabeth of Hardwicke Hall, near Chesterfield. Her second son was created Earl of Devonshire in 1618. There is a theory that Derbyshire, where the estates of the family lay, was intended to supply the title, but that Devonshire slipped into the patent by a clerical error.

The third earl was created duke in 1694. The fifth duke, who was a collector of books and coins and built the great conservatories at Chatsworth, never married. In 1858 his cousin William, Earl of Burlington, succeeded to the title and added Compton Place and the Eastbourne

estates to the Cavendish possessions. At the age of twenty-one he had married Lady Blanche Howard, daughter of the sixth Earl of Carlisle, who died in 1840, leaving four children. Her husband survived her for fifty years. Spencer Compton, the future Duke of Devonshire, was born in 1833. His brothers Frederick and Edward and his sister Louise made up the happy family circle. Before he succeeded to the dukedom, Lord Burlington lived quietly at Holker Hall in North Lancashire. He had been Second Wrangler, first Smith's Prizeman, and one of the first in the classical tripos at Cambridge. 'He was a naturally silent man of almost excessively reserved disposition, with warm family affections, and a high standard of conduct.' The Cavendishes were never talkers, and under the conditions of his early life, Lord Hartington probably developed a certain innate tendency towards shyness and silence. His father's pride in him is shown by the diary for July 28, 1850: 'This is my beloved Cavendish's birthday. He is seventeen. He is, I feel, a most delightful boy, full of life and animation. I trust he has strong religious feelings, but he is certainly fond of amusement. I am anxious he should go to a tutor for a few years before he goes to Cambridge, if I can find one on whom I can rely.' Next May he went to study with the Rev. Mr. Conybeare of Axminster, in Devonshire. One of his letters says, 'Mr. Conybeare goes on plaguing me with English composition, which I hate mortally.' To the end of his life, indeed, it was a torment to him to compose a speech. He thought it 'great humbug being here' and said he learned much more at home, where his father had been his chief teacher. His tutor would have liked him to give up grouse shooting in order that his reading might not be interrupted, but the moors carried the day.

At Trinity College, which he entered in October 1851, he did not find the work congenial. 'Stupid old C. is still bothering away at the life of Herodotus.' Mathematics were more to his taste, and he took a good place in the

second class of the tripos. The Vice-Chancellor told the graduate's cousin : ' Cavendish could have taken the highest honours without any extra work. He is the cleverest man Cambridge had, but had not confidence in himself, but passed very high indeed with a week's reading.' He had, however, the advantage of a two months' summer reading-party in Normandy, and a Christmas vacation at Cambridge, free from temptations. His father wished him to belong to the Union, but he ' never spoke in the debates, and perhaps never attended any.' Lord Welby says, ' The Cavendish of that day had a good deal of the character which distinguished him in after life. There was about him an utter absence of ostentation, and, I need not add, not an atom of swagger, or any reliance on rank. In this set there was a good deal of chaff, and Cavendish had his share of it, and took it with perfect good nature. He did not, as far as I recollect, shine in talk, but I think we all recognized and respected a sound male common-sense, and, as you would expect, he was always a gentleman.' His father notes that his son had scarcely acted up to his expectations, though he was ' by no means thoroughly idle. He is extremely fond of society, and enjoys being with his companions so much that I am afraid he will never make up his mind to submit to the restraint which hard reading requires. In other respects I am well satisfied with him. He seems to be thoroughly happy here at home with us, and is very fond of his sister and brothers.'

His feeling as to these days was shown in an address delivered to Cambridge undergraduates when he had become Duke of Devonshire and Chancellor of the University. As he advised them to attend to their studies, he noticed a general smile, and went on : ' Perhaps you think I did not do much work myself when I was an undergraduate. It is true, and I regret it. All through life I have had to work with men who thought three times as quick as I did, and I have found this a great disadvantage.'

The fact is that he always loved an open-air life. Hunting was his dominant passion, shooting came next. He got through an immense amount of indoor and official work, which he always did thoroughly, but he greatly welcomed the hour of release. He had learned at Holker to express himself in strong, clear English, and Cambridge increased his power of attention, and taught him to observe logical order in the arrangement of a subject. After he left the University he visited Paris, where he spent some hours in the Louvre. He wrote to his father that 'perhaps a slight taste for pictures may be beginning to show itself.' The biographer is compelled to add 'These early blossoms never came to fruit.' He continued his private training at Dresden, where he was a good deal in the picture-gallery, 'trying hard to give myself a taste for the arts, and I think I succeed a little.' He travelled down the Rhine, but 'was not particularly struck of a heap by the beauties of the said river.'

In the Lancashire Yeomanry and Chatsworth Rifles he did good service, and in 1855 he visited the Duke of Devonshire, whom his father succeeded three years later. The old nobleman loved his young kinsman's company, and as soon as he came of age allowed him £2,000 a year. Lord Cavendish gained useful experience on the staff of Lord Granville, who attended Alexander the Second's coronation in 1856, and wrote home a lively description of the Russian festivities.

Next year his half century of Parliamentary service began, with his election as member for North Lancashire. In his second session his father became Duke of Devonshire. The young Marquis of Hartington was reluctant to engage in the war of debate. The Speaker, Mr. Denison, urged him to take part. 'Unless I felt sure that you would speak well, and do yourself credit, and do honour to your family and your name, I should not invite you to the undertaking. But I am very confident about it, and I think, after a little

while, you will like the sport in my forest as well as that on the Scotch hills.' By-and-by he made a short speech. The Speaker wrote to the Duke of Devonshire: 'it was done in good taste, and just in such a way as to please the House and to make a favourable impression, which it did most completely. I see that he has the gift of giving utterance to his thoughts in a parliamentary style. It is, therefore, entirely in his power to obtain complete success if he chooses to do so. I trust such will be his choice.' He made a second speech in June 1859, when, at Lord Palmerston's wish, he moved an amendment to the address expressing want of confidence in Lord Derby's Government. Lord Derby called it a 'manly and promising speech,' and Disraeli wrote to the Queen that he 'spoke like a gentleman.' The Speaker felt that his predictions had been thoroughly justified. Lord Palmerston said 'nothing could be better as to language, topics, and delivery.' Mr. Gladstone wrote to the Duke that his son's speech was the best 'in the most arduous and critical circumstances, that I ever heard delivered by a man of his age in the House of Commons.' The Government was defeated by a small majority.

Despite such encouragement, Lord Hartington did not speak again till May, 1861, when he explained his reason for voting for the repeal of the excise duty on paper. In 1862 he visited the United States. It was the time of the Civil War, and when the Marquis dined with the Belmonts, he says, 'I distinguished myself by announcing General Stahl's death to her at dinner, which they had intended to conceal from her till afterwards. She was a good deal shocked, but, I am happy to say, she did not make a scene.' The General was a great friend of the family, and had been at their house only a fortnight before. Lord Hartington had another unfortunate experience. A lady suddenly pinned something to his coat and vanished amid the guests. He thought nothing of this till he noticed angry glances

turned on him, and some one asked, 'Why are you wearing a rebel badge?' He told his father: 'The most surprising thing is the moderation with which they still talk of the South, and, I believe, if they could lick them, and the South would come back to-morrow, they would be willing to forget everything that had happened, and go on as usual.' It was quite different in the South, where feeling was intensely bitter. Lord Hartington completely underrated Lincoln, to whom he was presented: 'I never saw such a specimen of a Yankee in my life. I should think he was a very well-meaning sort of a man, but, almost every one says, about as fit for his position now as a fire-shovel.' In this hasty judgement he was misled by Society talk. But Lincoln formed a high opinion of his young visitor, and predicted that if he lived ten years he would hear of Lord Hartington's 'having about as prominent a position' in the old country 'as standing on the top rung' could give him in America. The Marquis visited the Southern camp, and was much impressed by the good spirits of the people and their readiness to make sacrifices for their cause. He tells his father that he is 'decidedly very Southern in the main,' and thinks it idiotic 'to admire Lincoln and his emancipation proclamation.' All this, of course, was to be revised when he escaped from the glamour of the South.

After his return to England he became Under Secretary at the War Office in Lord Palmerston's Government. His speeches in Parliament dealt clearly with every point under discussion. There was no pretence of cleverness, but everything showed that the speaker had a good head. In February, 1866, he was promoted to be Secretary of State for War, but in June the Government resigned. He spent the two following winters mainly in hunting. At the General Election of 1868 he lost his seat, and wrote to his father: 'It is not pleasant to be beaten in this way, and I don't like it, but I can't say that I am very unhappy about it.' A place was found for him as member for the Radnor

Boroughs, and for two years he served under Mr. Gladstone as Postmaster-General. In 1870 he was prevailed on to become Irish Chief Secretary. He did not like Mr. Gladstone's Irish University Bill, which he foresaw would irritate Irish Protestants and English Liberals without satisfying Irish Catholics. He made it clear in his speech that he was himself in favour of endowing a distinct Catholic University. Mr. Holland says 'he held this opinion throughout his life, and it was the end to which, although not until 1909, the destinies of Ireland, vindicating his judgement and foresight, have conducted a reluctant England and Scotland.'

Lord Hartington was not sorry when the Bill was defeated and Mr. Gladstone resigned. He had come 'to detest office,' but, after all, the Government had to continue to hold the reins. He was steadily gaining influence in Parliament, and when Mr. Gladstone retired in 1875 he was chosen to lead the party in the House of Commons. 'How I shall get on, Heaven only knows,' he wrote to his father. It was hard for one who was modest to excess as to his own intellectual capacities and oratorical powers, and had a positive dislike for assemblies and speech-making, to be forced into the forefront of debate. Years did not make the task more congenial. When he had to speak at Liverpool and Manchester in 1879, he described one of his addresses as 'exceedingly dull. It was too long, and not well got up; and having a bad cold, I soon got tired, and missed almost all the points I intended to make. How I did hate it, and I never felt so utterly and completely wretched as I did for a day or two before. It gets worse and worse every day.' Lord Granville replied that he had years ago advised him to attend innumerable charity dinners for the benefit of his elocution, and could conceive nothing better for it than 'a political stump in Lancashire. It is almost as good as taking lessons from Coquelin.' It is interesting here to recall Mr. Balfour's tribute: 'Of all the statesmen I have known,

the Duke of Devonshire was the most persuasive speaker; and he was persuasive because he never attempted to conceal the strength of the case against him.' In 1880 the Queen asked Lord Hartington to form a Government, but he did all he could to persuade her Majesty to send for Mr. Gladstone. He accepted the India Office under his old leader. There his administration laid the basis for our future policy—'friendship with the rulers of Afghanistan, abstention from interference in the internal affairs of the country, and a definite understanding with Russia upon Asiatic questions.'

The Home Rule question fills a large space in these volumes. Amid the painful struggle Lord Hartington was true to his nature and to his convictions. Nothing did him more honour than his memorable protest against 'any want of respect to one whom I shall always admire and revere as the leader of a great party, who, in my opinion, has conferred great advantages on this country, and who, at this moment, to my judgement, although I am bound to differ from him, is actuated by feelings as noble and honest as any that have ever inspired the conduct of an English statesman.'

The seventh Duke of Devonshire finished his long life on December 21, 1891. His younger son, Lord Edward Cavendish, had died in the previous May. In 1882 the Duke had been overwhelmed by the assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish in Phoenix Park. The Marquis of Hartington wrote: 'His grief is at times terrible; but he recovers, and talks of him and of the crisis quite calmly. Eddy tells me that he has not uttered a word of reproach against any one.' In the summer after his father's death the Duke married the Duchess of Manchester, who made Devonshire House and Chatsworth great political and social centres. The late King had long been one of his most intimate friends. He 'had a high opinion,' Mr. Holland says, 'of the Duke's sound judgement and good sense, and, when occasion arose, consulted him both in matters of a

more public character and in private affairs relating to the social world.' In his own house the Duke did not trouble himself at all about social matters. 'People came and went, and he himself, not usually knowing who was coming or going, and not always who all his guests were, was, as a kinswoman observed, like the most popular and permanent guest in his own house. It was the work of the Duchess to maintain his social relations, and this she did most effectively. No doubt also there is ground for the common belief that, in earlier times, it was due in some measure to her energy and decision, as a friend, that he did not abandon a political life which was so often extremely distasteful to him. Those who knew them best can and do testify to the tender and faithful affection which united the Duke and the Duchess of Devonshire.'

Nothing in the biography will be read with more pleasure than the chapter headed 'Some Characteristics.' The Duke was an excellent chief, who trusted those who worked for him and did not worry himself over details. 'He was absolutely unassuming, but every one in his presence was aware of a largeness and dignity of nature which filled much "moral space." In business he spoke little, hardly using a superfluous word, listened to others, when possible with the help of a cigarette, without much appearance of interest or attention, and at the right moment indicated, with an instinctive sagacity, the best and most practical line to follow. A decision once taken was adhered to; he did not look back or retrace his steps. His work was done with a weary or bored thoroughness, the resultant apparently of a conflict between a strong sense of duty on the one side, and, on the other, hatred of writing and speaking and inborn indolence. Once he said to one who was speaking of the indolence of another man, "I know some one more indolent," meaning himself.'

He took a keen interest in his estates and discussed all important matters with his agents. The accounts were

presented to him every year with an exhaustive report, which he carefully studied. Requests for pecuniary assistance for persons or objects connected with the estates were generously dealt with. 'He realized fully that his great possessions entailed great obligations on him, and his own personal interests were the last things he considered in his dealings with his tenants on his estates.' Over presentations to livings he exercised special care, and, if not sure that he knew the right man, he would consult the bishop of the diocese, or his sister, Lady Louise Egerton, in whose judgement he had deep confidence.

He abhorred exaggeration. When an orator in the House of Lords said, 'This is the proudest moment of my life,' the Duke whispered to his neighbour, 'the proudest moment in *my* life was when my pig won the first prize at Skipton Fair.' This seems to have been a boyish triumph at Holker Hall. His conversation had a vein of humour, but he read little. Newspapers or novels which did not strain his attention were his main reading in later life. He took real pleasure in visiting a great factory or workshop. Perhaps he had more simple interest in art and literature than he allowed people to see. Mrs. Strong, who succeeded her husband as librarian and custodian of his works of art, says that here the Duke showed the same wise liberality as in the general management of his estates. He had a deep sense of the privileges and responsibilities of possession, and felt that he held his great houses in trust first for the county and then for the larger public. When told that sightseers caused a great strain on the works of art and the house itself, he would answer, 'I dare say they will wear down the floor some day, but I don't see how we can keep them out.' Scholars and students received a never-failing welcome. He bought freely, and lent his treasures liberally to exhibitions. One morning he came into the library at Chatsworth whilst Mrs. Strong was arranging one of the cases that contained rare books. He asked her to show him

some of the more precious of them. She handed to him the first edition of *Paradise Lost*. To her astonishment he sat down and began to read the poem aloud from the first line. 'He read on for quite a time, stopping once to say, "How fine this is! I had forgotten how fine it was"; when the Duchess came in, and, poking her parasol into the Duke, whimsically remarked, "If he begins to read poetry he will never come out for his walk." That afternoon they returned to London, and I only saw the Duke once again, in the following autumn on his return from Eastbourne, during the period of apparent convalescence that followed the first attack of illness.'

He did not like new clothes, and preferred plain and substantial viands. Mr. Wilfred Ward remembers meeting him at a small dinner party in 1885. Lord Hartington came in tired and hungry after a long day of committees. The French dishes with which dinner began were little to his taste, but when some solid roast beef appeared he suddenly exclaimed in deep tones, 'Hurrah! something to eat at last.' Some eighteen years later Mr. Ward dined with the Duke at the British Embassy in Rome, and ventured to remind him that they had met before. He looked puzzled till the place was mentioned, then 'he exclaimed with strong feeling, "Of course I remember. *We had nothing to eat.*"'

Mrs. Strong's last interview with the Duke was at the British Museum, where she met him and the Duchess to discuss, with the experts there, the best method of exhibiting the Devonshire collection of gems. On leaving he shook hands with the learned men around him, his face lit up by a kindly smile. Two days later, on October 24, 1907, he went to spend the winter on the Nile, and died on his return journey at an hotel in Cannes on March 24, 1908. 'As he lay unconscious he was heard to mutter some words, as if he thought he were playing at cards. Then he murmured: "Well, the game is over, and I am not sorry."'

JOHN TELFORD.

Notes and Discussions

BERGSON IN ENGLAND

THE visit of M. Henri Bergson to this country last October was an event in other than purely philosophical circles. It was rumoured that here at last was a teacher who could make philosophy interesting; one who, whilst beginning with strictly scientific data, had a new doctrine to propound which was alive indeed, instinct at every point with actuality. Hundreds had gathered from all parts of Europe to hear him at the Sorbonne, and it was no wonder that the lecture theatre at University College was crowded when the famous professor was to open his lips in London. Almost simultaneously, an article by M. Bergson appeared in the *Hibbert Journal*, side by side with a delicate and penetrating criticism from the distinguished philosophic doubter, Mr. Balfour. Now that the ripples of natural excitement raised by such a visit have died down, it is pertinent to ask how far Prof. Bergson's doctrine of the Soul, as laid down in his four brilliant lectures, has brought with it any new light or leading.

The London lectures were necessarily allusive, they cannot be rightly understood without some knowledge of Bergson's philosophy in general. But it may be said in a word that, according to it, neither science, nor philosophy as generally understood, can furnish an adequate account of the soul. Nothing but direct knowledge of life will avail, for the soul is not a thing, nor an abstraction, but a movement of life itself, and all classes, categories, and concepts of philosophy must be put on one side if its true nature is to be understood. Our inner life, Bergson says, is like a melody which cannot be enjoyed by dwelling on its several notes. The flux of the inward life is one and indivisible, the past and the present cohere in pure duration, and it is exactly this continuity (*durée*) of living existence which constitutes the substantiality of the soul.

From these premisses we arrive at ideas concerning the relation between mind and body, between consciousness on the one hand, and the brain and nervous system on the other, quite different from those which ordinarily obtain. We usually think of the past as dead, abolished, existing no longer, except in so far as a record of it may be written on the substance of the brain, somewhat as a tune is recorded on the disk of a gramophone. But how can the billions of vibrations, occurring in a fraction of a second necessary for the perception of a ray of red light, be 'impressed' on the retina of the eye or on the grey substance of the cerebrum? The brain, said Prof. Bergson, is an organ whose function is to arrest such consciousness of the past as is not needed, and to allow only such portions of past experiences to pass forward into consciousness

as may from time to time be needed for action. It is 'an instrument of oblivion,' a screen which allows only such recollections to pass as are useful for present choice and activity. The brain is the point of attachment between the soul and reality. It is not the equivalent of the mental life, but it is to the mind what the point is to a knife, and the mental life is to the brain what the knife is to its point, or the vessel to its prow, the fine lines and curves of which enable the ship to cut through the waves.

The distinction between mind and matter lies in this, that mind is essentially a memory which collects and preserves the past, while matter is destitute of memory. The kind of distinction here drawn enables us somewhat to understand how matter and mind come to be united, and what is the *raison d'être* of the union. The human body is a nervous system placed on apparatuses the object of which is to sustain, repair, and clean this highly sensitive system, and especially to supply it with continually new energy. The soul is the creative force, the real productive agent of novelty in the world. It alone can create and act; and, strange to say, it can create itself, can modify its own quality and increase its own intensity.

Whence comes this mystic force? What is the origin of souls? Bergson would reply, In the Principle of Life. And as such a phrase seems tautologous or meaningless, he adds that in the region of soul-existence the concepts of multiplicity and unity are out of place. The inner life of each of us is neither one nor manifold; or it may be described as both together. Human souls are far from being as distinct from each other as is generally believed, but 'a general interpenetration of souls exists, and this interpenetration is the very principle of life.' This living principle, seized by matter, seeks to free itself, and at the same time by means of matter it is enabled to divide and distinguish, and so to realize its own real nature. In the course of evolution this principle of life has left many things on the way, many lines of evolution seem to have failed. But on the line which leads to man, the liberation has been accomplished, and thus personalities have been able to constitute themselves. If we could seize in one simple vision the whole line of evolution, we should have before us, as it were 'a telegraph wire on which has travelled a dispatch sent off as long ago as the first beginning of life—a message which was then confused, a message of which a part has been lost on the way, but which has at last found in the human race the appropriate receptive apparatus.'

How many of those who listened to the speaker's luminous exposition of a profoundly difficult subject thoroughly understood its meaning, it is impossible to say. Even in his published volumes, written with matchless lucidity in the clearest of all languages, the writer's theory of the soul is difficult to grasp, not because it is obscure, but because it is unusual and not easy to reconcile with a large part of ordinary experience. One of the most vulnerable points in Bergson's philosophy is fastened upon by Mr. Balfour in his criticism in the *Hibbert Journal*. We can follow Bergson in his repudiation of a merely mechanical explanation

of the course of evolution in nature, but why does he so peremptorily refuse to admit teleology? What in its ultimate essence is this principle of life, which is the source and potency of all energy in the universe? The theist answers, God—meaning by the word a personal Being of infinite wisdom, power, and love. But Bergson's *élan vital*, though an infinitely more satisfactory first cause than the matter of the materialist, or the mechanism of the naturalist, or the unchangeable Absolute of the idealist, is itself outside the pale of reason; it is inexplicable, indefinable, incalculable. This new doctrine of Vitalism unfolds to us a living, self-evolving universe, perpetually budding forth and ramifying in spontaneous expression—a restless, unfinished, and never-to-be-finished succession of vital developments, the scope and goal of which cannot be explained, because there is an infinite number of possibilities before it in the future, and none can say which will be chosen or which will be successful.

Surely this is 'the ancient idol on his base again, the grand Perhaps' with a vengeance! We are ourselves, we are told, in so far as we act. The universe also becomes itself in the course and process of action. But the law, or principle, or norm, of such mighty movement is indiscernible. Instinct or intuition is preferable to intellect, because intellect by its analysis breaks up reality into separate pieces that it may deal with each apart, and so murders to dissect. Our deepest instincts, on the other hand, throw a momentary flashlight upon the realities of life, which enables us to understand something of their meaning, and the knowledge that they impart carries us as far as we can expect to travel. Bergson is reported as saying in an interview, in reference to Mr. Balfour's criticism, that he himself had not 'got as far as teleology, but perhaps might reach it,' that his published views represent the history of his own thought as far as at the time he was able to carry it. It may well be, therefore, that further developments await Bergson's disciples.

It is in any case a relief to listen to a philosopher who will at least allow the human spirit to live, choose, and act; one who lifts from the heart the intolerable burden laid upon it by the cast-iron Determinism of modern 'scientific' naturalism and agnosticism. Bergson does bid us look at Life as lord, and points us to a living Power which moves, impels, and directs the movements of all living things. It is an immense gain that a teacher who began by being a materialist, and who bases his whole system upon assured facts of science, sees his way to free us from the bonds of matter, of fate, of iron-bound necessity. The secret of his influence lies here. Intellectualists who reject religion, and cannot accept materialism, are getting weary of the agnostic shelter which has of late seemed to be their only refuge. They listen gladly to a scientific teacher of philosophy who will show them a way out of what seemed a hopeless *impasse*. And we may all listen with interest to the message of Vitalism or Activism, or whatever be the best name for this new fascinating doctrine. But some of us may feel sure that the lines of thought which have led thus far must be carried farther before they are complete. And instead of an irresponsible, inexplicable, indeterminable Principle of Life, Christian believers will thankfully turn to the living

God, who has not left Himself without witness, but who has spoken most clearly in the Son of His love—

That God who ever lives and loves ;
 One God, one law, one element,
 And one far-off divine event,
 To which the whole creation moves.

W. T. DAVISON.

SYNDICALISM

SIR ARTHUR CLAY's *Syndicalism and Labour* (Murray), directs attention to certain developments in social and industrial conditions, which it is of the utmost importance that the public should understand. The word Syndicalism is of recent origin, and in France has come to mean the transfer of industrial capital from its present possessors to Syndicalists, that is, to the revolutionary Trade Unions. These 'Syndicats rouges' are to be distinguished from the 'Syndicats jaunes,' who seek to improve their position by constitutional means. The object which the Syndicats rouges have in view is to be secured by that formidable weapon—the General Strike. It was a Parisian anarchist, the carpenter Tortelier, who first suggested its adoption as a definite policy in 1888. M. Guesde and the Social Democrats fought against this proposal, but it was adopted by a Congress of Trade Unionists and Socialists at Nantes in 1894. The attraction of Syndicalism for wage-earners and their leaders is not difficult to understand. M. Sorel, a well-known writer, has also joined this camp. He argues that the middle class has become degenerate and cowardly, and that violence alone will rouse it, and enable it to regain its former energy. Yet, despite such support, Syndicalism cannot be said to be gaining ground, even among wage-receivers. Sir Arthur Clay points out that in this respect Socialism occupies a very different position. It 'does represent a great social movement.' But Socialists would not admit that there is any connexion between themselves and the Syndicalist. One demands the destruction of the State, the other aims to establish its supremacy. M. Briand, who publicly advocated Syndicalism in 1899, had in 1910, as Prime Minister of France, to grapple with the great railway strike, and did it with heroic determination and success.

In France the *Confédération Générale du Travail* is the active force of Syndicalism. It represents about one-third of the Trade Unions, and in 1909 'its alliance with the State employés of the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Services for a few days endangered the stability of the French Republic.' The treatment of French officials of all classes has gone far to justify their revolt against the Government. 'Every minister,' it is said, 'looks upon them as his property, keeps them in subjection, and constantly intrudes into their private life.' In England such treatment would not be endured for a moment, and it was only when the French Government solemnly promised to bring in a measure to redress the grievances of the postal employés, that the dangerous alliance with the

Syndicalists was brought to an end. The French Railway Strike of 1910 is fresh in every one's memory. The C.G.T. used all its resources to put in force the doctrine of Syndicalism, but was baffled by the very means which M. Briand had pronounced impossible in 1899. It was left to the Prime Minister to refute his own contention that the army was inadequate to deal with a General Strike. In Sweden, during the General Strike of August, 1909, labourers 'concerned with the care of sick persons, or living animals, or with lighting, water supply, or sanitation,' were exempted from the order to cease work. The strike was orderly, and its leaders warmly supported the prohibition of the sale of drink, and assisted the police in their duties. It was harvest time, but the effort to induce the farm labourers to strike failed. The middle classes showed pluck and resource, and the strike soon came to an end. In presence of such energy, Syndicalism was proved to be impotent. Sir Arthur Clay describes the strikes in Italy and Spain, where also society showed its capability for self-defence. As to our own country, 'there is some danger lest our workmen should be led to adopt methods which are practically identical with those advocated by Syndicalists, in ignorance of the inherent brutality of that doctrine.' They might thus regard a 'General Strike as the most effective weapon for enforcing their demands.' The capture of Trade Unionism by the State Socialist party seems to Sir Arthur Clay to bring grave perils in its train. 'The ideal aimed at by the ablest Trade Union leaders, and actually realized for a considerable period in some few cases, was so to develop the machinery for the amicable discussion of any question between the men and their employers as to make it unnecessary to have recourse to strikes.' That policy has been reversed, and the change is momentous. The chapter, 'Syndicalism in Practice,' is an attempt to show what the workman's position would be if, as the result of a general strike, the leaders of the revolution were placed in command of the resources of the country. From such a calamity we may well strive to be delivered. The relations between capital and labour have been sorely strained during the past year, but we see hope of a better and more reasonable spirit on all sides. Every workman has a right to a fair share of the fruit of his labour, and it is acknowledged to be the wisdom of employers to see that that share is made adequate and even generous, so that a new era of prosperity may dawn for England and Englishmen of all classes.

JOHN TELFORD.

ETHICAL CONDITIONS IN THEOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTION

THE closest affinities of theology in the past have been with metaphysics; the theologian has been supremely an intellectual philosopher; his constructive methods have been severely logical; whether his system has been classed as scholastic or reformational, he has wrought it into order and authority on the assumption that the rational is the real

for theological construction. There are innumerable signs that the intimacy, not to say the sufficiency, of this association has declined. It is no doubt an affinity which can never be wholly dissolved; such a dissolution would, in fact, be disastrous. But other partners must be admitted to accomplish the whole work of theological construction. Several claimants for this high function have already appeared, and with irresistible credentials. Since Schleiermacher, for instance, religious feeling has been admitted on equal terms with the rational judgement; some assert, indeed, that feeling has already become the senior partner—senior both in order of time and importance. It is now being discovered, thanks to sounder psychological methods, that the religious feeling is of close kinship with another claimant for place and authority in any theological construction worthy of being considered modern. The moral consciousness claims equal rights with knowledge and feeling as a constructive force in building together the interpretations of man's religious experience. The claim is based upon what is fundamental in personality; and it cannot be denied; the claim of conscience in the construction of creed is increasingly regarded as indefeasible. The thinking of our generation is intensely ethical in process and product. It is not too much to say, with Mr. Benjamin Kidd, that we are feeling the influence of an 'ethical movement in which the highest qualities and attributes of which human nature is capable find the completest expression they have ever reached in the history of the race.' Ethics has reached this dominant place, not simply because its science has been reborn, but because it has been born into entirely new intellectual conditions, and because the authority of ethics is based no longer on an external warrant, but upon an inward compulsion. It is here that we discern the close affinity of ethics with modern theology; for theology also has been reborn and its claims based upon the fundamental facts of the religious consciousness rather than upon the assumptions of the speculative intellect. Theology is no longer a system of dogmatics with a supplementary section upon ethics. The subordinate place ethics has until recently held in theological construction is no longer possible. It is not, for instance, without significance that in publishing what will undoubtedly become the most complete and exhaustive Dictionary of Theology for our generation, Dr. Hastings has elected that it should be known as *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*: and it would probably not be unfair to say that the ethical is more prominent in the treatment of its subjects than the strictly dogmatical. Illustrative also of a similar tendency is an interesting conversational fragment, which Prof. O. A. Curtis uses as an illuminating suggestion for the method of discussing well-worn theological topics he has adopted in his volume on *The Christian Faith, Personally given in a System of Doctrine*. It is from a conversation between a professor of moral science in a university, and a student just about to leave a theological college—

Professor. Are you entirely satisfied with your course in theology?

Student. No, the course has been of value to me, but it has one lack.

Professor. What? I am interested.

Student. In studying the Bible and Christian doctrine, no connexion was anywhere made with moral science.

Professor. I am not surprised. The theologian is quite wont to forget that a sinner is a man.

A chapter in Principal Garvie's recent book, *The Christian Certainty and the Modern Perplexity*, places a further emphasis for theology upon ethical sensitiveness, both personal and social. This influence of morality upon theology is becoming a marked feature of our times. In his chapter on 'Conscience and Creed,' Dr. Garvie seeks to show that 'there are two ways in which ethics can affect theology. It may demand that the supreme object of faith and worship shall correspond with the absolute ideal of duty and good; that is, that a man shall believe that God possesses perfectly all those moral excellencies which man seeks to attain progressively, that man shall refuse to assign to God any defect which he would be ashamed of in himself. Secondly, it may demand that the relation between God and man recognized shall include the obligations of, and the inducement to, the duties which he acknowledges as binding in his relations to his fellow men.' No one, of course, who reads the history of doctrine can pretend that these positions have exercised canonical authority on the construction of theologies. The presence of such factors in theological thought have a tendency to mar the perfectness of a severely logical system; and the heart of a theologian is accused of supreme affection for a system. How far it may be true that this too great lack of the ethical equation in the solution of theological problems accounts for the depreciatory references to systematic theology which are current in popular and academic circles, it is not easy to say; neither can we be too sure to what degree the spiritual unrest of the times is attributable to this deficiency. Nevertheless, the frequency of the revolt of conscience against creed, which has been the starting-point of doctrinal change and the initiation of reform and of religious advancement, is a persistent appeal to the theologian to subject his speculative and logical decisions to the ultimate discernment of the moral consciousness. Whilst it may be true that morality follows religion, it, nevertheless, precedes doctrine. When these two live apart the schism most to be feared arises. A thoughtful Christian man interested in the theological interpretation of his faith has only to recall teachings, not yet wholly out of date, concerning certain fundamental articles of his creed, to realize with some gratitude how real a transformation the application of ethical principles has brought about in doctrinal discussions. We might take, for instance, the doctrine of God. It is not very long since it was possible for Dean Mansell to assert that, as all our notions of the Divine were relative and approximate, our faith in God is faith without knowledge; he denied, therefore, the right of reason on moral grounds to criticize the character and attributes of God as given by the logical processes of the intellect. God might quite well subject man to moral laws, by which He did not feel Himself bound. It is hardly necessary to say that the application of the moral ideal to God, and the conviction that it finds its reality and

perfect expression in Him, have made such conceptions of God intolerable. The interpretation of the divine Personality through the full contents of human personality has enriched unspeakably the conception of God which we have come to recognize as specifically Christian. When we interpret the doctrine of the Divine Immanence also, as it must be interpreted to deliver it from pantheistic perils, in terms of the moral factors of consciousness, rather than in its intellectual issues with necessary relations of substance, space, and time, we see how spiritually enriching this doctrine becomes. What the doctrine of Atonement owes to the access of moral considerations is more generally recognized. Without attributing such supremacy to what is technically known as 'the moral view' of the Atonement as would make it sufficient in itself adequately to explain the significance of the death of Christ, it is plain how much those views lack which rest ultimately upon objective or impersonal law instead of finding their justification in the personal relations of moral beings. It is easy now, for instance, to see how immeasurably Dr. Dale's able and influential treatise would have been enriched, if the author had substituted in his argument the essential claims of a perfect Personality for those of the 'Eternal Law of Righteousness.' If, then, the newer and deeper ethical spirit of our day has only substituted 'personal' for 'logical' or 'legal' as descriptive terms in theories of Atonement, the gain is great. We may mention here, as illustrative examples of ethical methods in treating this subject, Dr. Moberly's fine book, *Atonement and Personality*, and Mr. W. F. Lofthouse's *Ethics and Atonement*, amongst others.

It must be obvious, also, as we move within the several spheres of other relations of God and man which have sought definition or exposition in Christian doctrine, how entirely inadequate is 'freezing reason's colder part' for their interpretation. Ethical conditions are everywhere essential; for 'if,' as Dr. Garvie reminds us, 'morality be the realization by man of his ideal, and if religion be man's assurance that his ideal has reality in God, then it becomes clear that the human ideal and the divine reality must in the mind of man sink or soar together.' The application of such principles removes at once the conception of the Divine Sovereignty as interpreted in the doctrines of the absolute decrees outside the circle of credible theological propositions. Whatever in redemption or reprobation is indifferent to moral conditions in the recipient is untrue, because unreal in the realm of mutual relations between the human and the divine which are essentially moral. It is, perhaps, a more subtle, but not less legitimate and necessary, application of moral conditions to existing distinctions between imparted and imputed righteousness as the blessings obtained by means of the energies of justifying faith. Such faith to have ethical vitality must be more than assent of the mind; it must be obedience of will, a personal relation of the believer in active fellowship with the Person of the Redeemer. This communion, issuing in renewal in character and expressed in the work of righteousness, will surely declare distinctions between imparted and imputed righteousness unreal, save as figments of current theological phraseology. Loyalty in this case,

therefore, to the sensitive conscience of the day may be simply the theological reiteration of the apostolic dictum 'Faith without works is dead.' How the stronger modern insistence on the application of ethical principles to theology stretches back to interpret in more satisfying setting the ethical inequalities which have made the problem of Old Testament morality so acute, we cannot linger to discuss. We can only say that the manifold gains to theological thought in the ruling idea of a progressive revelation, determined in character by the ethical development of the recipients, is a valuable contribution to theology, rendered possible by admitting morality as a potent factor in the moulding of doctrine. Turning in the other direction, anticipating the issues in destiny and the future, sanctioned by religious faith, we cannot fail to put a high value upon the help afforded in the dim and difficult problems of eschatology by the interrogation of our moral consciousness. We do not hesitate to associate in authority with other forecasts of the unseen the insight and outlook inspired by the conviction of the supremacy in God and man of like moral ideals. We are convinced that moral relations, conditioned here by the existence of souls, will be conditioned hereafter by their continued existence. Where these conditions persist, mere physical rewards and punishments are inadmissible. Arbitrary dispositions of destiny in heathen or enlightened men, irrespective of character, are forbidden.

Enough has, perhaps, been said to emphasize one or two positions of importance to theology as it claims a living authority for the present. We must welcome the consequences in theological thinking of an awakened conscience, both social and personal. It has been said that 'the man in the street' will determine the theology of the future rather than the intellectualist or the ecclesiastic. This may be an exaggeration; still it carries admonition. Confidence in the sufficiency of metaphysics is leaning on a broken reed. The theologian who is to count with the multitude can never again be—

A reasoning, self-sufficing thing,
An intellectual all in all.

Ethics as scientifically determined, much more in its Christian form and sanction, is slowly winning its place as an essential and determining factor in the processes which are building and rebuilding the faith of a Christian man. If, as Dr. Lindsay assures us, the Reformation was a moral movement as well as religious, in that it restored the duties of common life to their right place as parts of divine service, we only carry its true principle a step further when we give to the duties of the common life a place in the theological interpretation of the living faith of which such duties are the expression. The pathos of the Reformed theology is that its teachers so soon forgot its fundamental principle, and reverted to the abandoned type in the hard intellectualism of its formal Confessions. No justification will, of course, be suspected in this brief plea for the place of ethics in theological construction in favour of the other extreme, the Kantian, equally hard and dead in its development, which ultimately came to regard religion as 'a foot-note to morality.' The place and

authority of reason and feeling as constituent factors with the will in the activities of personality are fully recognized. Carlyle, whose influence has greatly contributed to the growing dominance of the ethical appeal in theological as in other spheres, leaves the theologian no liberty of choice. Another 'master of sentences' is no more possible for him than another loyalty in service. When the ethical Reality awakes, regal and austere, within him, he must; he can do no other. 'Thus had the Everlasting No pealed authoritatively through all the recesses of my Being, of my Me; and then was it that my whole Me stood up, in native God-created majesty, and with emphasis recorded its protest.'

FREDERIC PLATT.

DR. LOOFS'S UNIVERSITY SERMONS

DR. FRIEDRICH LOOFS of Halle is an attractive preacher as well as an erudite professor. The sermons delivered by him from the university pulpit are frequently published, and are widely read. They explain his influence over young men, for they deal with present-day questions frankly and reverently; moreover, the lucid sentences grip the attention, the impact of truth upon the conscience is direct, and at times the preacher's fervour imparts a flow to his earnest words.

In pamphlet form three Sermons¹ preached by Dr. Loofs, last May, have recently appeared. The first is on 'Self-Redemption,' the text being John v. 1-9. In the introduction two reasons are given for the selection of this subject: (1) the crisis through which the Lutheran Church is passing in the Rhine provinces: 'It is said that men's energies are weakened by a gospel which proclaims that another has redeemed us, and that faith in redemption becomes a cushion for moral indolence.' (2) At the beginning of the summer term it is fitting that young men, rejoicing in their strength and conscious that their future is in their own hands, should listen to Christ's appeal to those who are endowed with the power of choice: 'Wouldest thou be made whole?' Then, in tenderer tones, the preacher addresses those who are unconscious of their need of healing: 'Can we say that our spiritual condition is quite healthy? Do we not feel that in one respect or another we ought to be different?' His inner eye must be darkened who, in the spirit of the Pharisee, claims to be spiritually whole. In this way the two simple divisions are reached; the question 'Wouldest thou be made whole?' is (1) a question for us, and (2) it is the question of Jesus.

Under the first head Dr. Loofs expresses his approval of the omission of ver. 4 (cf. R.V. marg.). The narrative refers to an intermittent spring; the water is 'troubled' when the spring, which has seemed to be sealed up, bursts forth again. This may happen several times in a day, and gives the sick persons their opportunity of healing. The lame man's lethargy was his hindrance; his will was feeble. Therefore Jesus calls him to make

¹ *Über Selbsterlösung, Pantheismus, und Lebensfreude. Drei Predigten im akademischen Gottesdienst gehalten von Dr. Friedrich Loofs. Halle-a.-S.: Verlag von Max Niemeyer.*

an effort, and in like manner He appeals to us. 'I repeat His question: Wouldest thou be made whole? Do you want to be spiritually sound and strong men? fearless and faithful, chaste and true, beloved by God and men? Is that what you *will*, not with words extolling beautiful ideals, not with resolutions for the future, but with earnest determination at the present moment?'

So far the preacher has not shown that the call to self-redemption is 'not the Gospel of Jesus, to say nothing of the Gospel *about* Jesus.' As he turns to this part of his theme, he reminds his hearers that Jesus often spoke as though He took nothing into account but the human will. 'Every teacher does the same. Not only in order that power may be increased by action, but also in order that the final goal may be clearly seen, and in order that experience of failure may render the spirit receptive of guidance and of help.' Examples are given of commands of Jesus in response to which moral strength is increased by active obedience, such as 'Let your speech be Yea, yea,' &c. (Matt. v. 37; cf. v. 44, vi. 8). But when Jesus told the young ruler to 'keep the commandments,' the demand was intended to convince him of his insufficiency and to enforce the truth: 'With men this is impossible; but with God all things are possible' (Matt. xix. 26). The teaching of Jesus is not that men are competent of themselves to enter the kingdom of God. They need to 'turn and become as little children,' and they are told that 'a corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit.' Neither the 'turning,' nor the planting of the good tree is regarded as the work of the man himself. In the parable of the two debtors (Luke vii. 41 ff.) spoken to Simon, the self-righteous Pharisee, 'the gospel of the forgiveness of sins appears as the creative spring of moral action, and of this gospel Jesus Himself is the centre.'

The conclusion to which the exposition leads up is that Jesus Himself stands behind the question: 'Wouldest thou be made whole?' He who commanded the sick man to take up his bed and walk, with the command gave him the power both to will and to do. 'Wilt thou be made whole?—then begin to take the words of Jesus seriously, begin with those of whose meaning thou hast no doubt. He himself stands behind His words. Take them seriously, and thou wilt say, with Peter, "Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord." Then will the gospel be understood—the gospel of the Good Shepherd who gave His life for the sheep.' In solemn closing words Dr. Loofs justifies the appeal to the will, but maintains that this appeal is not the gospel. The gospel is the divine response to the cry of those who say, with sinking Peter, 'Lord, help me.'

The second sermon has in view the pantheistic tendency of the teaching of German theologians of the liberal school. The text is Acts xvii. 22 ff., and the theme is St. Paul's statement about *finding God*. The principal divisions are: Paul recognizes what is true in the philosophic conception of God; he shows that, nevertheless, God remains unknown; he declares that God is truly known only in Christ; and he exhorts us, therefore, not only to seek God, but also to find Him. The following passage is taken from the last section. Having insisted that God, although super-knowable, is not unknowable, Dr. Loofs says: 'As a child, although

he does not know his father's profession, nor his experience, nor his capabilities, nevertheless knows and is vividly conscious that he has a father, so we finite men can attain to a real knowledge of the living God, we can become certain of God in this mortal life. The theology which with high-sounding words of man's wisdom attempts to comprehend God was called by Luther derisively "a theology of aristocrats" (*Theologie der Ehren*). To-day a theology of like kind offers us high-sounding words about the universal activity and rule of God; even newspapers, which otherwise concern themselves little with the Divine, pay compliments to this theology. Yet its words do not touch what is deepest, innermost and eternal. They cannot satisfy the heart, nor strengthen us in the hour of need and of death. But the knowledge of God which is revealed to the disciples of Jesus, who through Him and His Cross become certain of the grace of God—this knowledge endures, although it remains hidden from the wise and prudent: "This is life eternal, that they should know Thee, the only true God, and Him whom Thou didst send, even Jesus Christ."

'The Joy of Life' is the title of the third sermon, and the text is 1 John i. 1-4. Notice is taken at the outset of the modern revolt against gloomy views of life, held by some Christians, and often identified with Christianity. It is needful to ask: how far is this reaction justified? Dr. Loofs answers the question by showing (1) how high is the Christian estimate of fullness of joy, and (2) how deep is the foundation of the Christian's joy. The joy of the Christian is no mere matter of temperament, nor is it dependent on good fortune. According to St. John, joy and life are intimately connected, but the life which is the basis of joy is not of this world. The life of which St. John speaks was, however, manifested in this world; his joy springs from the revelation of eternal life in Jesus Christ, and from his experience of that life in fellowship with Christ. This life is available for all, and that is also a source of Christian joy.

J. G. TASKER.

THE MAKING AND UNMAKING OF A JESUIT

COUNT VON HOENSBROECH entered the novitiate house of the German province of the Society of Jesus at Holland on November 4, 1878, to join the Order, and crossed its threshold on December 16, 1892, to leave the Society of Jesus and the Roman Catholic Church for ever. He tells his painful story in two volumes just published by Messrs. Cassell. Miss Alice Zimmern has translated them with great skill, and has enjoyed the help of the author at various points. He was born in 1852 at Haag Castle, on the banks of the Niers in the Rhenish-Prussian district of Guelders. His father was Count of the Empire and Marquis of Hoensbroech, his mother was born Baroness von Loë. They belonged to the old school of nobility, and were extreme Ultramontanists. The father recited the rosary every evening in his castle chapel in the presence of his whole family, and till extreme old age marched for two hours with the annual procession from

Guelthers to the shrine at Kevelaer, where he knelt down amid the crowd in the public street before 'the miraculous image of Mary.' His wife's whole nature was penetrated by her Catholicism. 'There was nothing against which her intellect revolted so long as it bore the ecclesiastical hall-mark. She belonged to an endless number of fraternities, she wore and made us wear every sort of scapular and consecrated medal.' Every kind of religious marvel appealed to her. 'In her medicine cupboard there stood, side by side with ordinary ointments and drugs, bottles of the miraculous water from La Salette, Lourdes, and the Ignatius water, so called from the founder of the Jesuit Order, and the oils of SS. Walburgh and Apollinaris. These miraculous remedies were applied for sickness and injuries, in the same way as court-plaster, camomile tea, or boric ointment.' Pictures of the Madonna printed on some soluble and harmless substance were mixed with the food and drink of herself and her children.

The five boys and four girls were brought up in this atmosphere. Paul, the future Jesuit, was 'particularly pious as a child.' The 'miracles and mercies' of La Salette, where he was taken on pilgrimage by his parents, made a deep impression on the boy, and during many a visit to Kevelaer he 'was seized and penetrated by the storm of religious mysticism that pervades all great centres of pilgrimage.' A Protestant reader of this book will be startled by the 'overwhelming, almost intoxicating effect' of such scenes.

The Jesuits gained a footing in this noble household during Paul's childhood. 'Gradually husband, children, house and servants, were placed under Jesuit influence.' The most influential members of the German province began to frequent the castle, and direct all its life. Paul's first confession was made in his seventh year. The evils of the questions and inquiries by which a young mind is tortured at such a time are painfully set forth. If the child is of a 'delicate and timid nature, confession becomes a torment, a source of doubt and trouble; if made of coarser stuff the mechanism of confession tends to destroy what little delicacy of conscience he possesses.'

In 1861 Paul was sent to the Jesuit school at Feldkirch, where he took his first Communion. For several weeks he and other first communicants were prepared by elaborate catechetical instruction. 'To partake for the first time of his God and Lord, truly and in essence, body and soul, flesh and blood, God and man, in the consecrated host, what greater, loftier, more terrible thought can the religious imagination conceive! My childish heart was grievously torn between its grandeur, sublimity and fearfulness. It was fear that kept the upper hand. I shook and trembled when the wafer was laid on my tongue, for I was tortured by the fear of not being "worthy." And oh! how I longed to be worthy!'

Even in his early days at this school attempts were made to win the youth for the Order. The 'Annual Exercises' brought before the pupils the vanity and temptations of the world, and the security to be found in the priestly office. The 'Choice of Vocation' in which two columns on a piece of paper were used to set forth the perils of a worldly career and

the advantages of a spiritual vocation, was also employed to deepen the impression. When the Count left the school in his eighteenth year, he was firmly resolved to be a Jesuit. The Bishop of Mayence, a near relative of his mother, told him he was much too young to form such resolutions. And the young man began to feel that he belonged to this good and beautiful world. Though he studied at Stonyhurst and visited Rome, his reluctance to enter the Order seemed to grow. At Rome he gave one hundred lire for a vest worn by Pope Pius IX and soaked with perspiration. This object of veneration he sent to his sister Luise at the Convent of Tournay. The death of a sister finally led him to decision. Often in the days before her death she would whisper: 'Paul, remember your vocation.'

He gives a full account of the daily routine in the novitiate house. It was situated in a desolate Dutch plain; no newspaper was allowed. The seclusion was absolute. The Count says that Jesuit piety is 'careful to regulate the emotions, but only with a view to driving out the individual element and replacing it by the System of the Order. Within the appointed barriers flourishes a rank growth of sentimentality, superstition, and miracle hunting.' The novices used to encourage one another in various ascetic practices. Soon after the young Count's entrance the novice master handed him a scourge of knotted cords and a ring of woven wire to be fastened round his leg above the knee. The rule was to make sparing use of such things, for the Order holds it better to preserve bodily powers for work than to weaken them by penance.

After the two years' novitiate came seven years of scholastic training. During this period the young Jesuit suffered spiritual troubles that made him think of death as a deliverance. For weeks his bed became 'a rack of indescribable misery.' At first false asceticism—his scourge and his penitential girdle—'succeeded in strengthening his wavering religious views', but his four years at Ditton Hall, near St. Helens, were 'a hell.' Here he was ordained priest in 1886. For six years he 'bore the burden of this priesthood with continually increasing anguish.' It was only in 1892 that he found courage to leave the Order. He felt at first like a tree uprooted in a storm, but gradually found his work as a writer. He was never a Jesuit at heart, and gives a painful account of the morality of the Order. 'The words of the genuine Jesuit are full of secondary meanings and reservations.' He pays warm tribute, however, to Father Link, 'an un-Jesuit-like Jesuit, simple, candid, truthful, unselfish, loving and pious.' The Count does not wish to minimize the heroic discipline of the Order, but the system of supervision and espionage and the mutual denunciation, declared to be a rule and duty, make friendship among its members impossible. After leaving the Order the Count joined the Protestant State Church. He believes that prayer is the main function of religion; that Christ set mankind in the filial relation to God, and that His saying 'Our Father, which art in heaven,' is the basis of religion. This idea of God's Fatherhood he regards as an endless source of immeasurable confidence. His view of Christ and the resurrection are almost Unitarian, but he claims to be a Christian because he accepts our Lord's teaching as the foundation and corner-stone of his religion. This is how

he puts it. 'God my Father is the Author of my being: He has placed me in the world, unasked, therefore He must also, some time—when, where, and how I know not—become the Perfector of my happiness.' Every Protestant reader will find this a singularly impressive and enlightening story.

JOHN TELFORD.

LUTHER AS TRANSLATOR

OF Luther's many titles to fame, the greatest undoubtedly is his German version of the Bible. Into that work he put most of himself. In it we see the true Luther, and, whatever improvements revision may bring, the work will remain one of the world's great Bible versions and great masterpieces of literature. In every respect it takes rank with our own Authorized Version. It has done as much for the German language and religion as ours has done for the English language and race. A notable difference is that the German Bible is substantially the work of one man. Luther had many helpers, but the inspiring genius throughout is his own. After a life of three centuries, the version has had to submit to revision, which has been attended by the same discussion of the comparative merits of the old and the new as in our own case.

Another point of similarity between the English and German versions is that both represent the issue of a long development. The stages of the German development are less obvious than the English. We know of no German Wycliffe or Tyndale, nothing answering to Coverdale's Bible, the Great Bible, the Genevan. Still, like every other great work, Luther's version had its historical preparation, although this is difficult to trace. The German language itself was of slow development. The leaven of pagan ideas inhered longer in the terms which must enter into a version of the Bible. That leaven was gradually purged out in the services and teaching of the mediæval church, and in such poetical reproductions of the substance of Scripture stories as the *Heiland* and *Christ* (ninth century). From the fragments which remain, we conclude that there were vernacular translations of the whole or of parts of Scripture, chiefly the latter. The Psalter, Canticles,¹ the Gospels, were favourite portions for translation. A fragment of Matthew's Gospel has been found in Upper Austria; and, strange to say, a translation of Tatian's *Diatessaron* at St. Gall. It is evident that most of the knowledge of Scripture in the Church was drawn indirectly from the Vulgate, which was used in Church services and studied by ecclesiastics. But towards the close of the Middle Ages the work of Bible translation was carried on more vigorously. Dr. Walther, an authority on the subject, counts as many as thirty translators at work in Germany in the fourteenth century, and seventy-two in the whole period before Luther. The great Gothic translation of Ulfilas (fourth century) had no influence on Germany, the Goths living in lands under Greek and Latin sway. They also seem to have held Arian views.²

¹ Bernard of Clairvaux has a famous work on this book.

² Adolf Risch, *Die deutsche Bibel*, Berlin, 1907.

The immense sale of Luther's version shows that the time was ripe for the work. Erasmus's text of the New Testament appeared in 1516. The study of Hebrew had made great strides under the lead of Reuchlin and others. The printing-press had begun its work. It had become possible for the people to read Scripture for themselves, and they were eager to do so.

With the hour came the man. Luther had a genius for language. As a preacher he was unsurpassed for idiomatic, graphic, living speech. Modern German began in his writings, and especially in his Bible. Early in his course he translated some Scripture books, which found a warm welcome. But the idea of a translation of the whole of Scripture came to him, and began to be carried out, in his enforced but friendly seclusion for about a year, at the Wartburg Castle near Eisenach. The Diet of Worms in 1521 had condemned him, and on his way home under an imperial safe-conduct he was carried off by anxious friends, and concealed nearly a year in the Wartburg, which he called his Patmos, where he began his immortal work of translation. The first complete New Testament was printed and published at Wittenberg in September, 1522, with illustrations by Lucas Cranach; the price was one and a half gulden, now equal to twenty-five shillings. The edition of 8,000 copies was sold in three months, and was followed by numberless other editions. Amid all his other engagements, Luther was always at work translating books of Scripture, or improving former translations. The Old Testament appeared in five parts, and the complete Bible in 1534. His own last edition was in 1545. With the help of Melancthon, Luther was always improving his own knowledge of Greek, and he took Jews into his counsel in his Hebrew reading. Naturally the Vulgate greatly influenced his work, but more in the first instance than later. It had been his companion and guide in his own search for light. On his death-bed he prayed in words taken from the Vulgate. Notwithstanding the immense advances that have been made since, the high merits of Luther's version have been acknowledged on every side. His aim was to make Scripture a German book, and he succeeded. He tells us in his own strong way how hard he found it to make the Hebrew prophets speak good German. Luther speaks of two methods of translation, either to leave the author at rest and bring the reader to him, or to leave the reader at rest and bring the author to him; and he prefers the latter way. His object was to give to the German people a book which would give the mother in the house and the wayfarer on the highway the truth that he himself had learnt from the Hebrew prophets and psalmists, the truth that Greek evangelists had made to him an irrefragable certainty. This purpose, so like Tyndale's, explains the variety of expression and the use of popular idioms which distinguish his renderings. No monotony or tameness for Luther! He translated as he preached, for the common people. Goethe says, 'Luther has given us a work of one stamp in the mother tongue, composed in the most diverse style, and has done more for religion than if he had imitated the peculiarities of the original in detail. In vain afterwards men tried to please us with the Book of Job, the Psalms and other songs in poetical form. For the

multitude, which has to be reached, a simple translation is always the best.' Luther made no profit by his translations and other writings.

Thus Luther used considerable freedom—some think, too much on occasion. Certainly translation seems sometimes to run into paraphrase. Great fault is found with his insertion of 'only' after 'faith,' in Rom. iii. 28. He held that he was faithful to the sense, if not to the letter. He is still bolder in testing the genuineness of New Testament books by the prominence they give to Jesus Christ. Hence his unhappy depreciation of St. James. The three other books coming under his criticism are Hebrews, Jude, and Revelation. Still there can be no doubt as to his passionate loyalty to Scripture as a whole. His appeal to its absolute authority before the Emperor and Diet, at Worms in 1521, is characteristic of his attitude through life. His insistence on the literal sense in the saying 'This is My body,' in the dispute with the Swiss, savoured of obstinacy. It is significant that many later writers have preferred phrases in the earlier editions to those substituted in later editions.

The early editions contained characteristic prefaces (*Vorreden*), which were omitted afterwards. These prefaces, which have been published separately, and which sum up and characterize the books that follow, contain some of Luther's finest writing. They give the spirit and essence of the books as only a master could. The preface to the Romans speaks thus of faith: 'Faith is a work of God in us, causing us to be born again of God, killing the old Adam, making us quite other men in heart, in courage, mind, and every power, and bringing with it the Holy Spirit. Oh, it is a living, busy, working, mighty thing—this faith, so that it is impossible that it should not do good without ceasing.' Our Authorized Version was influenced by Luther's; Rom. viii. 6 (A.V.) is a translation of the German.

Omitting other points of interest, such as the Revision, we may refer to some independent translations in modern German. De Wette leads the way, the first edition appearing 1800–14. The finest translation of the Old Testament is that by E. Kautzsch with the help of equally eminent Hebrew scholars. The classical New Testament translation is that of C. Weitzsaecker, which has passed through many editions. Another vigorous rendering of the New Testament is the small edition by Curt Stage, published cheaply in the famous Reclam series; a slight mannerism in it is the substitution of 'Messias' for 'Christ.'

J. S. BANKS.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

The Theology of Schleiermacher. By George Cross, Ph.D.
(Cambridge University Press. 6s. net.)

SCHLEIERMACHER has hardly come by his own in this country. That his appearance marked an epoch in German theological thought in the early nineteenth century is well known to every student, but the force and inspiration of his teaching are little more than a name to English readers of theology. One or two of his works and a selection of his sermons have been translated into English, but they seem to have made no mark. We may welcome, therefore, Dr. Cross's attempt to do tardy justice to one who, as he describes it, 'represents a turning-point in the history of Christendom—modern theological construction begins with him.' The present volume contains a translation of Schleiermacher's *Glaubenslehre*, much condensed by the translator, and this is prefaced by a sketch of Schleiermacher's life and his relation to earlier Protestantism, the whole being completed by an 'estimate' on the part of Dr. Cross of the position and value in history of the teacher whom he has piously undertaken to expound. The work is well and neatly done. The thorough student will not be satisfied with Schleiermacher as filtered through the medium of a twentieth-century American interpreter. But in these days it is impossible to be thorough in everything, even in one department of study; and many who would not think of mastering all Schleiermacher's writings in German will be thankful for this lucid and intelligent exposition of his place and work. Dr. Cross is no indiscriminate admirer, he mingles judicious criticism with his hearty, but not excessive, eulogy.

We may quote Schleiermacher's definition of religion and his description of dogmatics, to illustrate his position both in its strength and its weakness. 'Religion is an immediate, or original, experience of the self-consciousness in the form of feeling'—the last word being explained to mean 'subjective experience and not objective idea.' This definition was very useful in drawing attention to one main aspect of religion which in Germany in 1800 was in danger of being ignored, but it is obviously defective as an attempt to cover the whole ground and scope of religion in life.

Dogmatic theology is defined as 'the science of the combination of the doctrines which are valid in a Christian church-communion at a given time.' No statement of doctrine, Schleiermacher taught, can be final, the science must be ever progressive. Yet there is a standard for the testing of dogmatical expression, and it is to be found in the fundamental Christian self-consciousness; and no teacher of the subject can ever do his work satisfactorily unless he is himself in personal possession of the Christian consciousness pervading the Christian communion. Here again,

while Schleiermacher brought forward elements of truth which were strangely neglected at the time when he wrote, his definition is too narrow to cover the area which legitimately belongs to systematic theology at any period.

Of Schleiermacher's 'pantheistic' tendencies, Dr. Cross speaks judiciously. He was no pantheist, though at one period of his life reaction against a narrow evangelical formalism loosed him somewhat from his moorings. If one must be closely critical, Sabellian leanings are more markedly prominent in Schleiermacher's writings. But the real value of the man did not lie in his exact theological attitude, but in the inspiration which he gave to religion in Germany—and, indeed, in Europe—at a time when such stimulus was greatly needed. An English student, who desires a brief and clear exposition of Schleiermacher's teaching, and who wishes to understand his significance in relation to eighteenth and twentieth-century theology, will find in this volume a clearly-arranged, useful, and well-informed guide.

The New Life of St. Paul. By Clement Wise. (Francis Griffiths. 6s. net.)

The novelty of this study of St. Paul consists in the attempt to fill up the *lacunae* that have been left in the historical sources of the Apostle's career. Obviously this is a work requiring great skill and judgement as well as imaginative power. Mr. Wise is certainly endowed with a vigorous imagination; but it is apt to stray beyond the limits of the appropriate, and occasionally to result in the grotesque. We do not know whether the errors in spelling with which these pages are disfigured are due to careless proof-reading or illiteracy; but such forms as 'Pegassus,' 'Sampson,' 'pinacles,' 'sycele,' 'Beraa,' 'Nitchse,' 'exquisities' are calculated to disturb both the most hardened and the most amiable reviewer. Even in a popular work such inaccuracies are a serious drawback to real usefulness, and make one pause before recommending a book otherwise praiseworthy. With these deductions, however, we are of opinion that Mr. Wise's study deserves attention from Sunday-school teachers and others who desire a vivid picture of St. Paul and his surroundings. It is written in a vivacious style, and the asides which deal with the modern Church and modern life in general are interesting even when they fail to win complete assent.

Old Creeds and the New Faith. By C. Delisle Burns. (Francis Griffiths.)

The author attempts to put before us a modern idea of religion, and in his work deals with such subjects as 'The coming of the Spirit,' 'The City of God,' 'The Church,' 'Revelation,' 'Immortality,' and 'God.' In an opening chapter he tells us that he will only attempt a definition of Religion at the end of his study, and it would have been enlightening if he had kept to this. For our difficulty arises just at this point. What adequate definition of Religion can result from this remarkable collection of quasi-

philosophic assertions given in most dogmatic form, with no attempt to prove the positions taken. Here are a few of the most noteworthy. 'God' is 'experience so far as connected.' A Church will be to religion what an art-school is to painting or sculpture: 'it will exist for the training of the religious mind.' Dancing has been proved useful for religious enthusiasm. 'By such means we enter into the rhythm of the world, and our religion becomes an enthusiasm for the life which we find to be the only reality.'

The coming of the Spirit is to be found in those moods or rhythms which come to all men. The Resurrection of Christ, like every other resurrection present or future, is the permanence of personal influence. 'One does not attempt an elaborate disproof of fairy-tales; for beautiful as they still may be they are in no sense of the word true.' We might multiply such statements almost indefinitely.

The writer in his Introduction speaks of the modern ideas he teaches as 'a new architecture.' He confesses that he has no building to show, only some plans to explain; 'indeed, we wait for the architect.' That is precisely what we feel in reading this clever but utterly unconvincing and misleading book. Even plans, if they are to command respect, should be drawn up by some qualified architect, and there is no trace of his work in the book before us.

The Philocalia of Origen. Translated into English by the Rev. George Lewis, M.A. (T. & T. Clark. 7s. 6d. net.)

This translation has been made from Dr. Armitage Robinson's revised text. The Bishop of Gloucester suggested that a translation might be found useful, and the Rector of Icomb has discharged a difficult task with manifest care and skill. The work was worth doing. The *Philocalia* is a compilation of select passages from the writings of Origen made by St. Gregory and St. Basil; special value is given to this by the wholesale destruction of Origen's works in days when he was branded as a heretic. His answer to Celsus depends for its text on a manuscript of the thirteenth century, but parts of it are preserved in the *Philocalia*. Origen ranges over a wide field. Free-will, Fate, Astrology, the divisions among Christians, the hardening of Pharaoh's heart, and other subjects are discussed. The scholar paid a heavy price for his fearless speculation. 'Though countless doctors, priests, and confessors proceeded from his school, he was himself arraigned as a heretic and convicted; though he was the friend and teacher of saints, his salvation was questioned and denied.' There is ample material here for close study of the great theologian, and it is a pleasure to read Mr. Lewis's careful and scholarly translation.

The Religions of the World and the World-Religion. By William Fairfield Warren. (New York: Eaton & Mains. \$1.)

Dr. Warren was appointed to the Chair of Religions at Boston University in 1878, and here gives an outline of the whole subject for personal and

class use. He saw that students would require a general introduction to the whole field and guidance to helpful courses of reading, and even to independent investigation of historic questions. The methods which he pursued are described with details that will be useful to other teachers, and show with what conscientious thoroughness the Professor has done his work. His General Introduction maps out the historic or concrete religious systems now existing in the world into three divisions: the religions of the barbaric tribes; of peoples emerging from an obsolete civilization such as the Chinese, Japanese, and Hindus; and the world-religion which reaches its culmination in Jesus Christ. The scientific treatment of the religious phenomena of the world has three modes—the historic, the systematic, and the philosophic, and suggestions are given for such scientific study. Each of the modes is considered in detail, and the teacher or student will find abundant guidance in the pages that follow.

The Winds of God: Five Lectures on the Intercourse of Thought with Faith during the Nineteenth Century. By the Rev. John A. Hutton, M.A. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2s. 6d. net.)

These 'Lectures,' or free talks, spoken to a gathering chiefly of ministers as Mundesley, Norfolk, give a reassuring survey of the forces making for faith in our day. The challenge to faith came from the enormous development of natural science in the last century and the emergence of the evolution-theory, the double fact forming a crisis more serious even than the Copernican revolution. The chief asset on the other side was the influence of Tennyson and Browning along with artists like Watts and Holman Hunt, who represented the highest spiritual aspirations of human nature. Mr. Hutton is enthusiastic, not too enthusiastic, in his estimate of Browning's services. Ruskin might have been added where Mr. Chesterton is not forgotten. On the negative side Swinburne and Morris have to be reckoned with. The author is generous in his recognition of Meredith's influence. Certainly no admiration can be too great for the way in which Tennyson and Browning continued the great Wordsworth tradition. The unpretentious booklet is finely conceived and worked out. The close is quite dramatic.

In a Wonderful Order: a Study of Angels. By the Rev. J. Howard Swinstead, M.A. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2s. 6d. net.)

This work seems to have been suggested by the Collect for St. Michael and All Angels' Day, from which the title of the work and the heading of one chapter are taken. The chapters on 'Cherubim,' 'Seraphim,' 'The Broken Family,' 'Archangels,' 'Succour on Earth,' while unexceptionable in spirit and purpose, by no means exhaust the hints to be found in Scripture on the subject. 'The Broken Family' has reference to the fallen angels. The last chapter, 'We beseech Thee to hear us,' collates the petitions in the

Anglican Litany with illustrative passages from Scripture. We agree with the author that the subject is too much neglected in our days. We forget the angels who as 'ministering spirits' are sent to do us service. The book is introduced by Lord Halsbury, and dedicated to the Duke of Connaught. In the Introduction 'a region of inquiry wherein speculation or inquiry have (?) no place' should have been corrected.

The Church and Modern Problems. By C. F. Garbett, M.A. (Arnold. 8s. 6d. net.)

The Vicar of Portsea delivered all but two of the addresses in this volume at the Conference in his own parish. It was begun by the present Archbishop of York during his incumbency, and has given valuable opportunity for the discussion of many living questions. Mr. Garbett feels that the laity of the Church of England must have a greater share in the management of its concerns, and he frankly discusses subjects like The New Theology, Rationalism, Agnosticism, The Higher Criticism, The Inspiration of the Bible, Divorce, and Socialism. Each subject is clearly discussed with manifest candour and breadth of view. The paper on Modernism, read before the local clerical society, is admirable, and every paper deserves careful reading. It would not be easy to find a more helpful treatment of the intellectual and moral problems of our time than is given in this fine-spirited volume. Mr. Garbett is a strong churchman, but he is a fair and broad-minded theologian.

Cardinal Elements of the Christian Faith. By the Rev. Prof. D. S. Adam, B.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

Prof. Adam delivered these seven lectures last winter in Ormond College, Melbourne, and they will be welcome to inquiring minds anywhere. They deal with several of the perplexing and fundamental conceptions, such as God and the World; Man and Sin; The Person of Christ and His Redemption; and The Place of the Free Will in the Administration of Salvation. Philosophically, the author leans towards idealism, without accepting or endorsing everything that goes by that name. His treatment of each point is vigorous and suggestive. On matters still in controversy he blends a reasoned assertion of his own views with the sympathetic consideration of alternatives. The Virgin Birth is defended as an exceptional feature, with preparations for it in parthenogenesis, and with fitness in it when a great 'upward leap in evolution' was being taken. The Incarnation is viewed in relation to the individual man, and also as a necessary prelude to the indwelling of Christ in a perfected human society. A series of valuable Notes is appended, and in them the author allows himself greater closeness of arguing than is desirable on the platform. The subjects are peculiarly attractive, ranging from the discussion of absolute idealism as a philosophical theory to a critical classification of modern theories on the necessity of sin and on the atonement of Christ.

***Communion with God: the Preparation before Christ and the Realization in Him.* By Darwell Stone, D.D., and D. C. Simpson, M.A. (T. & T. Clark. 4s. net.)**

Communion with God is a useful synonym for religion, but in this book it is taken in the narrower sense for such a consciousness of relations with God as produces moral effects in a saintly life and spiritual effects in the perfecting of the soul. It was a good idea to issue the article on the subject which our authors contributed to Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion*, as the third part of a little book, of which the first and second parts are concerned respectively with the preparation for Christianity outside and within the sphere of revealed Hebrew religion. Thereby the subject, in its present phase, is put into a line with its historical developments, and its setting in the New Testament becomes the expression of a privilege, for the enjoyment of which God is seen to have originally intended man, and to have gradually fitted him. The effect is to invest the scriptural teaching with greater value, while intellectual interest is increased, and the desire to make the communion an actual experience is excited. Our authors avoid the discussion of critical or literary details of secondary importance, and concentrate upon their theme. They write as experts for the non-experts, who, if they read with discrimination, will be stimulated and helped. Exposition and incitement to communion with God mingle on the pages.

***New Testament Evangelism.* By T. B. Kilpatrick, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 5s.)**

This is a wise book, the argument of which ought to be weighed by every minister under fifty. The theme or organizing idea is the primacy of evangelism in the work of the Church. Both individual conversions and the general revival of religion are wrought by God, whose action may be secured by prayer. The Christian, whether minister or layman, is to aim supremely at bringing men into contact with Christ, cannot evade the imperial and blessed obligation, and has no higher or more absorbing duty. The author discusses the subject in three main sections, entitled respectively, Evangelism in the New Testament; in History; and in the modern Church. The historical section is least satisfactory, and lacks both fullness and proportion, though the careful study of D. L. Moody's methods and power is a countervailing advantage. Among the characteristics of the book are strength, sanity, and timeliness. The author holds tenaciously to his plea, and drives it home with an exposition that overlooks few details. An Appendix contains three papers by Dr. J. G. Shearer on the simultaneous method of Evangelism; and twenty pages of sympathetic and sensible counsels to a young missionary complete the volume.

***Falling Upwards: Christ the Key to the Riddles of the Cosmos.* By the Rev. F. W. Orde Ward, M.A. (Simpkin, Marshall & Co.)**

Mr. Ward always sets us thinking, and he has a subject on which we all

need to think. He holds that the Church has been secularized, whereas it ought to have consecrated the world. Religion needs broadening out in order to succeed in its new crusade. The distinction between the secular and the sacred will have to be abandoned. That is Mr. Ward's contention, and he proceeds to discuss with a wealth of knowledge that cannot fail to impress the reader one phase after another of his subject. He begins with 'The Christ Conception,' which forms the scarlet thread running through the life of individuals and institutions alike, 'regulating and directing every spark of real spiritual energy.' The redeeming Cross is 'the authentic hall-mark of all moral and religious progress.' Crucifixion and redemption are inexhausted and unexhaustible. 'They are both eternal facts, the outpouring of the Divine Life and the regeneration of man.' Christ is the 'key that unlocks every question, and penetrates every problem. He stands out as the door and the doorkeeper alike. There never was or will be a mystery which He could not or will not open.' Mr. Ward realizes that we 'are not our own until we are Christ's. And it is He alone who can give us back both our Faith and our Science, and make all old things new.' Buddha 'possessed every great gift but the one thing needful, the grace of humanity.' Even to compare him with Christ is to display an entire lack of the historic sense. Humanity rests safely in the pierced hands of Christ. The book is full of thought and will make a strong appeal to thinkers. It has a poet's grace of word and phrase, and a faith in Christ that lights up all life's problems. Those who already have *The World's Quest* will be thankful to set the writer's new volume beside it.

Miracles. (Longmans. 2s. 6d. net.)

These papers and sermons appeared in the *Guardian*, and many will be grateful for the happy thought which has led to their issue in a neat and cheap volume. They were called forth by the Rev. J. M. Thompson's *Miracles in the New Testament*, and the names of the writers show how vital is the problem under discussion. Dr. Sanday's subject is 'The Meaning of Miracle,' Dr. Walter Lock's 'The Literary Criticism of the Gospels in Relation to Miracles,' Dr. Headlam writes on 'Christian Miracles,' the Rev. H. H. Williamson 'Scientific Necessity and the Miraculous,' and Dr. Scott Holland on 'The Conditions of Gospel Criticism, the Foundation of Miracle, and the Power of the Resurrection.' The papers go to the roots of Christian evidence and show how strong is the basis for faith in the miracles of the Gospels. Every side of the subject is discussed with candour and vigour. Dr. Headlam's is a notable answer, and the sermon by Dr. Sanday is impressive. There is much to learn from all the papers, and they are timely as well as weighty.

The Use of the Bible in the Teaching of the Young. By
T. Raymont, M.A. (Longmans & Co. 8s. 6d.)

Mr. Raymont's object is to guide those who instruct children in the Scriptures by standing between them and the biblical expert as an inter-

preter of the conclusions of The Higher Criticism. The task is exceedingly difficult, and there are things which will give a shock to some readers, but the situation is clearly put, and Mr. Raymont endorses the words of Dr. Kirkpatrick that the teacher is not to destroy the personality of some old Bible character whom he may regard as fictitious. His idea is, 'Whether we regard the narrative as legendary or as strictly historical is a matter which need not trouble us: we may be quite satisfied if it rings morally true.' The book is one of living interest, but its positions will have to be examined with caution, and some of them will fail to carry support.

The Book of Job and the Problem of Suffering. By Buchanan Blake, B.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

This attractive volume contains a new metrical translation of the Book of Job, followed by a series of dissertations on the main problem raised and discussed in it—the problem, not of suffering in general, but of the suffering of the righteous. The translation, while generally accurate where we have tested it, and preserving much of the vividness of the original, often reminds us too painfully of the poorer parts of the Scottish Version of the Psalms. The dissertations, which may well have done duty in the pulpit and the lecture-hall, have much greater interest and value. Questions as to the age and authorship of the Book are incidentally discussed, and some attempt is made to emendate and to elucidate the text; but the main strength of the author is given to the problem named, first as it is discussed in the Book itself, and afterwards as it has been dealt with in the Greek dramatists, in other parts of the Bible, and in modern times. The solution is found in the life and death of Jesus as described in the Gospels, and expounded in the Epistles. The suffering of the righteous is vicarious. Pain is involved in all onward striving, in all true love. The great debates in 'Job' are set forth with much clearness, and in the other dissertations there is a wealth of illustrative material from ancient and modern literature that will be helpful to the preacher and of interest to all.

The Rev. George E. Young's pamphlet *Bringing in Revival* (C. H. Kelly, 6d.) is timely and heart-searching. It deals faithfully with the Church and if sometimes it inflicts wounds, they are the 'faithful wounds' of a friend, the merciful wounds inflicted by the skilful surgeon. Mr. Young has pondered deeply the need of the times, and mused until 'the fire burned,' and now he speaks out. His words are terse and vigorous, prophet-like, but tempered by the tenderness of heart becoming in a minister of the gospel of peace. He writes under the inspiration of a quoted declaration uttered by the President of the Conference—'It is not the clever word which the Church needs just now; it is the humbling, stirring, melting word.'

The Oxford University Press has prepared a Tercentenary Commemoration Bible with passages of the Authorised Version, which scholars regard

as misleading or needlessly obscure, corrected in the light of the best modern research. Thirty-four eminent Hebrew and Greek scholars representing all the great evangelical bodies, and many foremost Universities and Schools of Divinity have carried out the revision, and it is well done. No alteration is made without cause, but such a chapter as Isaiah ix. is thoroughly revised. Those who plead for a revision of the Revised Version will have good reason to be pleased with this volume, and lovers of the Authorised Version will not feel that its music is spoiled by any unnecessary alteration. At every point where we have examined it, we can see the taste and judgement with which the work has been done. The prices range from 8s. 6d. in cloth with fine white paper, and from 19s. on Oxford India paper in paste grain binding. A space is left after each paragraph, and a very helpful system of references prepared by the Rev. C. I. Scofield is a distinctive feature of the edition.

The Spiritual Sequence of the Bible. By John Gamble, B.D.
(Macmillan & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

The headmaster of Rugby, in a suggestive Preface to this volume, says that Mr. Gamble's papers were intended for parents and teachers who have to use the Bible as the vehicle of religious instruction. Two of them were read to groups of public school masters at Clifton and at Rugby. The object was to give a broad survey of Bible literature, and the success achieved with this critical audience has led to the publication of the volume. Mr. Gamble first describes the Religion of the Bible. Its teaching follows an incidental method. We gather what it has to say on sin, salvation, immortality, from references and allusions which the various writers make as they seek to sustain the religious fidelity of the nation. Mr. Gamble finds in the Old Testament three well-defined strata of laws, and traces the three enlargements or purifications of Hebrew religion, brought about by three changes in the nation's conceptions of the Divine Being. His second and third chapters describe the Spiritual Sequence of the Old Testament and the New. Unless we understand this, the book will be a collection of disjointed fragments. The history lights up, as with fire, many a book that would otherwise remain dull and lifeless. To see how the various books were called into existence by the expanding life of a community, wonderfully brings out their meaning. 'The Ultimate Gospel,' a beautiful study of St. John's Gospel, forms the closing section of a volume which every Bible student will find full of suggestion.

The Presence. By James M. Campbell, D.D. (Eaton & Mains. \$1.) The doctrine of the Divine Presence is here unfolded 'along the line of the ever-increasing revelation of God to the children of men.' Veiled in Nature, limited and localized in the Old Testament, 'visualized and personalized' in the Incarnation, universalized by the Holy Spirit—these are some of the realms into which the writer leads us, till he brings us to the joys of living in the Presence. It is beautifully done, never straying far from Scripture, and always keeping in view the needs and possibilities of human life. Many will be grateful for such a book.

Christianity: its Nature and its Truth. (Duckworth & Co. 2s. 6d. net.) Brotherhood Edition. This is a book that every working man ought to read. It is a frank study of a supreme subject, and the chapter on 'Personal Salvation' with which it closes will make a very powerful appeal to candid minds. We are heartily glad to see such an edition.

In His Footsteps. By William E. McLennan. (Eaton & Mains. 75c.) This is a revised edition of a work that attracted much attention when it first appeared fifteen years ago. It has been practically rewritten, and the amount of illustrative material referring to Palestine has been largely increased. The aim of the book is to make Jesus Christ 'a real, living Personality.' Hints are given as to model lessons, and the class is personally conducted to Palestine and led to the successive scenes of our Lord's ministry. It is a book that no teacher or preacher ought to be without.

Do Afflictions come from God? By the Rev. W. Marshall. (Stock. 2s. net.) This is a second edition, revised and enlarged, of a devout book on a great subject.

Our Giving. By J. Forbes Moncrieff. (Morgan & Scott. 1s. 6d. net.) This is the third edition of a book that will lead many to find new pleasure in the gracious act of giving.

Old Lamps and the New Light of Science. By John Coutts. (Lyal. 6d.) A thoughtful attempt to show that Christ is the fountain and fullness of all true religion.

Studies in the Resurrection of Christ. By Charles H. Robinson, D.D. (Longmans. 6d. net.) Dr. Robinson's book is suggestive and helpful, and we are glad to see this cheap reprint.

Some Notes on the Conference held at Fulham Palace in October, 1900, on the Doctrine of Holy Communion and its Expression in Ritual. By the Rev. N. Dimock, M.A. (Longmans. 2s. net.) The learning and the fine spirit of this discussion will make a deep impression on students. It is a noble defence of the spiritual partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ, and it is supported by a weight of testimony from the great Anglican theologians. Such a study is of special value at this time.

COMMENTARIES AND SERMONS

Jefeth b. Ali's Arabic Commentary on Nahum, with Introduction, abridged Translation and Notes. Edited by Dr. Hartwig Hirschfeld. (London, 1911.)

THE text issued under the above heading by Dr. Hirschfeld is the third of a series of texts and monographs published by the Jews' College in London; and the authorities of the college are to be congratulated upon the spirit of enterprise which has initiated the series, and the care and scholarship with which it has been conducted. For little is generally known of the critical and exegetical works of the Jews themselves in the interpretation of their Scriptures, nor is the great debt due to their learning and industry adequately realized. Written, as for the most part their commentaries were, in Hebrew or in Arabic, they were inaccessible to Western scholars, who were not unnaturally ignorant both of their existence and of their value. And it is only within comparatively recent years that by means of appreciations and translations a knowledge of them has been brought within the reach of other than specialists. Among the small band of scholars who are thus working to revive and extend an interest in Jewish biblical literature none more deservedly occupies a high place than Dr. Hirschfeld.

Jefeth b. Ali, or, to give his name in a form less unfamiliar to English ears, Japheth the son of Ali, was one of the greatest and perhaps the most prolific of a number of commentators and writers who in the tenth and eleventh centuries fought unsuccessfully the battle for a liberty of interpretation of the Old Testament Scriptures, which should not be trammelled by the rules and traditions of the schools. It was a period of unrest and controversy, when the principles of biblical interpretation and the foundations of belief were being assailed and defended with equal confidence and zeal. The school to which Japheth belonged declared themselves for the supremacy and binding obligation of the Hebrew text, apart from traditional comment and the oral law. They were known therefore as *Qaraites*, 'readers,' who held to the text of the Torah, but declined to be bound by the exegesis and ordinances of the orthodox Jewish elders. Their opponents were *Rabbanites*, the upholders of the validity and obligatory character of the rabbinical law; who ultimately crushed or silenced those who refused to admit the orthodox views and claims to such effect that a sect once numerically and intellectually strong in Judaism is represented to-day by a few thousand adherents only, for the most part in the extreme south of Russia.

Japheth the son of Ali flourished in the latter half of the tenth century, and wrote commentaries on the books of the Old Testament, in which he attacked the views of the great champion of orthodoxy, Saadiah. The

latter was a man of great ability, an Egyptian by birth, for some years head of the Jewish College of learning at Sura; and to him more than to any other the ultimate victory of Rabbanism was due. Japheth in his commentaries opposes him, as a rule, without bitterness, though sometimes denouncing him by name. His renderings of the Hebrew text are exact and literal, the latter feature being preserved at times at the expense of Arabic idiom. As Dr. Hirschfeld points out, this was due, in part at least, to his principles of strict adherence to the letter of the Hebrew. In his comments and explanations also, while sometimes suggesting an allegorical interpretation of a passage, he usually expresses his own preference for the literal meaning.

It is hardly necessary to add that in Dr. Hirschfeld's hands the English translation is adequate, and the introduction and notes supply all needful help to the understanding of the text. The value of Japheth's commentary is, of course, mainly historical, illustrative of the spirit in which the more cultured and thoughtful Jews approached the interpretation of their own Scriptures. As such it is full of interest, and deserves to be widely read and studied.

The Interpreter's Commentary on the Epistles of the New Testament, 1 and 2 Corinthians. By the Rev. J. E. McFadyen, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

This series seems admirably designed to meet the needs of those who wish to escape the uncertainties of the English versions in reading the books of the New Testament, yet lack the knowledge of Greek which would allow them to read the fuller and more critical work of such writers as Principal Edwards and Dr. G. G. Findlay. The text used is that of the Authorised Version, but in the Commentary before us the author has a happy method of inserting such more exact renderings as he approves into his comments in black lettering. This, with the most useful plan of introducing passages in which the thought of a preceding section is linked on to what follows, enables the reader to follow the sequence of thought in the mind of the Apostle with ease.

It is impossible to criticize in detail here a work which covers so wide a range of thought as is found in these two Epistles. We notice that, in discussing the vexed question of the relation between the two Epistles and the homogeneousness of the second, Dr. McFadyen inclines to the opinion that it is possible that the former Epistle is the 'severe letter' which St. Paul wrote to the Corinthian Church, the reception of which caused him so much anxiety; and he considers it a fatal objection to our finding a fragment of that letter in chapters x.-xiii. of the second Epistle that there is no mention in those chapters of the offender. Such matters, however, are still open to discussion, and Dr. McFadyen would be the first to grant the possibility of another opinion being held.

The comments are admirably given. Only those who have attempted the work know how difficult it is to give the results of a scholarly examination of the text, in such a form as to make them available for the general

reader, without overloading his commentary with Greek and Latin words. In our opinion, Dr. McFadyen has succeeded admirably, and his work throughout is marked by the clearness and conscientiousness which declare the true scholar—'the workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth.'

Studies in the Psalms. By Joseph B. Rotherham. (Allenson. 10s. 6d. net.)

This is an ambitious piece of work, wrought with complete sincerity of purpose, but we fear it does not realize the height of its ambition. The writer, who was known as the translator of *The Emphasised Bible*, at his death left this manuscript, which has been piously edited by his son. After a somewhat extended introduction to the Book of Psalms, which shows care and research, we have a separate study of each psalm. The descriptive title of the psalm is followed by an analysis of its contents; with an original translation in verse, with just a few footnotes; and then the exposition, which in nearly all cases is not detailed, but of the psalm as a whole. This has been done once in this generation as nearly faultlessly as we can hope to get it. And certainly Dr. Maclaren's work has made this superfluous. Moreover, we have found ourselves in disagreement with the author's analysis of the psalms in many places, and he takes no count in some cases of the almost certain findings of the best scholarship. The studies are everywhere instinct with sincerity and reverence.

The Acts of the Risen Lord. By Frederick J. Briggs. (Kelly, 2s. net.) These studies bring out with much freshness the fact that the abiding presence of the Spirit made the Acts of the Apostles the Acts of the Risen Lord. 'Pentecost was the inspiration of the Church for action.' It was 'an event of the first magnitude, to be compared with creation, the coming of life, or the birth of the soul.' Mr. Briggs takes the outstanding events in the Acts and shows how they reveal the methods of the Divine Spirit. Those who know St. Luke's work best will find much that is stimulating in these careful studies.

A Fresh Study of the Fourth Gospel. By F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock. (S.P.C.K., 2s. 6d.) This is an independent study of the Fourth Gospel. Wendt's partition theory is carefully examined, and the conclusion is reached that he has not established his position. The organic unity, character development, dramatic development, artistic structure and development of thought in the Gospel are studied in an illuminating way, and there is an excellent chapter on 'the Baptist and the Fourth Gospel.' Lovers of St. John will greatly prize this study.

The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Thessalonians, 1, 2 Timothy and Titus (Cambridge University Press, 1s. 6d. net) have been edited by H. W. Fulford, M.A., Rector of Datchworth, in *The Revised Version for Schools* series. The Introduction deals ably with the questions of genuineness and authenticity. As to the Pastoral Epistles Mr. Fulford says the balance of evidence is strongly in favour of their being the genuine work

of St. Paul, though the language may be, in places, that of his amanuensis. The *Excursus* on 2 Thess. ii. 8-12 is excellent, and so are the notes.

The nineteenth volume of the Religious Tract Society's Devotional Commentary (2s.) is *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*, by the Rev. Charles Brown, D.D. The devotional note is never lost, and the style of the commentary makes it very pleasant to read. The section headed 'Spiritual Power' brings out the force of the great passage in chap. i. 19-23.

The Expositor's Dictionary of Texts. Edited by the Rev. Sir W. R. Nicoll, D.D. and Jane T. Stoddart, with the co-operation of James Moffatt, D.D. St. Luke to Revelation. (Hodder & Stoughton. 25s. net.)

This volume well sustains the estimate which we formed of the first. It is full of matter, it is very conveniently arranged, and thrown into divisions which will be useful for the preacher. Much attention is given to exposition, and it has valuable illustrations for every outstanding text. We have tested it at various important passages and have found it distinctly helpful. The 'References' to notable sermons or expositions will be of much service. The editors hoped to include a series of poetical illustrations, but the material proved too abundant, and a supplementary volume is to appear next October.

The Hope of the Gospel. By J. D. Jones, M.A., B.D. Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

These twenty-three sermons are various in their subjects, uniform in their evangelistic and edifying aim. They are practical rather than doctrinal, though a sound gospel is at the back of all of them, and occasionally receives direct exposition or defence, as in a glowing characterization of Christ as mediator or a quieter exhibition of the place of experience in Christian thinking. The theology is latent, as perhaps it always ought to be, but never either absent or obtrusive. The teaching is positive, stern in its treatment of sin, sweet and sympathetic towards sorrow or genuine yearning, and timely. Whoever reads the sermon on 'The Whiten- ing Harvest' will have a clear idea of the great defects of the religious life of the day, and of its great needs. Illustrations are used with freedom, and are always relevant and subservient to the theme. There is nothing rhetorical or stilted in the style, nothing careless or slovenly; but the speaker talks simply and directly, like a sensible man who is still struggling, though with victory in sight, to other men who are aspiring, but threatened with submersion. He has a great knowledge of the human heart, and a great faith in the grace of God.

The Expository Times. Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D. Vol. XXII. (T. & T. Clark. 7s. 6d.)

The Expository Times is one of the best allies that a thoughtful pastor possesses. Every living question of theology is discussed; every book that

can help the preacher in his work is noticed. 'The Great Text Commentary' gives excellent material for sermons. The *Expository Times* is a gold mine for Bible students, and its riches show no sign of exhaustion.

Happiness. By Hugh Black. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2s. net.)

Dr. Black's little books—*Work*; *Friendship*; *Comfort*, have done much for their readers, and the new volume on *Happiness* is conceived in the same spirit and is full of things that one likes to think about. Man has the right to happiness, and 'religion is the biggest and brightest thing' that can come into his life. It is a duty, also, to be happy, and that duty is not fulfilled till we make it stand for the right of others to happiness. It is all so sane and so practical that we begin to face the future with new courage, and to take our present joys with an assured confidence that true living will always bring God's gift of happiness.

Christian Counsel. By the Rev. David Smith, M.A., D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 5s.)

For five years Dr. Smith has conducted a column of correspondence in the *British Weekly*, and has come to recognize that as not the least important of his opportunities of helping the perplexed and burdened. His papers are here gathered into groups dealing with the Lord's Supper; The Lord's Day; The Holy Ministry; The Holy Scriptures, and kindred subjects. Every question is dealt with in the clearest and most helpful way. The personal touch often adds much to the value of the answers, and it is refreshing to see how study and experience blend together for the strengthening of faith.

The Nation in Judgement. By A. L. Lilley. (Francis Griffiths. 2s. 6d. net.)

This is a series of sermons on national questions and national occasions. Four sermons deal with themes appropriate to Citizen Sunday: the remainder are suggested by events such as the Coronation of Edward VII, his illness and death, and subjects like The Religious Bequest of the Nineteenth Century; The Unity of Christendom; and The Relation of Church and State. We have nothing but praise to give to the results of Mr. Lilley's thinking on these important questions. Dignity and earnestness, faithfulness and insight, a passion for social righteousness and, above all, spiritual power are characteristics of discourses which Mr. Lilley has done well to offer to a wider audience than his own congregation. Nothing can be more helpful (to quote but two examples) for the average Englishman to realize than the truth that a national victory is as great a discipline as defeat, nay, that it lays on the country a greater responsibility to be more true to the claims of God: or again, to grasp the principles underlying the eloquent discourse on 'The Spirit of National Prayer,' that 'prayer is not the casual episode of pious helplessness' but 'the eternal accompaniment of a dauntless and

heroic temper in human life': and that it is only in the service of humanity that this age can be brought to its knees. 'We commend these sermons as models of the restraint as well as of the vigour with which the Christian pulpit should deal with national and social issues.

The Spirit and the Bride. By J. G. Simpson, Canon and Precentor of St. Paul's. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

In this volume of twenty sermons the preacher reads himself into his new metropolitan charge, and proves himself a catholic-hearted churchman, a master of vigorous, eloquent speech, a reasonable champion of central Christian verities, an ardent sympathizer with social betterment. The volume is a sequel to two series of sermons on *Christian Ideals* and *Christus Crucifixus*, and deals in the first place with Easter; The Gift of the Holy Spirit; The Church; and then with general topics. The subjects are treated less in a doctrinal than a practical, ethical spirit. The doctrinal aspect is dealt with in a long, vigorously written Introduction, in which the preacher, while emphasizing essential truth, concedes latitude in details. One is glad that he refuses to substitute the Easter Faith for the Easter Message; both are to be held fast. Strong sympathy with the mission of Christianity in social work is seen in the occasion and titles of several of the discourses. Passion, touches of humour and gentle sarcasm are not wanting. In an Ordination Sermon at Lincoln the preacher breaks out: 'I do not want to see less dignity, less repose, less order in the celebration of our stately ritual, but I do say that we want more of the spirit of the early Methodists in the congregations which gather in our parish churches.' Some Methodists are crying out for the former elements. The volume is dedicated to the bishop of Winchester. 'Such a fact deepens instead of explains,' p. 8, does not parse.

A Thornless World. By Percy C. Ainsworth. (Kelly. 8s. 6d. net.)

Percy Ainsworth's death was a sore blow to the growing company of those who loved his ministry, but he left his church a rich legacy. We did not dream at first, that the fruits of his scrupulous fidelity and his intense devotion to his great vocation would be so abundant. We have his gems of poetry, we have a volume of sermons which has already taken its place among our pulpit classics. Now another volume is in our hands, and the magic touch is over every page. Here is a man who gets to our hearts. He charms the ear with his music, but he gets deep down to our conscience and stirs in us strong desires after all things that are lovely and of good report. Miss Potts has done service to all of us by allowing us to share her personal memories. Here is a man with all the human instincts, a lover of company, a centre for happy fellowship—humorous, gentle, always the same bright and genial friend. The new sermons are richly suggestive. To send away a congregation thinking of a thornless world and seeking to gain a thornless life, was itself a stroke of pulpit genius. This is a book that will move every reader to new fidelity and high endeavour.

The God-Lit City. By Thomas G. Selby. (Kelly. 2s.)

It was a happy inspiration that has led Mr. Selby's literary executors—who, we are glad to see, promise a further publication of MSS. left by this prince among sermon-writers—to publish at once his meditations upon the life beyond, into which he himself entered a few months ago. The five chapters which the book contains are conspicuously able and delightfully original. Their style and literary ability are such as we have long since learnt to associate with Mr. Selby's writings, and each study has its own excellencies of thought, vitality, and skilful illustration. Every chapter is a scriptural exposition. There is a reverent use of imagination, sober reasoning, and restrained rhetoric. The little book is full of beautiful thought, of comfort, and of strength; and practical application is not wanting. A 'foreword' by Dr. Watkinson enhances the charm and value of the book.

The Land of Your Sojournings: Studies in Christian Experience. By Wilfred S. Hackett. (London: Charles H. Kelly. 8s. 6d.)

No writing is more valuable to the Church of God than fresh and thoughtful treatment of Christian experience, and the present contribution is of more than ordinary interest. These discussions are far less pretentious than 'original' theology, and ten times more helpful. We have read the whole collection with uncommon pleasure; we began by tasting it, and were charmed to the very last page. The successive papers have again and again reminded us of the lamented Percy Ainsworth; without being in any wise an imitation of that author's fine style, there is an identity in its thoughtfulness, freshness, and delicacy. It is not the popular style that glares its meaning on even the careless reader, but allusive and suggestive it appeals to the more cultured, and will by them be greatly valued. Whilst possessing exceptional literary merit, the spiritual end is steadily kept in view, and one feels on every page the writer's sincerity and fervour. Here is complete emancipation from the crude style in which the Christian life is so often treated, and by which readers of taste are alienated from religious literature. We welcome and warmly recommend a volume that we have read with admiration, profit, and thankfulness.

Bible Stories in Living Subjects. By Ambrose Shepherd, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 8s. 6d. net.)

The volume is true to its title. The subjects of the twenty-one sermons and addresses are in the fullest sense 'living,' and they are treated with the wisdom, breadth, and tone of strong conviction which only long ministerial experience can give. The preacher is evidently anxious to unburden his soul on some of the menacing features of modern life, and wisely gets more space for the delivery of his message by giving only a summary of the sermons in the first half of the volume. Such titles as 'If we could begin again'; 'The Mind-Cure'; 'Lost Blessings'; 'Why Pray'? 'The

Added Touch,' indicate the topics thus briefly discussed. It is significant that nearly every subject is illustrated by incidents which have occurred in the preacher's ministry. The topics are discussed not merely in the light of reason and moral right, but in the light of religious truth. Under the heading 'Christians and the Theatre' we are reminded that we cannot decide our course merely on the ground of our right, but must ask, How will the right work out for others? 'As a Christian, and within carefully prescribed limits, I have the right to use it; but as a Christian I think it better not to exercise that right.' While the preacher expresses deep concern about the waning sense of sin and the concentration of all interest on present material things, on money and pleasure, so painfully characteristic of our days, he does so with no feeling of despondency. Religion has struck its roots too deeply into human nature to be destroyed. The two last addresses, one to an assembly of journalists, the other *Ad Clerum*, are a worthy climax to a strong, courageous utterance.

The Creation Story in the Light of To-day. By Charles Wenyon, M.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 8s. 6d.)

Dr. Wenyon has given us a book which many have been anxious to get. It sets forth the great spiritual teaching which is enshrined in the early chapters of Genesis. The science of the creation story he regards as the human element, but it teaches that God made the universe. Modern philosophy also insists upon a spiritual interpretation of the universe. It is said that there is not a single chair of philosophy in any of the universities of Europe or America that is held by a materialist. The sermon on 'The Making of Man' emphasizes his unassailable supremacy. 'The human stage was reached, both science and these sacred stories tell us, by a progressive process. Every stage of creation was an advance on what had gone before.' Dr. Wenyon touches on many difficult questions, but his sagacity rarely fails. There is a quiet force and beauty which makes the book very pleasant to read.

The Coming of the Kingdom. By Henry Burton, M.A., D.D. (Charles H. Kelly. 8s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Burton excels as an expositor, and the sermons in this volume are fair specimens of his usual pulpit utterances. They are lucid and they are thoughtful, glowing with a divine fire, and evidencing an author keenly desirous of being helpful to his fellows. The themes are varied, and each sermon has its point. They do one good. The poetic genius of the writer shines throughout, and adds beauty of expression to gracious and instructive thought. One sermon, that on the *Providence of Empire*, is a prose setting of the author's greatest hymn: 'O King of Kings, O Lord of Lords.'

God's Oath: a Study of an Unfulfilled Promise of God. By F. C. Ottman. (Hodder & Stoughton. 5s. net.)

The promise under consideration is 2 Sam. vii. 16, for which a literal fulfilment is claimed in the future. Israel will be gathered again into

unity in Palestine, with the Christian Messiah on the throne of David, and will become the channel of blessing to all other nations. To reach this conclusion a careful study is made of Scripture, and an appropriate interpretation given to the mysteries of the Kingdom. The book cannot be said to be convincing, nor can the canon of literalness be accepted as imperial or applied to everything without suspicion. Yet the writer makes some good suggestions as to the meaning of disputed passages.

Reasons and Reasons. By James Moffatt, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton, 6s.) These are sermons that light up life's way. They deal with difficulties and temptations which all feel, and have a strong, calm message of courage and patience. Every sermon is the work of a thinker who knows how to present his subject in an impressive style and uses many an apt quotation to light up his argument. Here is a brief extract: 'It takes God to convince men of His spontaneous love. Primitive Paganism, for example, was haunted by incurable suspicions of the gods.'

Via Sacra. By T. H. Darlow, M.A. (Hodder & Stoughton, 8s. 6d.) These sermons are the work of a trained thinker who has brooded long over life's problems and has much to say that will guide others into paths of peace. They are beautifully clear and simple, and give happy illustrations from the best books. Everything in this volume sets us thinking.

Towards a Perfect Man. By Henry W. Clark. (2s. net.) These papers breathe inspiration into every-day living. Mr. Clark has many a phrase that sets us dreaming about higher things, and his voice is always lifted in praise of earnestness and sincerity. It is a stimulating little book.

The Great Themes of the Bible. By Louis Albert Banks, D.D. (Eaton & Mains, \$1 50c.) These sermons deal with 'the deep yearnings and questionings of the soul of man which alone find their satisfaction and solace in the Bible.' They are full of evangelical teaching lighted up by many anecdotes and apt quotations.

Pulpit and Pew is the title of six addresses by the Rev. H. T. Hooper, on the conduct of worship, its hymns, lessons, prayers, sermons, and after-meeting. It is a strong plea for reverence in every part of worship, and the pungency with which Mr. Hooper writes will arrest attention and make a deep impression. Preachers have cause to be grateful for such plain words. The pamphlet can be had for three halfpence from the Methodist Publishing House.

The Religion of Modern Manhood. Edited by Norman E. Richardson. (Eaton & Mains, 50c.) There are fifty-four 'masculine topics for Bible classes.' The subjects are such as arrest attention, and they are treated in a brisk, business-like fashion. 'The Brotherhood Type of Religion' is a plea for 'Christian character expressed in Christian service.' 'Man and the other man—a study in obligation,' is a virile little address.

Pleasure and Profit in Bible Study, and Anecdotes, Incidents and Illustrations and The Way to God and Heaven. By D. L. Moody. (Morgan & Scott, 1s. net each.) Full of good stories and warm-hearted gospel teaching.

The Table of the Lord. By D. M. McIntyre. (Morgan & Scott.) A very useful manual for intending communicants.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

The Journal of George Fox. Edited from the MSS. by Norman Penney, F.S.A. With an Introduction by T. Edmund Harvey, M.A., M.P. (Cambridge University Press. 2 vols. 21s. net.)

THE Syndics of the University Press have laid all students of Fox's life under lasting obligation by issuing the first really satisfactory edition of his *Journal*. Thomas Ellwood prepared it for the press in 1692, and it was no light task to piece together the disjointed MSS. of which the latter part of the work was composed. He omitted some passages which might be thought to savour of superstition or egotism. At one glorious meeting Fox tells us, the Scriptures were opened and Christ set above all, but Ellwood omits the final sentence, 'Soe y^e one man amongst y^e admired & sayde: this man is a pearle.' The saying of the trooper, 'heere is more people flocke after him then are about my Lord Protector's Courte' is also missing. These delicious touches now duly appear with some instances of Fox's remarkable psychic powers. A strange sail on the Atlantic once filled the sailors with alarm, but Fox says, 'I felt from the Lord she was not an enemy and would do us no hurt.' At one place he writes, 'As I was walkeinge I hearde olde people and workepeople to say: hee is such a man as never was, hee knowes peoples thoughts.' The *Journal* manuscripts now belong to 'Robert Spence, Artist, of London and North Shields,' who has placed them on loan at Devonshire House, and freely granted permission for their use in this publication. The Introduction gives much interesting information as to the way that the 'Morning Meeting' gave its approval to Ellwood's work, and calls attention to Ellwood's omissions. The editor adds particulars as to the history of the MSS., their contents, time and place of writing, authenticity, and various editions, with a useful explanation as to the Calendar. Each volume has extensive and valuable notes which have been drawn with the help of experts 'from many obscure and hitherto unpublished sources.' These notes alone would give this edition unique importance for students. Facsimiles of Fox's signature and manuscript are given with two portraits. One is said to be by Sir Peter Lely, but that attribution is somewhat doubtful. The volumes are neatly bound in canvas covers, and a guinea is a small price to pay for such a treasure.

The Great Duke. By W. H. Fitchett, B.A., LL.D. (Smith Elder & Co. 2 vols. 12s.)

Dr. Fitchett has made the Napoleonic period his own, and these volumes will thrill the heart of every lover of our country. We are a little

disappointed that it is not a complete *Life*. It closes with Waterloo and has few words to say about the thirty-seven years during which the Duke was an active and most influential force in the national life. 'He was the foremost man in England. His fame, indeed, filled all lands. He was the counsellor of kings. His word made and unmade Ministries.' To follow Wellington to the end of his career would, however, have meant a study of political movements which would have been difficult to harmonize with the heroic days in India, in the Peninsula, and at Waterloo. Wellington was, first and last, a soldier, and no one can read these volumes without endorsing the verdict passed by Lord Roberts: 'that he stands in the very first rank, equal, if not superior, to Napoleon himself.' He did not dazzle the world like the French master, but he 'excelled him in that coolness of judgement which Napoleon himself described as the foremost quality in a general.' The eight years which he spent in India (1797-1805) gave him exactly the training that he needed for his task in Europe. He had the 'tonic of great responsibilities.' He learned the arts of diplomacy and administration, and was taught how to command troops diverse in race and speech and creed. When Napoleon heard of Assaye he said, 'This is the man with whom I shall have to deal.' Dr. Fitchett allows us to see the strong confidence which Lord Mornington, when Governor-General of India, reposed in his younger brother, and the soldier owed much to the support and discernment of the statesman. Every stage of the terrific struggle in the Peninsula is described in Dr. Fitchett's graphic style. The whole story moves. Details are not allowed to hide the essentials of the campaign, but are skilfully used to make every action throb with interest. We have never read such a description of Waterloo and the memorable days that led up to it. It is appalling. Wellington felt the tragedy of his victory. 'I never fought such a battle before, and I hope I shall never fight such another.' His joy was that it did more than any battle he knew of 'towards the object of all battles, the peace of the world.' Dr. Fitchett has never given us a more enthralling book than this. It has frontispiece portraits of Wellington and Napoleon, and many battle maps.

The Life of Thomas Love Peacock. By Carl van Doren.
(Dent & Sons. 7s. 6d. net.)

Professor van Doren has written a book we have long wanted, and has written it with sound critical sense and sympathetic feeling. The chief interest of Peacock's earlier life centres round his friendship with Shelley. He took the part of Harriet with stout resolution, and, when Shelley went off with Mary Godwin, Peacock was instructed to render Harriet any needful assistance. Some expressions in Mary Godwin's letters indicate that she resented Peacock's attitude. She writes, 'Peacock dines here every day, *uninvited*, to drink his bottle. I have not seen him; he morally disgusts me; and Marianne (Mrs. Hunt) says that he is very ill-tempered.' Peacock probably had something to do in restraining Shelley's extravagant theories. He was known in the coterie as the 'Laughing Philosopher'

and invincible Grecian, sceptical of progress, who contested with common sense the wild enthusiasm of Shelley, explained away mystery with reasons, and laid ghosts with a jest.' Peacock was fortunate in finding a high post at the India House, where he did valuable work and showed his discernment by promoting iron steamships. Peacock's novels are 'eccentric, unreal, bookish,' but they bristle with satirical and original things which make them unique in our literature. Some of his songs have a weird force which makes them impossible to forget. He was a delightful talker, and was kindness personified, though he had his moods of irritation. This biography was greatly needed, and it could scarcely have been better done.

The Leaves of the Tree. Studies in Biography. By Arthur C. Benson. (Smith, Elder & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Benson's title is intended to suggest that each leaf on the tree of life has its own character, its own system of life, its own similarity and diversity of form. All are manifestations of a central will or central force. His doctrine is not without a touch of fatalism, but his little gallery of portraits reveals the hand of a master. Each is drawn with the utmost candour by one who recognizes that 'indiscriminate praise is not only foolish and untruthful, it is positively harmful and noxious.' Mr. Benson's faith in immortality has been strengthened through 'intense and prolonged suffering of a most grievous kind, through the sight of mental torture in the case of one very dear to myself, through ambitions deeply and justly disappointed, through the realization of great moral cowardice in myself, and ugly desires for material satisfaction.' He regards the lives he has chosen as stories with many leaves to be turned after the earthly record is finished. Four bishops are in the gallery—Westcott, Wilkinson, Lightfoot, Christopher Wordsworth; the other figures are Henry Sidgwick, J. K. Stephen, Prof. Newton, Frederic Myers, Henry Bradshaw, Charles Kingsley, Matthew Arnold. Each is dealt with in the frankest way. Mr. Benson was brought into some sort of direct relation with each of his characters, and does not hesitate to tell us how Bishop Wilkinson prayed with him before he went back to Eton, so that he says, 'I went off in a strange glow, only anxious to put into practice those sweet and strong counsels, and conscious, as I had never been before, of the width and nearness of the enfolding heart of God.'

Shakespeare: A Study. By Darrell Figgis. (Dent & Sons. 5s. net.)

Mr. Figgis thinks that Shakespeare's own greatness has stood in the way of a fit appreciation of himself. 'The splendour of his stature, the breadth of his outlook, the strange quality of his vision, partly account for this.' He has produced mental sloth in those who have idolized him. Mr. Figgis passes in review the verdicts of Ben Jonson, Samuel Johnson, and others, and sets himself to face the dramatist frankly, as man to man. He

discusses his life, his stage, his craft, his art, his thought, his personality in a way that brings us closer to the man than we could have thought possible. He stands revealed 'not only as an ambitious and earnest Artist who mastered his craft with careful thought and unflinching zeal, for all the prodigal bounty of his way of work, but also as an eager susceptible man to whom friendship might be a passion and love a torment, and who, when these failed him, and failed him with one another, was torn by a tempest of fury.'

Martin Luther: the Man and his Work. By Arthur C. McGiffert. (T. F. Unwin. 12s. 6d. net.)

Dr. McGiffert has been a close student of Luther's times, and this book shows an easy mastery of the whole subject. It is essentially a popular Life. There are few references to other biographies, no footnotes, no bibliography, or list of authorities, but one cannot read a page without feeling that the writer knows every detail of the Reformer's history and work, and has the faculty of making the whole course of events stand forth clearly. Luther's father had an honesty and a sturdy common sense which made him 'a trusted friend of the counts of Mansfield, and a trusted counsellor of the town.' His sanity and independence in regard to religious matters are specially notable, in view of his son's career. He was indignant when Martin became a monk, and, after the breach with Rome, was anxious that he should marry. His mother was a stern disciplinarian, but the result was not altogether satisfactory. Staupitz stands out vividly from Dr. McGiffert's canvas, and his patronage did much to open Luther's way to distinction. Through his favour the young monk was sent on a mission to Rome which supplied experiences that were of great service to him when he became a reformer. On his return, Luther's days were crowded with his duties as preacher and professor. His reputation grew apace. 'Vivid imagination, picturesqueness of style, fluency of speech, personal magnetism, passionate earnestness, and an uncommon knowledge of the religious emotions born of his own heart-searching experiences—all these he had.' The story of his course as a reformer is clearly sketched. We see him at Worms and follow him to the Wartburg, where he completed his noble German version of the New Testament in three months. Of its outstanding merits, Dr. McGiffert writes with becoming emphasis. The Peasants' War hardened and embittered Luther, and the disentanglement from the perilous alliance cost him and Protestantism much. Luther's consent to the Landgrave Philip's bigamy was 'the gravest blunder of his career,' and he showed the temper of a Jesuit when he advised the Landgrave 'to deny his marriage flatly, if taxed with it.' Luther's own marriage was the crowning joy of his life, and though hot words often passed between the pair, K  the was just the woman to bring order and comfort into Luther's home. He had grave faults. He was 'passionate, domineering, obstinate, prejudiced, violent, vituperative and coarse—but he was a man through and through—a man of heroic mould, courageous, strong, masterful,

frank, sincere and generous, as far from petty jealousy and cowardly duplicity as from priggishness and cant. Deadly in earnest, and yet with the rare and saving grace of humour, which guarded him from the danger of taking trivial things too seriously, relieved the strain both for himself and his followers in times of greatest stress, and gave him entrance to the hearts of men the whole world over.' Many fine illustrations add greatly to the charm of this most attractive biography.

William the Silent, Prince of Orange (1588-1584), and the Revolt of the Netherlands. By Ruth Putnam. Illustrated. (Putnam's Sons. 5s. net.)

Miss Putnam's earlier and larger biography of *William the Silent* made her familiar with all the ground covered in this more compact *Life*. She now has been able to avail herself of much new material, and has found the most agreeable part of her direct preparation for this revised memoir in reading and handling manuscript matter in the archives of several cities. She would have liked to omit the word 'Silent,' but it is too well established. 'Silent Orange never was, though always astute. Very probably it was a misquotation that turned a term *sly*, often applied to him, into the taciturn, used first by inimical and gradually adopted by friendly Belgian writers, even such as Gachard.' The story is told in a way that holds the reader's attention, and each stage in William's personal history is illustrated by his own letters. Facsimiles, portraits, and other illustrations add much to the interest of a scholarly and sympathetic book, and there is a splendid representation of the medals of the time. The volume is a welcome addition to the *Heroes of the Nations Series*. The story of William the Silent never fails to make one's pulses beat more quickly, and this spirited version of it ought to be really popular.

The French Ideal. By Madame Duclaux. (Chapman & Hall. 7s. 6d. net.)

'Pascal,' 'Fénelon and his Flock,' 'Buffon in his Garden,' 'Lamartine and Elvire,' are the four essays which are intended to set forth the French ideal. Each of them has its own beauty. Pascal always astonishes us, and none 'of the great French classics is so near to us, so dear to us.' His work as inventor and man of letters is described with true insight, and we see the whole circle of which Pascal was the chief ornament. His two sisters have never been more attractive than in these pages. The pathos of Fénelon's life and the strange links that bound him to Madame Guyon give rare interest to the second essay. The writer's judgement is that he was 'a pure and ardent spirit who, having grasped the interior secret of religion, would have been a Saint under any dispensation.' Her description of his life at Cambrai is very touching and beautiful. The transition from the archbishop to Buffon and his *Jardin des Plantes* is somewhat startling, but the story of the great naturalist is delightfully told, and his legacy to Paris was nobly developed by his successor, Bernardin de

St. Pierre, the author of *Paul et Virginie*. Every one who has a taste for natural history will prize this paper. The last essay is slighter, but Lamar-tine is the French Shelley, and the story of the woman who inspired some of his finest poems has its own pathos and romance. The essays are full of insight, and are written with the grace which marks all the work of Madame Duclaux.

The Religion of the Ancient Celts. By the Rev. J. A. MacCulloch, D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 10s. net.)

Canon MacCulloch's article 'Celts,' in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, is a contribution of great value to the student of ancient religions. This volume deals with the whole subject with great thoroughness and in a strictly scientific spirit. A long residence in the Isle of Skye has enabled the author to 'realize the ancient religion,' and he has made diligent use of all the available material, whether found in classical literature, early documents, folk-tales, or in inscriptions on burial-mounds. Grateful acknowledgement is made of 'the indefatigable researches and the brilliant suggestions of Sir John Rhys,' who, however, belonged to the mythological school. From his interpretations Canon MacCulloch often, and in our judgement, rightly, differs. The subject is approached from the anthropological point of view. 'The analogy of religious evolution in other faiths' is skilfully used in reconstructing Celtic religion, of which the remains are scanty. There is evidence to show that 'as the Celts believed in unseen gods, so they believed in an unseen region whither they passed after death.' The chapter on the Celtic conception of Elysium is full of charm. 'The emphasis placed on its beauty, its music, its rest and peace, its oblivion, is spiritual rather than sensual, while the dwelling of favoured mortals there with divine beings is suggestive of that union with the divine which is the essence of all religion.'

The Churches in Britain before A.D. 1000. By the Rev. Alfred Plummer, M.A., D.D. Vol. I. (Robert Scott. 5s. net.)

This is the first volume of Mr. Scott's *Library of Historic Theology*, and it could not have made a better beginning. It is a handsome volume with clear print and good margins, and it deals with a subject that is of national interest. Dr. Plummer is careful to test his sources, and is not content with statements that have been handed down from one writer to another. He finds it impossible to say when the British Church began; but it had bishops in A.D. 800. After the English conquest Christians were the special objects of hostility from the invaders. Augustine's coming to England was the first foreign mission of the Western Church, 'the first act of a series of missionary enterprises by means of which the whole of Europe was at last won over to Christianity; the first act of one of the most glorious movements in history.' The account of the Celtic Church of Iona, and of the English Church in the time of Wilfrid and

Bede, is of great interest. Dr. Plummer gives the best description we have seen of the various authorities for the period, and his chapter on 'The English Dioceses' will repay close perusal.

The Marprelate Tracts, 1588, 1589. Edited, with notes, historical and explanatory, by William Pierce. (James Clarke & Co. 12s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Pierce has devoted his leisure for some years to the Marprelate Tracts. Some time ago he published his Historical Introduction, now he gives us the Tracts themselves, with a brief historic note prefixed to each, and valuable explanations of all points in the Tracts that require elucidation. The Archbishop of Canterbury allowed Mr. Pierce to transcribe the text of the unique third Tract in the Lambeth Palace Library, and the seventh Tract has also been copied from the same collection. The Marprelate Tracts were directed against Archbishop Whitgift's relentless policy for the repression of Puritan pamphlets; and Martin's secret printing-press, hurried from one hiding-place to another, 'like a masked gun, dropped shell after shell into the Episcopal camp.' The seven extant Tracts may here be read in modern spelling. Their aim was to cover the bishops with ridicule. Every one who wishes to understand the state of religious feeling in the last days of Elizabeth will be grateful to Mr. Pierce for the labour spent in producing this volume. It is impossible to speak too highly of the care and skill with which he has done his notable piece of work.

English Episcopal Palaces. (Province of York.) Edited by R. S. Rait. Illustrated. (Constable & Co. 6s. net.)

This book belongs to a series suggested by work on the *Victoria History of the Counties of England*. Many intimate records of the past which could not be included in the History are thus brought within the reach of a wider circle. This volume includes four detailed descriptions: Bishopthorpe, by Marion Weston; Durham Castle, by Dr. Gee; Auckland Castle, by M. E. Simkins; Rose Castle, by Ada Russell, M.A., with an introductory chapter by N. Niemeyer, which gives some account of the episcopal palaces which are not treated separately. It is a handsome volume with twelve full-page illustrations, and will appeal strongly to all who take an interest in the more detailed accounts of the great ecclesiastics of the northern province. Durham has a double share, with chapters on Durham Castle and Auckland Castle, but we should be sorry to lose either of them. The bishops of Carlisle had houses at Horncastle and at Melbourne, where they were sometimes glad to retreat from the storms of border warfare. 'The bishopric of Chester was founded at a time when bishops no longer moved from one manor-house to another; and consequently the residence at Chester was the bishop's only house, and a true type of an episcopal palace.' Bishopthorpe is a stately home for the Archbishop of York, with nearly a hundred rooms. Its peaceful situation, with its far-stretching and beautifully wooded grounds overlooking the river, all add to its charm.

There is much to learn about the byways of history from this volume, and everything is put in a very pleasant way.

Some Famous Country Parishes. By Ezra S. Tipple.
(Eaton & Mains. \$1 50c. net.)

The parishes are Hursley, Bemerton, Madeley, Kidderminster, Somersby, and Eversley, and our Transatlantic Professor of Divinity puts most Englishmen to the blush by his knowledge and his enthusiasm. He and Mrs. Tipple made their pilgrimage with keen delight, and had a passport to the good-will of vicars and custodians in their own eager interest in every foot of ground trodden once by this sainted and honoured company. The illustrations are very well produced, and make a notable feature of the book. It is full of good stories, and those who know the parishes will see how widely Dr. Tipple has read, and with what zest he describes his visits. The sketches reveal some of the links that bind England and America together, and form a notable tribute to the historic charm of the six country parishes. A figure has gone astray in a date in page 8, and we can scarcely agree with the writer that Jane Austen attracts almost as many pilgrims to Winchester as the cathedral.

The Letters of Peter Lombard (Canon Benham). Edited by Ellen Dudley Baxter. (Macmillan & Co. 8s. 6d. net.)

Canon Benham was one of the best-known clergymen in London, and the beautiful little Memoir prefixed to this volume gives a charming account of him and his work. The Archbishop of Canterbury also tells in a brief Preface how the Canon shared with him the heavy task of preparing the Life of Archbishop Tait. The papers here brought together were written for *The Church Times*, and describe his visits to such places as Wantage and Petersfield, his visit to Palestine in 1892, and many delightful expeditions up and down London. The little papers are full of matter, and are crisply and brightly written. It would not be easy to find a better companion for a leisure half-hour.

The Life of Dr. Arthur Jackson of Manchuria. By the Rev. Alfred J. Costain, M.A. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2s. net.)

Dr. Jackson died of pneumonic plague at the age of twenty-six, four months after leaving England. He had a brilliant course at Cambridge, and volunteered for work in the medical mission of the United Free Church of Scotland. In his ten days of plague service at Moukden he proved himself a true hero, and his devotion to the plague-stricken natives made a profound impression. Despite the use of every precaution he fell a victim, and no skill could save him. It is a heartrending story of a young Christian's sacrifice, and Mr. Costain tells it in a way that brings its pathos and beauty home to every reader.

Later Letters of Marcus Dods, D.D., 1895-1909. Edited by his son, Marcus Dods. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

The *Early Letters* brought Dr. Dods, after those weary years of waiting, to his pastorate in Glasgow. During his twenty-five years there he wrote fewer and shorter letters than at any period of his life. His son has found it wise, therefore, to leave that period untouched, and to confine his second volume to his father's last years as Professor and Principal in New College, Edinburgh. The letters do not dwell much on the highest themes, but are familiar and loving messages to friends and to members of his own family. He had none of Dr. Rainy's love of battle, and realized the blessing of having 'a man for our head who has the saving grace of humour, and who never loses heart and hope.' His own letters to Henry Drummond are very touching, and we see how much Dr. Dods felt his obligation to Sir W. R. Nicoll: 'for giving me opportunities and encouragement, without which I should have addressed a very much smaller audience. My connexion with you has been a very large part of my life.' He was seventy-three when he succeeded Dr. Rainy as Principal. 'Everything in life,' he says, 'has come to me too late.' It is a book that reveals a large-hearted and high-minded Christian scholar, and every one who has read the *Earlier Letters* will welcome this new invitation to share the intimacy of a great and good man. There are glimpses of his friends, notably of Dr. Whyte, which are very pleasant.

Professor Elmslie. A Memoir. By W. Robertson Nicoll. (Hodder and Stoughton. 8s. 6d.) This brief biography appeared in the memorial volume published in 1890, and is here enlarged by some letters which Elmslie wrote to the closest of his early friends, now Principal Harper of Sydney. It is a beautiful and tender record of the gifted preacher and teacher whose loss was so deeply felt in 1889. Preachers will learn much from his early discouragements and the growth of his powers. He loved warm, old-fashioned piety, and delighted most to speak of 'the magnificence of Divine Grace—the love of God commended in Christ's death.'

Messrs. Morgan & Scott publish a new edition of *The Bells of Is*, by F. B. Meyer, B.A. (1s. net.). It is an autobiography with many stories of human need and sorrow connected with the writer's own mission work in Leicester and London. We can strongly commend it to all who wish to see what religion can make of the worst characters of our great cities. *D. L. Moody* and *Duncan Matheson*, by W. H. Harding, are excellent penny Biographies of Messrs. Morgan & Scott's Revival Series.

GENERAL

The Poetics of Aristotle, translated from Greek into English and from Arabic into Latin, with a Revised Text, Introduction, Commentary, Glossary and Onamosticon. By D. S. Margoliouth. (Hodder & Stoughton. 10s. 6d. net.)

PROF. MARGOLIOUTH has published a most interesting and suggestive study of the *Poetics* of Aristotle, which well illustrates how the specialist in the language and thought of the East may fruitfully use his knowledge to illustrate the methods and system of the West. To many, perhaps, the main thesis and argument of the book will fail to commend itself by virtue of its very novelty and remoteness as applied to a Western author, even one so strong and independent as Aristotle; but that his exposition must be taken count of by all who would appreciate the thought of the great Greek philosopher, or find the clue to the significance of his teaching, there can be no question.

Apart from prefatory matter, Dr. Margoliouth's work consists of three parts. A long Introduction in two chapters, 'On the Esoteric Style,' and 'On the Text of the *Poetics*' occupies more than a hundred pages. This is followed by an English translation with commentary. Finally the Greek text is printed with a Latin rendering of an Arabic version, and critical notes. The 'Glossary' of Greek words at the end of the book supplies to a considerable extent the want of an Index. The latter, however, would have been welcome.

The Arabic author to whom reference is made is Abu'l Bashar Mattā ben Yunan, who flourished in the first half of the tenth century of our era. He studied Greek philosophy, and made a translation of Aristotle's *Poetics* into Arabic from a Syriac version. The original Syriac has been lost. This Arabic text was published by Prof. Margoliouth himself a quarter of a century ago, and has suffered much in the course of transmission. It represents, however, in Dr. Margoliouth's judgement an Eastern tradition or form of text, over against the Western tradition of the Greek manuscripts.

The most important, or at least the most novel and suggestive portion of Dr. Margoliouth's work will be found in the first chapter of the Introduction; where he expounds, needless to say with great skill and a wealth of scholarly illustration, his main thesis that 'the *Poetics* were not intended to be understood except by members of his (Aristotle's) school.' In and of itself, that is to say, the text was unintelligible to the reader, apart from parallel expositions and explanations to be found in other works of Aristotle, and apart also from the living voice of the teacher who supplied the necessary references and interpreted statements otherwise obscure or unmeaning. Such methods of composition are familiar in the East, where

entire systems of philosophy and learning have been handed down by means of aphorisms or *stêvas*, brief phrases or sentences, frequently consisting of not more than two or three words, which are little more than aids to the memory, more or less enigmatic without the oral interpretation. It is pointed out by the author that this doctrine of the intentionally perplexed nature of Aristotle's 'esoteric' works is not quite novel, but was offered as an explanation of their difficulties as early as the fourth century. To this style or method of writing Dr. Margoliouth applies the term 'esoteric'; defining its leading characteristics as the use of technical terms, the mutual dependence of the different works of the same author, and the unique importance which attaches to the words themselves and to their order in the sentence.

These canons of interpretation are explained and illustrated in the first chapter of the Introduction. Dr. Margoliouth finds passages in the *Poetics* which exemplify the need of oral amplification and instruction; others which, as they stand, convey no obvious or definite meaning or are even untrue, but the key to which Aristotle himself supplies in his other works; and meets the objection that in the absence of printed books such reference to parallel passages in other volumes would be difficult or even impossible on the theory of *memoriter* learning, the books being committed to memory as a whole, and the meaning then learnt from the oral expositions of the teacher. That this was indeed the purpose of Aristotle himself regarding his work, Dr. Margoliouth holds as established, and quotes in support the fact that the study of the *Poetics* was neglected during the Middle Ages, when his teaching in general exercised so widespread an influence, and his philosophy was so universally accepted.

It may be of interest to add Dr. Margoliouth's rendering of the well-known definition of Tragedy (*Poet.* 1449b, 1450a): 'A Tragedy is, then, the portrayal of an imaginary chapter of heroic life, complete and of some length, in language sweetened in different parts in all known ways, in dramatic, not narrative, form, indirectly through pity and terror righting mental disorders of this type. . . . Tragedy portrays not imaginary human beings, but an experience, a condition of life, i.e. happiness; and wretchedness is an experience, and the end a career, not a quality. Now people are qualified (as good or bad) according to their character, as happy or wretched according to what they go through.' *Káthapton, καθάπτειν*, as medical terms denote properly 'purgation,' and are then applied specifically to the cure of madness. The former, therefore, signifies in general the 'restoration of equilibrium.'

The following are the 'canons of interpretation' which Dr. Margoliouth formulates in conclusion—

No interpretation is certain for which chapter and verse cannot be cited from Aristotle's works.

No interpretation is satisfactory which fails to account for every syllable of the text.

No interpretation is tolerable which ascribes to Aristotle propositions which are unmeaning or which conflict with common sense.

In these days when ancient authors, sacred and profane, are rewritten with drastic severity by modern critics, it is refreshing to meet with a whole-hearted defence of a text at least as difficult, and in parts apparently as cryptic and confused, as any that antiquity has spared to us. Dr. Margoliouth's key to unlock its meaning may or may not be universally accepted; that he has used it, however, with the utmost skill and ingenuity and learning will be admitted by all. If he is right, another proof is incidentally afforded of the early and strong influence which India exerted on the West. For it is hardly probable that so strange and apparently suicidal a method of composition should have been invented independently by different peoples in distant countries. In any case, every lover of Aristotle or of poetry should read Dr. Margoliouth's book.

***Determinism: False and True.* By Frank Ballard, D.D., &c.
(Charles H. Kelly. 6s.)**

It is an old battle Dr. Ballard fights again, but with new weapons and against new foes. For the present the age-long controversy on 'Free Will' moves within a fresh area of conflict. The problem of the metaphysician has been taken up by the scientist and claimed as his own. 'Determinism,' or, as Dr. Ballard rightly urges, 'Determinedism,' which is its truer name, has elaborated fresh lines of attack upon the position, essential for all real morality and religion, known as 'Self-determinism.' Although Dr. Ballard's brilliant defence of moral freedom as the reality guaranteed by the reality of our consciousness is a valuable contribution to modern philosophy and ethics, its urgent concern is with the popularizing of the plausibilities of 'Determinedism' in the discussions of a restless, but thoughtful, democracy. Blatchford's dogmatism, the *R. P. A. Annual*, and even Mark Twain's posthumous contribution to the controversy are as much in evidence in the wonderful array of foes he marshals and challenges to single combat as the more philosophic writings of McTaggart, Bertrand Russell, Maudsley, Mallock, N. Pearson and others who claim authority as experts. Still, however much the facts and problems of 'heredity' and 'environment' and the persuasions of the new physico-psychology may be—and ought to be—recognized as factors in the modern discussion of this ancient problem, we quite agree with Dr. Ballard that 'it is in the region of metaphysics where ultimately the age-long discussion must somehow and at some time, if ever, find its solution; truth and freedom are ultimately problems for the metaphysician.' Nevertheless we are grateful indeed for this living discussion of the problem of the hour which we have before us. It is the best and fairest discussion at present available for the general reader. For the defender of the faith—the faith in the trustworthiness of the testimony of the human consciousness, which must ever be the ultimate of faith—whether in democratic or in more academic circles, Dr. Ballard's volume is a most accessible and complete armoury. His treatment of the subject is broadly indicated in the title. He deals first and trenchantly with 'False Determinism,' showing how it is false in name, in fact, and in principle. He finds much help and advan-

tage in his discussion from adopting Prof. Wm. James's distinction of 'hard' and 'soft' Determinists. The 'hard,' whose 'Determinism' carries with it openly and confessedly a denial of human responsibility, is not so difficult to meet as the 'soft,' which, holding fast equally to deterministic principles, seeks to harmonize with them the appearance, even the reality, of responsibility. The 'hard' variety is probably not growing; it is denied in practical life; and, like poisons which are deadly, is harmless if not taken. But the 'soft' finds growing favour. It is here that the positions sanctioned by influential thinkers meet with our author's keenest criticisms; their subtleties and ambiguities are dealt with, both on psychological and metaphysical grounds. But as negations, however strong, are insufficient of themselves to meet the modern pleas, Dr. Ballard sets forth at length the contention that there is a 'Determinism' which is true. Part II of his treatise expounds this. 'Man is not determined, because he is a determiner.' In the complex equation of a human life there is room for true Determinism, which is rock-based upon the indefeasible testimony of self-consciousness that I alone of all beings determine my own character and destiny.' Full and rightful allowance is made for limitations of free activity, for natural forces, for heredity and environment, but man is the true determinist. That it is 'man,' not 'will,' that is really free is stoutly defended; 'free' is an unnecessary and undesirable qualification of 'will'; if it is 'will,' it must be free. But the subject of freedom is not the will, but the man. 'To be free means that man is determined by nothing but himself.' Although, to quote Dr. Ward, 'True liberty does and must let contingency into the very heart of things,' it is the absolute 'self,' the essential, unfathomable 'I' which is the solitary determinant of activity. Dr. Ballard probably leaves his argument most open to critical comment in the distinction expressed between 'I' and 'my character.' He holds that even when character signifies not the materials provided by heredity and environment, but the product of the living activity of the self upon these, it is not a synonym for the acting self. This is a refinement of analysis which may be pressed too far. It may be questioned also whether 'conflicting motives,' which Dr. Ballard admits (p. 219), is quite satisfactory. 'Conflicting desires' we know; but as a 'motive' is surely that which moves, it can only arise when 'desire' has been identified with the self. But these are slight points of detail, of discussion, possibly of terminology chiefly. With the main argument we are in entire and most serious agreement; it is admirable; it is timely; it is convincing. As to the method, it is Dr. Ballard's own. His power of quotation is limitless. If originality is judicious selection, he is distinctly original. We think, however, this is rather overdone and becomes a little tedious, as his treatise runs to 428 pp. It is a method, we quite believe, determined by his love of scrupulous fairness in controversy, but even this is scarcely sufficient justification for the obvious fact that his opponents often suffer seven deaths at his hands; one would suffice. If we might whisper another misgiving, it would be whether the popular lecturer's mordant epigram after the last sword-thrust has been given is fully justified in such a dignified and tempered treatise as this fine volume presents.

Some Problems of Philosophy. By William James. (Longmans & Co. 4s. 6d. net.)

Prof. James was a writer with whom the reader usually agreed or differed strongly. But both those who will agree with, and those who will differ from, this book, will join in a unanimous sense of sorrow that it is the last work of one of the most brilliant and stimulating authors of the past generation. It seems fitting, however, that, after much critical work, the last act of Prof. James should be to lay one of the foundation-stones of a pragmatist metaphysic. For under this modest title Intellectual Idealism is challenged with the trowel rather than the sword.

One may regard this book as marking the new and most serious period of the history of Pragmatism. Pragmatism has won its ground in modern philosophy by a searching criticism of its older rivals. The real test, however, is what shall be built upon that ground. There are philosophical theories which, like certain nations, can win territory but cannot colonize it. Can Pragmatism make effective use of the ground it has gained? The answer cannot be obtained entirely from the earliest attempts, but the omens one gathers from Prof. James's work seem favourable. In the first place, there is a promise of a much-needed introduction of more simplicity and directness in metaphysics, a subject which may be intrinsically difficult, but is too often rendered unnecessarily so by the over-subtlety of metaphysicians. Prof. James gives, in his very definition of the subject, which is plain and direct, a promise of reform: 'Metaphysics inquires into the cause, the substance, the meaning, and the outcome of all things.' Once again, Pragmatism refreshes metaphysics by dealing with 'the Problem of Novelty.' For Intellectualism there is no such problem, because there is nothing really new in the complete and full-made universe. For Pragmatism the world is still being made; new happenings arise, and their being constitutes a fresh problem for metaphysics. Here is a welcome *rapprochement* between metaphysics and common sense, which have been, one suspects, too far apart for the real good of either. The older problems which are common to Pragmatist and Idealist metaphysics are handed with illuminating freshness. The most inscrutable is that of Being, upon which even Pragmatism can say nothing new. Being is: with this indubitable, but not very satisfying statement we all must rest content. It is to be hoped that *Some Problems of Philosophy* will be studied carefully by both pragmatist and anti-pragmatist. It will serve to make the issues clearer to both, and that must aid in establishing what each in his own way seeks, the synthesis of truth.

The Church and the New Age. By Henry Carter. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2s. 6d. net.)

This is a striking book by the newly appointed Temperance Secretary of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. It will add to the author's reputation as a temperance and social reformer. For it will be seen from it that, whilst he is an acknowledged authority, through his widely circulated pamphlets,

on the temperance question, he is also alert upon the entire social question. This book shows that Mr. Carter has envisaged the whole subject of ecclesiastical and social reform. He leans strongly to a socialistic solution of our difficulties, and so will not carry all with him. But he possesses adequate historical and ecclesiastical knowledge, and much shrewdness and sagacity. His statements upon the Church and the New Age, upon democracy and its significance, and upon the problems of the modern Church are worth weighing. The twelve chapters of the book are crowded with fresh facts and figures—matters for which Mr. Carter has a positive penchant—not brought together in such an up-to-date manner anywhere else. Especially is this true of the present numerical position of the Churches, Sunday schools, and brotherhoods. The recent railway strikes appear in their place in the narrative—though middle-class readers will note an absence of appreciation of their point of view in relation to them.

Mr. Carter thinks that the modern Church has 'lost grip' with the new age. The 'new age' seems to have begun in 1906—the year of the 'Social Uprising' evinced in the General Election. That was the year which began the decline of the Churches. The 'social uprising' was the consequence of the broadening of the outlook of democracy by education, invention, and the rise of social idealism. The Church decline was due to their diversion of interest—the Church being apathetic in social reform. The after effects of the Welsh Revival and of the 'New Theology' also, doubtless, had something to do with it. The uprising, however, of Adult Schools, Brotherhoods, and Sisterhoods is a proof that spiritual life is still vigorous in the nation. Mr. Carter then returns to the social question, and traces 'the rise of democracy' in a series of succinct, well-written, and, in the main, accurate chapters. He marks the democratic ideals of a minimum standard of life in wages, leisure, environment, and education, of a maximum standard also—the ideal of the Socialist State—and of international brotherhood. To Mr. Carter these are all fundamentally Christian, and he argues ably. He then turns to the New Testament and the Early Church, and finds in it a prophetic, a healing, and a saving witness. He charges the Churches with having chosen, in many generations, the Way of Death instead of the Way of Life. He traces it in Luther's attitude towards the Peasant War, and in early nineteenth-century Church attitude towards social evils. The Way of Life is the way of the Threefold Witness. The New Age needs, for the realization of its dreams, Character and a Moral Dynamic. The modern Church needs a clear apprehension of the will of God for social life, and a completer fellowship with men, especially with the humble and poor. Given these, the Church can help democracy to what it needs as no other corporation can. There can be—given Church reform and revival—a reunion of the Church and the people. Church-going can be revived by attention to Sunday schools, to the young in worship, and to the social conditions of their life. They will become a new generation of Christian social workers and servants, and save the State and the Church.

It will be seen that the book is fresh and courageous, but full of disputable matter. It contains much information, and is written in a terse,

concise, business-like manner, brightened with occasional poetic touches. The style can hardly be said to be a literary or polished one, but it is fresh and strong, and progresses by short, hammer-like sentences. Sometimes it is rough and even inaccurate. Good use has been made of the *Cambridge Modern History*, of Blue Books, and the latest authorities upon given subjects. We think the lack of an index a great omission in a book touching upon so many subjects and giving so much information, ecclesiastical, historical, and statistical. We are surprised, too, that the publishers should have issued the book with many uncut leaves. But it is the best book on its subject at present, and deserves the consideration of all Christian people and social reformers. It cannot but be a stimulus to thought, discussion, and action.

The Desire for Qualities. By Stanley M. Bligh. (Frowde, 2s. net.)

Mr. Bligh's earlier volume on *The Direction of Desires* suggested some new lines of inquiry with regard to the alteration of the tone of consciousness. Having there shown how the inclinations could be almost infinitely modified, he here deals with the 'methods of estimating, valuing, and appreciating the qualities of personality possible in a civilized community.' It requires some courage to begin a chapter headed 'Potentialities, Repressants, Depressants,' but no one will regret its careful perusal. The book will teach a reader how to develop his 'truest, strongest, deepest self.' There are many potential selves in each of us, and if we can recognize our permanent limitations, see what we ought to drive at in life, and begin to develop our powers with 'suitable repressants for use when required,' and know how to 'put away all harmful depressants,' we shall be fit to start on life's pilgrimage. Some perilous questions are frankly discussed, and, on the whole, with sound sense and good judgement. This is a book to be read.

The new volumes of *The Home University Library* (Williams & Norgate, 1s. net) have each a distinct appeal to those who value a series of substantial books by recognized authorities, giving the main results of modern thought and research in the chief realms of thought and achievement. As we look at the nine additions we realize more fully the importance of this attempt to put the best books into the hands of busy men. Prof. Thomson's *Introduction to Science* seems to throw open that world of wonders. The writer holds that there is no true antithesis between science and religion. 'If the form or expression of a religious belief is contradictory to a well-established fact in the order of Nature, then clashing is inevitable. But to see in this an antithesis between the scientific formula and the religious idea is a misunderstanding.' Everything is put in the most attractive and suggestive form in this delightful little book. Dr. Barry writes on *The Papacy and Modern Times*, a great subject on which a Roman Catholic view is of interest to all Churches. Mr. Gooch's *History of our own Times* (1885-1911) surveys all the world. It is a book that may be styled indispensable. *The Evolution of Industry* is another little volume

that appeals to a big constituency. *The Civilization of China* traces its course from the earliest times down to the present period of startling transition. It is most timely and instructive. *The Dawn of History* and *Elements of English Law* are valuable digests. *English Literature: Modern* is most comprehensive and readable. Every one will want to study *Psychical Research*, and *Astronomy*, by Arthur R. Hinks, is a masterly condensation of a boundless subject.

The Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature (1s. net) are attractive little volumes in stiff, rose-coloured art cloth and well printed on rough paper. The editors are Dr. Giles, Master of Emmanuel College, and Prof. A. C. Seward, and the list of volumes already printed or in preparation is comprehensive enough to include Brewing, Aerial Locomotion, German School Education, and the Poetry of Burns. Amongst them is a *History of the English Bible*, by Dr. John Brown, which gives an excellent epitome of the whole subject and has ten plates, chiefly title-pages of the most important translations. Dr. Brown also writes a valuable little book on *The English Puritans*. Many will welcome Lord Balfour of Burleigh's sketch of *The Rise and Development of Presbyterianism in Scotland*. It is admirably done. Another book of special interest is *The Idea of God in Early Religion*, by Prof. F. B. Jevons. It opens up a wonderful field of study in a way that makes a student wish to pursue his investigations. *The Moral Life*, by Prof. Sorley, gives a popular account of the nature of goodness in human life. Temperance, Courage, Wisdom, Justice, are the titles of some of the chapters, and the treatment is always luminous and suggestive. Dr. King writes on *Early Religious Poetry of the Hebrews*. His translations imitate the rhythm of the Hebrew, and his chapter on Acrostic, or Alphabetical Poetry, on the Strophe, and on Dramatic Lyrics will give many a new conception of the structure of Bible poetry. Dr. James H. Moulton's volume on *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* opens up quite a new world. The writer regards Zarathushtra's idea of God as singularly free from unworthy elements, though it lacks the attributes of grace and love. His teaching as to good and evil does not deserve to be called dualistic, for the superiority of good is manifest throughout, and its triumph at the last is as complete as in the Bible eschatology. He is believed to have written the Gathas, which form the kernel of the Avesta. Of these a very interesting sketch is given. The little book will be greatly prized by all who wish to have a reliable guide in their study of the Avesta.

***British Rural Life and Labour.* By Francis George Heath.
(P. S. King & Son. 10s. 6d. net.)**

Mr. Heath wrote his *Romance of Peasant Life* in 1872, and has been a careful student of all questions affecting the land and the farm labourer for wellnigh half a century. This book gathers up the ripe knowledge of these years, and forms a kind of cyclopaedia of the whole subject. Board of Trade and other returns have been drawn upon, but Mr. Heath has put all the information into a form that makes it really helpful to the reader. He is the friend of both employer and employed, and his chapters will do

much to bring all classes together and make them understand each other's difficulties. The first part of the book, *British Peasants of To-day*, gives a survey of the work and wages, the food and clothing, of farm labourers in every part of the country, with a set of tables which deal mainly with the average earnings, the agricultural population, the crops, grass, and live stock of the country. Not the least interesting part of the volume are the pictures of country life in 1878 and in 1880. We follow Mr. Heath from village to village, getting to understand the ways of homely folk, and noting the characteristics of the west country. The overcrowding of cottages is not what it was forty years ago, and sanitary conditions are greatly improved. The mass of information given in this volume will make it of great value to every student of *Rural Life and Labour*.

Wheat-Growing in Canada, the United States, and the Argentine. By W. P. Rutter. (Black. 8s. 6d. net.)

The object of this book is to describe the geographical, economic, and political factors governing the growth of wheat in the New World, and to estimate the probabilities and possibilities of wheat-growing there. The migration of wheat depends on man, and in America its spread has been mainly in a westerly direction. In Canada it is creeping nearer and nearer to the Arctic Circle. Few plants are so indifferent to soil conditions. 'It can be grown on any soil provided it be fertile, and is as much at home in the sands of North Africa as in the "black lands" of Russia.' Mr. Rutter discusses all the kinds of wheat, the modes of production and transportation, and gives a mass of information for which every student of farming will be grateful. Canada needs a far greater population for the development of her vast wheat lands, and her immigrants are intelligent, and have usually had experience of the kind of farming necessary.

Changes of a Century. By J. C. Wright. (Elliot Stock. 5s. net.)

Mr. Wright has followed up the success gained by his volume *In the Good Old Times* by another book of great interest. Its chapters are really pictures of the transformation wrought in all directions during the last century. We begin with travel in the famous 'Shillibeer' omnibus, which carried twenty-two passengers and on long journeys provided them with newspapers and magazines. Mr. Cloud, who ran 'buses between the Haymarket and Chelsea, furnished each of these with a small library of standard authors. 'Housekeeping and Quacks' is a racy section of Mr. Wright's book. He has much to say of experiments in cookery and of tea-drinking a century ago. The Duke of Wellington used himself to put tea into the small silver pots and ask each guest whether he preferred black or green. One nervous visitor said 'I take mixed, your Grace.' 'Take Mr. Denman two pots,' roared the Duke. A century ago the newspapers used to be full of the virtues of quack medicines, of which Mr. Wright has some amusing things to record. Mr. Wright's happy quotations show how alert

he has been in gathering material for his most enjoyable book. It is always up to date. Olive Schreiner's *Woman and Labour* is quoted, and there is a passage from one of the Rev. E. J. Brailsford's recent articles in this Journal.

Worth Church, Sussex. By the Rev. Arthur Bridge. Second Edition. Enlarged and Revised. (F. Sherlock. 1s. 6d.)

The Rector of Worth is justly proud of his church. It is one of the most remarkable in England, going back to pre-Norman times and exhibiting the earliest form of the purely English cruciform church. The semicircular apse at the eastern end is very ancient. The pair of transepts are really chapels. The windows are of unique design. 'They are double, divided by a baluster-shaft of turned stone, with neck- and base-mouldings.' The devil's door, through which the evil spirit was driven out when a child was baptized, is a very quaint feature of this delightful old building. Mr. Bridge's little book is well illustrated and brightly written.

The Music and Hymnody of the Methodist Hymnal. By Carl F. Price. (New York: Eaton & Mains. \$1.25 net.)

This is a brief introduction to the American Methodist Hymnal, giving the history of Methodist hymn-books in America from the time of Wesley's Charlestown Collection to the Hymnal of 1905. Much information is given as to the hymns, the hymn-writers, the theology and literary beauties of the hymns. The third part is devoted to the tunes, and this is, perhaps, the least familiar section. Sir Hubert Parry's setting of 'In Age and Feebleness Extreme,' in the *Methodist Hymn-Book*, is described as 'truly wonderful.' The book is brightly written, and full of facts and incidents. 'Lo! He comes' is not Cennick's hymn, as Mr. Price says, but Charles Wesley's.

Cumberland. By J. E. Marr, Sc.D., F.R.S. (Cambridge University Press. 1s. 6d.)

This is a volume of the *Cambridge County Geographies*, with maps, diagrams and illustrations which bring out the characters of the hill and lake scenery. The section headed 'Geology and Soil' is very complete, and throws light on many features of the scenery. That on the natural history of the county shows that in the belt between 1800 and 2700 feet above sea level there is a remarkable assemblage of plants of an alpine character, such as the kidney-leaved sorrel, the rose-root, the purple-flowered saxifrage, and the alpine rue. Above these is a little creeping willow, the most arctic of all the Cumberland plants. There are good sections on History and Antiquities, and the book is clearly written and beautifully illustrated. George Moore and Sir Wilfrid Lawson seem entitled to a place in the Roll of Honour.

Three Thousand Years of Mental Healing. By George B. Cutten, Ph.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s. net.)

This is a timely book. The interest in mental healing is great, and Dr. Cutten gathers together a large mass of information as to medical opinion and practice in early civilizations, and the subjects of demonology, relics and shrines, healers, talismans, amulets, charms, and royal touch. He gives many particulars also as to 'The Healers of the Nineteenth Century,' which we are glad to have in a compact form. There is a suggestive Introduction on Mental Healing.

Horizons and Landmarks. Poems by Sidney Royse Lysaght. (Macmillan. 4s. 6d. net.)

The earlier poems by Mr. Lysaght, *Poems of the Unknown Way*, placed him at once in the front rank of contemporary singers. We find here, at an interval of some years, the same powers, the same music, the same beauties, as in his first book, but we find them more matured and with stronger strands of thought. His outlook seems wider, the pathos deeper, the step stronger, the grasp of life more comprehensive and reasonable. At the same time we notice much retrospect, many of the old materials, but elevated and transfigured by the calm acceptance of a future and a hope. The ancient quest of youth continues, but it is associated with an undertone of faith that we did not always find in the *Unknown Way*. Mr. Lysaght to the end will be a Seeker, but he possesses also the endowments of the Seer—

The vision and the faculty divine.

We take a few lines from 'The Forest,' not because they are better than other lines in other poems, but because they give a fair example of the author's method and haunting melody, and because they show him in his pursuit of the unattainable, the impossible ideal to him so intensely real—

Not within the golden dell,
Could we rest :—the wild and lone
Laid on us a stronger spell,
Called us to a world unknown.
Down untrodden paths would break
Gleams remote, that still foretold
New discoveries to make,
Always greater than the old.
There, beyond us, never gained,
Lay the regions of our quest,
There our wonderland remained
Unbeholden, unpossessed.

We give another extract from 'The Test of Faith'—

May it not be that God is everywhere,
Striving Himself against eternal wrong?
May it not be that on that battle-field
He needs the help of those His love would shield?
May not His arm be bound by our despair,
May not our courage help to make it strong?

Mr. Lysaght both sings and thinks his pilgrim way along, and both song and thought are as sincere as alluring.

Poets and Poetry. By John Bailey. (Clarendon Press. 5s. net.)

These articles read like old friends. They have all appeared in the Literary Supplement of *The Times*, and each of them will bear attentive study. They help us to look firmly again at some of the 'fixed stars, the most ancient heavens of literature,' and to see once more where they and we stand. The first part, on 'The Function of Poetry,' claims that it is a life-giving power in whose 'presence all things become larger and brighter than they were before. . . . We love more, we hate, we pity, we wonder, we even understand and know more.' That is a claim which the twenty-one papers that follow abundantly sustain. Those on Sir Philip Sidney and Crabbe are of great interest. 'Sidney's poetry, like everything else about him, is perhaps greater in a certain charm of presence and promise than in actual performance.' But he has lines 'fit to hold their place in any ripest poetry of all the world.' Crabbe is old-fashioned. He is the novelist in verse. His work shows 'good sense and good verse, a rare knowledge of the smaller ways of human character, a keen eye for the smaller doings of nature.' Lovers of poetry will find these studies greatly to their taste, and will learn much in a very pleasant way. Here is one fine estimate: 'This, then, is Mr. Meredith, the poet; a great preacher of a strong, stern creed; a profound student of human life and the human drama; a voice as of a fountain bubbling up out of the heart of earth herself, not always clear, but always keen and fresh.'

Whether the British Empire has reached its zenith, and will presently slowly decline, or whether it will continue to hold its present place among the nations, depends, humanly speaking, more than anything else upon the way we care for our children when they are young, and train them as they grow. It is well, therefore, that, amid much that confessedly tends to national degeneration, there is so much being done with a view to the cultivation of a sound body, and equally sound mind, in those who are growing up around us. On this account we welcome and commend the series of National Health Manuals now being issued by C. H. Kelly (1s. 6d.), under the general editorship of Dr. T. N. Kelynack. The third and latest, *School Life*, is very important and very good. It deals with far more than 'health,' using that word in its ordinary restricted sense; its counsels, taken to heart by those who have to do with boys and girls, will help materially the formation of character; and those whom they train on the lines here laid down will be all the better citizens in the future, of more real service to their fellows and their country, and more likely to 'run the straight race.' The papers included in the volume are by acknowledged experts, and will repay careful study on the part of those who share in the responsibility of the upbringing of the next generation.

The Call of the Dark Continent. By F. Deaville Walker (Wesleyan Missionary Society. 1s. 6d. net.) As a text-book for Missionary Study Circles nothing seems lacking to the success of this volume. It is full of matter, is freely illustrated, and it has a set of good maps. Mr. Walker describes the opening of the Dark Continent and gives much information

as to its great races. Then he tells the story of Methodist Missions in South Africa and on the West Coast in a way that will stimulate to further study. The work has been done with painstaking skill and ample knowledge. Subjects for discussion are given after each chapter, and there is a useful bibliography.

Three missionary books, published by Mr. J. W. Butcher at a shilling, should not be overlooked by those who want prizes for boys and girls. *In the Midst of the Floods*, by Neville Jones, gives a capital account of work in Madagascar; *A Jungle Jaunt*, by H. A. Meek, describes the adventures of three young missionaries in Ceylon; *On the Shores of the Caribbean Sea*, by Walter J. Gadsby, is a delightful record of personal service in British Honduras. The books are well illustrated and will be great favourites with young readers.

Congo Life and Folklore. By the Rev. John H. Weeks.
(Religious Tract Society. 5s. net.)

This is a very readable book. A brass rod, which is the money of the Congo natives, tells all about the country and the natives. The native superstitions and the terrible trial by ordeal by which those suspected of witchcraft are discovered, make a strong appeal for missionary work. The most progressive natives, who would have been the leaders of their people, have thus been killed off. Mr. Weeks has collected a store of native stories, which show the shrewdness and wit of the people. The book is one of the most entertaining missionary volumes that we have met.

Uganda: A Chosen Vessel. By Rev. H. T. C. Weatherhead, M.A. (Church Missionary Society. 6d. net.) An admirable study text-book, full of matter put in the most interesting form.

Copts and Moslems under British Control. By Kyriakos Mikhail. (Smith, Elder & Co. 8s. 6d. net.)

This is a temperate statement of the grievances of the Copts. They number a million, and are the oldest Christians in the world. The writer's plea is supported by such authorities as Prof. Sayce, Dr. A. J. Butler, Mrs. Butcher, and Mr. John Ward. Mrs. Butcher gives an interesting sketch of Coptic history, then the grievances are set forth, and ample material is given for a reader to form his own judgement. The writer complains that the avenue of promotion to the highest offices is closed to the Copts, and that Muslims are unfairly preferred to them. We are glad to see that great hopes are entertained that class distinctions and bad feeling will disappear under Lord Kitchener's control.

A Fountain Unsealed (1s.) is the Bible Society's Popular Report for 1910-11. And a charming volume it is, with its pictures and its facts. Scriptures are available in fifty-five of the chief Indian vernaculars spoken by 225 millions, but no part of the Scriptures has yet been issued in seventy of the Indian languages and dialects.

***The Christian Teaching of Coin Mottoes.* By the Rev. William Allan, D.D. (S.P.C.K. 8s. 6d.)**

Dr. Allan writes pleasantly about coin mottoes, and there is much to be learned from his chapters. At the close of the second century a coin of Septimius Severus bears a Noah's Ark as a symbol of the Christian Church. The Cross, combined with the opening letters of the name of Christ, forms a well-known monogram. Dr. Allan gives 'sayings of Jesus' as found on coins, and his chapters on 'Trust in God' and 'Divine Providence' show how much religion has found its way on to coins. The book is one of much interest, and it is well illustrated.

The Making of Treherne, by J. Williams Butcher (C. H. Kelly, 8s. 6d.), is just such a book as healthy-minded school-boys will appreciate—a manly story, with plenty of incident in it, which boys are sure to read without any 'skipping.' Needless to say the tone is admirable, but Mr. Butcher refrains from moralizing or preaching, so showing his insight and wisdom. His excellent story will effect its purpose better without anything of that kind in its pages.

The book is dedicated to the memory of the late Mrs. Workman, of Kingswood, as one 'whose understanding, sympathy, and discriminating interest have helped many a boy to find himself.' In such deserved terms Mr. Butcher might himself be described. He has all his life been a lover of boys, and a helper of many. A book like this is just one expression of his heart.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge provides a capital set of books for boys and girls. *Redwood Ranch* (2s. 6d.) describes the life of an English family in the great redwood forests of California. Adventures with pumas and robbers give the thrill which a boy reader loves. *Within a Year* (2s. 6d.) is a naval story with a brave young lieutenant as hero, and the Siege of Acre fills a place on the canvas. *The Mystery of the Albatross* (2s. 6d.) is another good sea-story. *The Captain of the Waterguard* (2s. 6d.) has many exciting encounters with Cornish smugglers, and Félicité is a delightful heroine. *The House of the Oak* (2s.) describes Charles the Second's escape after the battle of Worcester. Children will be thoroughly entertained by *The Gipsy-Princess* (2s.), about the royal baby that grew up in a circus. *The Golden Patch*, by Alice Massie (2s.), gives seven weird fairy tales over which there will be many a wonder. *Another Pair of Shoes* (1s. 6d.) is a Northumbrian love-story. The young farmer who wins his cousin's heart is a manly fellow. *Queen Mab* (1s. 6d.), *Nancy and her Cousins* (1s. 6d.), and three good shilling stories appeal specially to small children. *The Care of Hanuman* (1s. 6d.) shows how some English children in India foiled a set of Bengalee anarchists. The books have some good pictures, and will not only hold the attention, but will teach young readers to be unselfish and earnest.

***The Class-Meeting Problem: How to Solve it.* By W. J. Marris. (Kelly. 6d.)**

Mr. Marris gives a brief account of the origin of the Methodist class-

meeting, and shows its place and its value. Then he describes the qualifications and the duties of a leader. Valuable suggestions are given as to the conduct of a class. 'Dreariness, coldness, and formality should be carefully avoided; geniality, variety, mutual confidence, sympathy, edification, family feeling, and a social spirit should be incessantly sought and cultivated.' A good section on 'The class-member' follows, with some wise and timely suggestions as to admission to membership. We should like to see this booklet in the hands of every Methodist.

Some attractive music has been published by Charles H. Kelly. 'Just as I am,' set to music by J. A. Meale, F.R.C.O. (1s. 6d. net), can be had in G and in Bb. It has been sung with great success by Madame Strathearn and other leading vocalists. 'The Silent Land,' by Longfellow, is set as a Part Song for men's voices, by H. F. Nicholls, A.R.C.O., and 'I heard a Great Voice' (Rev. xxi. 3-5) as an anthem, by R. G. Thompson, Mus.B. A beautiful introit or anthem by M. L. Wostenholm, to Genesis xlviii. 16, 17, and the Sanctus, is sold at 2d., and in Tonic Sol-fa notation at 1d. Three additions are also made to The 'Choir' Series of Voluntaries for the organ with Pedal Obbligato (6d. net). Five composers have contributed to the three parts, and organists can find nothing better or cheaper than these voluntaries. The full catalogue shows what abundant choice is provided by the Choir Series.

Carols Ancient and Modern, Books I and II. (Morgan & Scott. 6d. each.) Each of these collections contains twelve pieces. All have their own beauty. Some of them are the familiar favourites, others are less known, but all are delightful, and the handy octavo page makes the booklet very convenient for use.

The S.P.C.K. has perfected its almanacks, calendars, pocket-books, sheet almanacks, and parochial offertory. The prices range from one penny to half a crown, and the bindings are of different styles, but all serviceable. Nothing could more fully meet the needs of churchmen.

A Legacy of Light. By Mary Bracken. (Elliot Stock. 6s.) Caroline Rostrevor becomes a new creature in the sunshine of happiness, and Charles Arbutnot is a lover of whom any woman might be proud.

Doctor Alec's Son. By Irene H. Barnes. (Church Missionary Society. 1s. 6d.) Roy's father is a medical missionary in Persia, and the bright little fellow is taken on a caravan tour to shake off his whooping cough. He is a boy that every one will like.

The Sunday at Home, 1910-11. (Religious Tract Society. 7s. 6d.) This magazine deserves all its popularity. Its editor seems to miss nothing that will appeal to his readers, and writers and artists are established favourites. Miss Bone's serial is full of spirit, and the articles on leaders of the Churches will be eagerly read. It is a volume really alive.

The Peach Garden, by J. Sidney Helps (Kelly, 1s. 6d.) is a Chinese story of great beauty and interest. One of the two brothers goes to a mission school, where his prejudice against Christianity gradually melts away. He becomes a hero and a martyr, and his soldier brother steps into his place to carry on his work. It is a touching and beautiful story.

In the Land of Nursery Rhyme. By Ada M. Marzials. (Allenson. 1s. 6d. net.) These seven stories are woven round such nursery rhymes as 'Sing a Song of Sixpence,' 'Little Bo-Peep,' and other favourites. They are told with true ingenuity and real zest, and children will rejoice in them greatly. The book is well printed, and has an attractive frontispiece by Ryan Shaw.

Lady Ju. By Charles Aver. (Kelly. 1s.) This is a temperance story, and one of the best we have read for a long time. Lady Ju has a hard fight with circumstances at home and in her factory, but she holds her ground and wins a great victory. It is a powerful and pathetic story.

Three Jolly Playmates. By John W. Seller. (Kelly. 1s. 6d.) The game-keeper's boy and his two playmates make a lively group, and bring us into close touch with game and poachers. There is much here that will make children love country scenes, and there is a great fight with poachers.

The Shining Hour. By F. W. Macdonald. (Hodder & Stoughton. 1s. 6d. net.) These eight papers have the note of quiet mastery and strong conviction. They are the ripe fruit of much wise reading and deep thinking, and they handle subjects which we all want to have discussed in a way that corrects the judgement and makes a reader more ready to bear his own burden. 'No Longer Young' is perhaps the most attractive of the papers, and 'The New Testament View of Jesus Christ' one of the most suggestive. It is a little book that will enrich many minds and hearts.

The Illumined Face. By W. V. Kelley. (New York: Eaton & Mains. 50c. net). Dr. Kelley holds that 'the face is an exponent of character, that in a measure one can make his own face, and that the illumined face is the emblem of humanity at its highest.' The writer thinks 'the face can be more spoiled from within than from without.' 'Beauty is not so much a gift as an attainment. We can all be beautiful if we will.' It is a daintily written book which would make a charming little wedding-present. Dr. Kelley had also written a booklet on *Trees and Men* (Eaton & Mains. 25c.). The elm is one of the glories of New England, but the writer confesses that 'a great wide oak in a field near Andalusia station, on the Pennsylvania railroad,' has been his friend from boyhood. He is an enthusiast who writes out of a full mind and heart. A companion to *Trees and Men* is *The Lure of Books*, by Lynn Harold Hough (Eaton & Mains. 25c.). The old book lover has felt the spell of the masters of literature, and makes his young hearer step out from the veteran's study feeling glad that he was alive. The book has a charm that comes from the masterpieces amid which it makes us linger. It is printed in attractive black type.

Wordsworth and Coleridge: Lyrical Ballads, 1798. Edited by Harold Littlehale, M.A., D.Litt. (Frowde. 2s. 6d. net.) An altogether charming reprint of a poetic classic. The little 'Advertisement' explaining the purpose of the poems will still repay careful reading.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

THERE is not much that is new or notable in the paper in the October number of *The Quarterly Review*, by Mr. G. C. Macaulay, on *The English Bible*, though one is glad to see his expression of gratitude to the Revised Version for 'the immense advantage of possessing so great a help to the understanding of the originals.' *The Growth of Mythological Study* is the paper read by Mr. Salomon Reinach at Girton College in August. In the paper on the Bible, we should have said, the writer suggests the following further revisions: Matt. xxiii. 24, 'strain out (at) a gnat: ' Acts xxvi. 28, 'with but little persuasion' (almost): 1 Cor. iv. 4, 'against' (by myself): Phil. ii. 10, 'that in (at) the name of Jesus every knee should bow.' Such a change as 'love' for 'charity' in 1 Cor. xiii., &c., 'however desirable, can hardly be asked for.' The article on *The Poetry of William Morris*, by Mr. Percy Lubbock, is perhaps the most distinguished in this not very remarkable number. The gist of it may be gathered from the following sentences: 'Not as a seer or a saint, offering purer airs and keener lights in return for an ever more arduous effort and sacrifice, but as a man who believes that life may be turned to immeasurable beauty by every hand that works and every heart that feels—so Morris lived, and so he expressed himself in all his varied achievements. His achievement was art; and his art, as we explore and analyse it, is always rewarding us with fresh aspects of its charm. But art, in Morris's view, need never be named as part of our demand from life, being no more and no less than the expression of a life which is rightly based, an expression it could not withhold if it would.'

In an article on *Famous Autobiographies*, *The Edinburgh Review* (October–December), starting from the fact that at present 'biography is second only to fiction in the popular estimation,' the writer gives a general survey of the life of Benvenuto Cellini, of Rousseau's *Confessions*, and of the autobiographies of Goethe, Gibbon, Mill, and Spencer. Why St. Augustine should have been omitted does not appear. The question asked and answered with respect to each of these famous works is, What may be learned from it? All, he says, with perhaps the exception of Mill, were 'thoroughly natural lives. Their greatness was in no way due to excessive ambition, or to any determination or force of will,' a statement that seems to us exceedingly questionable. 'On the contrary,' he continues, 'Goethe, Rousseau, Spencer appear to have been by no means distinguished for unusual will-power; nor was any strain or effort the cause of their distinction above the rest of humanity. They carried out their natural promptings without deliberation or forethought; and they were great because these natural promptings happened to be tuned in such a way as to produce vibration in an emotional chord of humanity.'

It is perfectly plain, he says, that Spencer's one reason for writing the *Synthetic Philosophy* was that 'he could not help it.' Still more interesting is the writer's estimate of the influence of women on men of genius, and few will dispute his dictum that 'none but the greatest men can write a thoroughly good autobiography. No type of literature is more difficult to write, none more disagreeable to read when badly done.'

The most attractive article in *The Dublin Review* (October-December) is the one on *Francis Thompson*, by Mr. Albert A. Cock. It is partly biographical, but chiefly expository. In one ode, says the writer, Mr. Thompson stated the whole burden of Victorian inquiry and speculation, and gave a solution to the problem of the relation of Science to Religion, 'explicitly mystical, obviously Christian, and implicitly Catholic.' But all the works of this great poet are passed under review, and the writer gives us an elaborate study of the more important ones, with copious illustrative extracts. Throughout, he is regarded as of the lineage of Crashaw, but his relations and affinities to Blake and Wordsworth are also indicated, especially in his delineation of the child life. Other articles of interest are *Catholicism and History*, based on Mr. H. W. C. Davis's *Medieval Europe*, by Mr. H. Belloc, and *Fiona Macleod and Celtic Legends*, by Mrs. Reginald Balfour.

The Hibbert Journal issued in October its Decennial number, constituting a record in this kind. It justly claims that the result of the efforts forms 'a worthy landmark in the history of the Journal.' Fourteen articles are included such as have seldom been collected in a single number of a Review. *Life and Consciousness*, by Henri Bergson, and a criticism of Bergson's philosophy by Mr. A. J. Balfour; *The Christian Mystery*, by N. Loisy, and *Greek and Christian Piety*, by Prof. Harnack; *The Apocalyptic Element in the Gospels*, by Dr. Sanday, and *Is there one Science of Nature?* by Prof. J. A. Thomson—these are the first six articles in a brilliant number, the contents of which cannot be described in detail. It may suffice to say that Bergson's article is a characteristic one, tending to the conclusion that 'the passage of consciousness through matter is destined to bring to precision in the form of distinct personality tendencies or potentialities which at first were mingled, and also to permit these personalities to test their force whilst at the same time increasing it by an effort of self-creation.' Mr. Balfour's criticism of Bergson's attitude in relation to teleology is in the main just, but the philosopher's face is *towards* teleology, not away from it, and he tells us himself that he is content to take one step at a time. He has already taken many steps away from the materialistic Agnosticism with which he began. Loisy becomes less and less satisfactory as time goes on; the constructive element in his teaching diminishes rather than increases. Dr. Sanday is disappointingly hesitating on the Apocalyptic Element in the Gospels, but he withdraws somewhat from his earlier eulogy of Schweitzer. This whole number of the *Hibbert* is full of interesting and suggestive matter.

Journal of Theological Studies (October).—The leading article is a continuation of Sir H. Howorth's *Influence of St. Jerome on the Canon of*

the Western Church. The section on Documents contains an Arian Sermon from a MS. in the Chapter Library of Verona, with introduction and notes by Mr. C. H. Turner. Amongst the shorter articles the most interesting are, a note on the relation between the Odes of Solomon and the Pistis Sophia, by W. H. Worrell, *The Poetry of the Greek Book of Proverbs*, by H. St. John Thackeray, and an instructive paper on *The Study of Composite Writings in the Old Testament*. It is time that the principles more or less generally accepted by critics on this subject should be elucidated. Sanday's *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, and Stanton's *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, are sympathetically reviewed.

The Holborn Review (October) opens with an appreciative notice of the Hartley Lecture for 1911, by Prof. Humphries, on the Holy Spirit. Mr. Harvey-Jellie writes with knowledge on Protestantism in France, and is more hopeful concerning its future than are most observers. A timely subject is *Modern Theories of Sin*, and it is discussed with some ability à propos of Dr. Orchard and Mr. F. R. Tennant, by Mr. J. G. Soulsby. The writer, however, only skirts some of the main difficulties. Two interesting articles are *The Cult of St. Francis*, by A. W. Harrison, M.A., and *Our Royal Edwards and the Principality of Wales*, by W. Ernest Beet, B.A. The eulogy of Mr. H. G. Wells in another article can hardly be called discriminating. The reviews of books form, as always, an important feature in the *Holborn*; they are both full and fair.

The Expositor (October and November).—Sir W. Ramsay's two articles on *The Thought of Paul* are full of interest, especially in relation to the question, 'Did Paul see Jesus in the flesh?' raised by Dr. J. H. Moulton in a previous paper in the *Expositor*. Sir W. Ramsay finds the most convincing evidence that Joh. Weiss, Moulton, and others, are right, in the nature of St. Paul's conversion and his own language concerning it. Prof. Oman contributes two articles on *Personality and Grace*—a fruitful subject just now. Principal Garvie continues his discussions on St. Paul, dealing with the Gentile influences upon his mind and education and asking, 'Is St. Paul's Gospel out of date?' Other articles are *The Book of Judges*, by Canon Driver; *The Epistle of Philemon*, by Prof. Anderson Scott; and one full of the most sacred and tender interest on *The Broken Heart of Jesus*, by Sir Alexander Simpson, M.D. The distinguished physician holds that the lance-thrust of the Roman soldier as Jesus hung on the Cross proved that the life had been laid down already, that the heart of Jesus, 'bursting under the measureless strain, had poured out the blood that was to woo and win His brethren back to their Father.'

The Expository Times (October and November).—The editor deals briefly but effectively with the question of the Miracles of the New Testament, as raised by Rev. J. M. Thompson, Dean of Magdalen College, Oxford. He very reasonably objects to Mr. Thompson's repeated 'pistol shot question,' Is it true? *The Present Theological Situation* is discussed by Rev. J. M. Shaw, who holds that the present relative depreciation of Systematic Theology and the corresponding exaltation of Psychology and Comparative Religion can only be temporary. Prof. Jackson of Toronto

writes on *The Missionary Idea in the Gospels*, with the object of showing that whether or no we have in Matt. xxviii. 18-20 the exact words of Christ, yet the root and spring of all missionary effort are to be found in His Gospel and ministry. Prof. Sayce brings out the significance of *The Jewish Papyri of Elephantine*, and Dr. W. F. Cobb propounds his views—not likely to be universally accepted—on *The Gift of Healing in the Church*. 'The true answer to our question,' he says, 'would seem to be that wherever there is faith at all there is proportionate healing power, even though its possessor is unaware of its existence.'

The two papers in the November *Contemporary* of special interest to the general reader are the one on Mrs. Gaskell, by Annie Kimball Tuell, in which she gives a genial and charming account of the life and works of the biographer of Charlotte Brontë, and the one in which the Bishop of Carlisle discourses on *The Training of the Clergy*. That training, the bishop contends, should not be exclusively intellectual and spiritual. Amongst other things he insists upon the culture of the power of speech. 'Nothing is easier in reading than the histrionic and artificial; nothing harder than to be simple and natural.' The moral effect of naturalness is as great as the intellectual. 'Neither artificial reading nor artificial speaking carries conviction with it. It is necessary to speak naturally in order to persuade.'

Social reformers should read what Mr. Norman Pearson has to say in the November *Nineteenth Century* on *The Idle Poor*. We hear a good deal about the idle rich; but the writer maintains that 'the real danger to the labouring classes is not above but below them; not in the extortions of the so-called idle rich, but in those of the idle poor.' His contentions are based upon the Twenty-ninth Report of the Local Government Board, and the Report of the Poor Law Commission, from both of which he quotes largely. Like many of the leaders of the workmen, he is firmly convinced that the only way to deal effectively with vagrants and loafers is by detention, and it is evident that the whole community is fast becoming of his mind. The idle have too long been allowed to live on the industrious.

In *Blackwood* for November Miss Fargeon gives a delightful account of a strangely forgotten Elizabethan minor poet, one Nathaniel Downes, whose *Journal* and volume of lyrics entitled *The Shepherd's Gyrland* are freely laid under contribution. This remarkable poet, it appears, began life as a blacksmith's apprentice in Sussex, and he tells us that 'the iron would grow cold on the anvil whiles I didd string my rhymes. Then my master did beat mee.' Soon afterwards he set out for London, blithely singing on his way, and, in course of time, became acquainted with some of the wits and poets of the time. The little poem beginning

A rogue is in her dimpled cheeks, an angell in her eie,
The rogue doth make a mock of me, the angell passes by,

is quite worthy of the *Golden Treasury*, and there are several more, if not so fine, well worthy of a place in England's Antiphon.

The Church Quarterly (October).—Dr. Headlam argues strongly for *The Value of the Establishment of the Church*. He speaks 'with warmth about

the action of political Nonconformity,' but thinks 'there is little reason why the national Church of this country should not contain within its body the Wesleyan and other religious parties which exist at present. Theologically there is hardly more difference between the Church and the orthodox Nonconformist communities than there is between different parties of the Church. We do not hope for immediate reunion, but we believe that reunion is quite possible, and that it will be more likely to come with an Established than with a Disestablished Church.' The article puts the Church view ably and temperately.

AMERICAN

The *American Journal of Theology* for October maintains a high standard. Prof. von Dobschütz of Breslau discusses a most interesting question, 'What were the most important motives for behaviour in the life of the early Christians?' The author's published volume on the ethics of the early church proves his ability to deal with a topic which brings us to the very heart of the Christian religion. What motive powers animated the early Christians that were peculiar to themselves, and what did they share in common with their age? Prof. H. P. Smith is not convincing in his account of *The Hebrew View of Sin*; the language of the Old Testament is not so easily to be explained in the author's sense. Dr. Warfield's second article on *The Two Natures of Christ* is able, but his contentions are already arousing keen criticism. His vindication of orthodoxy is evidently not popular with some of the contributors to this Journal. *The Christology of a Modern Rationalist*, by F. H. Foster, is thin fare. Very instructive on the other hand is Dr. Geo. Galloway's discussion of *Religious Experience and Theological Development*, a subject he has made his own. The survey of modern literature is conducted with great ability.

The *Princeton Theological Review* contains four leading articles, *Faith in its Theological Aspects*, by Dr. B. B. Warfield; *The Character and Claims of the Roman Catholic English Bible*, by J. Oscar Boyd; *The Religion of the Emperor Julian*, by E. G. Sihler; and *The Writings of Samuel Miller*, a bibliography of over twenty closely printed pages containing the titles only of the works of the second professor in Princeton Seminary from 1818-1850. Dr. Warfield's paper does not add much to the contents of his well-known article on Faith in Hastings' Dictionary, but it is careful and thorough in its analysis. The points of difference between the Catholic and Protestant versions of the English Bible are too little known, and Dr. Boyd's account of the former is full and scholarly. The notices of books form an important part of the number.

The *Methodist Review* (New York) (November and December).—The chief articles are *The American Newspaper*, by Dr. C. M. Stuart, editor of the *N. W. Christian Advocate*; *Brooke Foss Westcott*, by Dr. G. P. Mains; *The Evolution of Modern Bible Study and Tendencies of Modern Literature*. Among the Notes and Discussions is to be found the longest and perhaps the most interesting article in the number, on *Visible Values*

in *Robert Browning*. The sections entitled *The Arena* and *Glimpses of Reviews and Magazines* contain miscellaneous matter.

The Methodist Review (Nashville) (October).—Dr. Gross Alexander has provided an interesting bill of fare. Prof. Olin Curtis of Drew Seminary contributes *A New Estimate of the Theological Situation*, in which he reviews the past, gives counsel for the present, and even ventures a forecast of the future. Dr. B. B. Warfield, in answer to 'How shall we baptize?' wisely leaves large latitude of method. Dr. James Mudge sketches the work of Horace Bushnell with sympathy and power. He thinks that Bushnell was 'the greatest religious genius that American Christianity has yet produced'; we may add that in this country he is being too soon forgotten. 'Spectator' writes on *The Crusade against Modernism and its Results*—a timely article.

The Review and Expositor (Louisville) for October contains *The Character and History of the 1811 Version*, by W. T. Whitley; *The English Bible in English Literature*, by Prof. I. C. Metcalf; a good account of *Tolstoi's Religion*; a curious article on *Hawthorne's Immitigable*, by Prof. Fruit—an attempt to show that the reiterated word 'immitigable' in Hawthorne's writings is 'the key to the informing sense of his thought'—and an account of *The Letters and Epistles of Paul*, which can hardly be said to be abreast of modern discussions of the subject, though Deissmann and Ramsay are quoted.

Harvard Theological Review.—The October number opens with an article on *Emerson from an Indian Point of View*, by Principal Maitra, M.A., of the City College, Calcutta. Emerson appeals to the Oriental mind, it is held, because of the spiritual affinity between the teachings of the East and his ruling ideas. Emerson's denial of the personality of God is expounded as 'an affirmation of the divine infinitude, not a denial of consciousness or intelligence as an attribute of the Supreme Being.' It is acknowledged, however, that at times 'Emerson yields to optimism of the Oriental type and underestimates the need of human effort.' Dr. Daniel Evans, Professor of Theology at Andover, writes on *The Ethics of Jesus and the Modern Mind*. A well-reasoned argument leads to the conclusion that Christian Ethics is 'transcendent in its supreme good, ultimate in its sources, fundamental in its bases, authoritative in its claims, contemporary in its demands, and progressive in its character.' Professor Youtz, of Auburn, contributes a paper entitled *The Critical Problem of Theology To-day: the Problem of Method*. 'The older scientific ideal was unchangeable essence; the modern scientific ideal is development as the essential nature of things.' To those who think that uncertainty awaits 'those who apply the evolutionary insight to religious problems,' Dr. Youtz says: 'Christ, experience, the moral reason, are precious possessions by which we can always determine our religious latitude and longitude, and direct our thinking toward the right goal.' Dr. Macintosh, of Yale, dwells on the shortcomings of Ritschlianism, although he recognizes its strength, in an article on *The Idea of a Modern Orthodoxy*. 'God is not merely like Christ; God was in Christ, reconciling

the world to Himself, and thereby redeeming, regenerating, and progressively perfecting the sons of men.'

FOREIGN

The three main articles in the *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* for October deal in an adequate manner with *Pleasure and Joy*, *Apologetics and Theology*, and *The Question of Original Sin in the Writings of St. Anselm*. These are followed by an extended note on *Topicalité*, by which is meant something like relevance: it is a brief essay in logical art. Then come the Bulletins for which this Catholic Review is famous, one on the History of Philosophy, another on Apologetics, and a third on Speculative Theology. In each of them a wide range of current literature in Europe and America is reviewed and estimated from the Catholic point of view. In the first Bulletin there is a most interesting account of the Russian philosopher, Vladimir Soloviev, whose fame is rapidly extending beyond his native land. He is sometimes called the Russian Newman, and is here described as 'the first Russian philosopher.' In the Bulletin on Apologetics there is a capital précis of a new book on Pascal, *Pascal: His Religious Life and His Apology for Christianity*, by Father Petitot (Paris, Beauchesne). The writer thinks that Pascal weakened his demonstration by exaggerating the impotence of reason and the corruption of human nature. 'Original sin is not the only reason of our contradictions, of our ignorance, of our weakness, and it is false to represent it as the evident and unique explanation of all our evils and miseries. The desire for happiness is not a consequence of original sin, nor was it given, as Pascal maintains, to make us feel how far we have fallen and to punish us for our fall; but, of course, he is right when he sets himself to prove that we can only be happy by embracing the Christian religion.' Pascal's method of apology is coming into vogue once more, and all students would be interested in M. Petitot's expository and critical work.

In that admirable French monthly, *La Revue du Mois*, for October, there are three articles of more than ordinary interest: *Les hypothèses cosmogoniques*, by M. Henri Poincaré; *Le développement de la pensée de Cournot*, by M. Gaston Milliand; and *Le théâtre de M. J. M. Synge*, by Madeleine Cazamian. The first is the introductory chapter in a very comprehensive and important work on recent theories of the origin of the world by one of the most eminent of French savants; the second gives an admirable survey of the writings of Cournot, who, after a period of eclipse, is once more coming into vogue, and whose life and writings are attracting almost universal attention; and the third is a beautiful exposition of the art of Synge. All his plays are analysed and appreciated, and full justice is done to his genius as an observer and artist of Irish peasant life. 'The fisherfolk, the peasantry, homely Irish firesides, the moving solitudes of sea, and rock, and land—all these he has set in a vivid light. The sorrow, the joy, the irony of the existence of these humble characters are exhibited with a realism that sometimes amounts to *brutalité*, and he makes the humour and the pathos of their lot spring from the deepest depths.'

Religion and Geisteskultur.—The first article in the October number is by Dr. Otto Braun; it deals with the philosophy of *Schelling and Schleiermacher*, and shows that both these idealists were, in their youth, influenced by Fichte, and that both were associated with the origin of the romantic movement. Theologians who are unwilling to recognize Schleiermacher as a romanticist neglect his earlier writings. He was 'the ethical genius' of the movement, and was drawn into it by his revolt against Philistine morals. He provided Goethe's conception of individuality with a scientific basis; on the other hand, his views on friendship, love, and marriage reveal the influence of romanticism upon his thought. *The Personal Idealism of Boström*, the Swedish philosopher, is expounded by Dr. Efraim Liljeqvist. Boström, who died in 1866, owed much to Schelling and to Hegel, but in his later years his teaching was decidedly antipanthistic. Spinoza's influence upon him was important, but it was negative. Boström held that Christianity is the highest religion, though Christ is regarded as only one of the sons of God. A fuller criticism of the bearing of Boström's teaching upon Christology would have been welcome. In one place ideas are said to be God's children, and the only logical conclusion seems to be that to an idea is ascribed the historic sowing of the seed of the highest religion. In a critical review of recent *Apologetic literature*, Dr. Herman Staeps laments that still materialism finds defenders in the ranks of German scientists, but he also regrets that orthodox defenders of the faith sometimes fail to differentiate among opponents, and occasionally make use of antiquated weapons. Dr. Rudolf Otto's work on *The Naturalistic and the Religious View of the World* is highly praised. Facts are adduced which show that Darwinism, in so far as it gives a naturalistic and mechanical view of the world, is now discredited. In modern theories of Evolution the struggle for existence and natural selection play a subordinate part; on the other hand, the active functions of organisms and teleological tendencies are recognized. Thus room is left for the religious view of nature.

Theologische Literaturzeitung.—In No. 21 there is an instructive review by Dr. A. Dorner of a Roman Catholic work by Sub-rector Pfäffisch, entitled *The Influence of Plato upon the Theology of Justin Martyr*. Dorner examines the arguments in detail, and comes to the conclusion that Justin was more probably influenced by Philo. An English work, *The Threshold of Religion*, by R. R. Marett, is highly commended by Dr. E. W. Mayer. The author is said to combine fullness of knowledge with critical caution. He rejects the minimum definition of religion which reduces it to a belief in spirits. What is characteristic of religion is held to be 'the feeling of awe'; but awe is not only fear, it is also wonder, reverence, and perhaps also love. This feeling manifests itself among primitive peoples, and if not pre-animistic is independent of animism. Mayer thinks that there is no reason to doubt that religion does pre-suppose a feeling of reverent dependence on a power regarded as supernatural, and that this feeling is widespread amongst the most ancient peoples of whom we have any knowledge. Four works which discuss the teaching of *Nietzsche* from

different points of view are noticed by Dr. Schwartzkopff. Weincl accounts for Nietzsche's attack upon the Christian ideal by his confusion of Christian with Buddhist ethics. Prof. Paul Fischer maintains that Nietzsche's objections against Christianity do not affect its essential teaching, although they have force when applied to the imperfect realization of the ideal of Christ by many Christians. The contrast between the self-redemption of Nietzsche and redemption through Christ is also sharply drawn. Dr. Eberhard Arnold traces the influences in Nietzsche's career which transformed a youth religiously disposed into a bitter enemy of Christianity. Dr. S. Friedländer also aims at giving an intellectual biography of Nietzsche. He finds more to admire and less to criticize than the authors already mentioned. Schwartzkopff says that much may be learnt from Friedländer's sketch, although it does not help its readers to form any clearer conception of Nietzsche's philosophy.

Theologische Rundschau.—The editor, Dr. Bousset, examines, at some length, in the October number, the theory of a pre-Christian worship of Jesus, as reiterated by the American scholar, W. B. Smith, in the second edition of his work, *The pre-Christian Jesus*. Epiphanius mentions a pre-Christian sect whom he designates Nasarenes. After examining the sources on which Epiphanius depended for his information—Hippolytus, &c.—Bousset clearly shows that there was a Jewish list of heretics, in which *Christians* were described as Nazarenes; this list was used in Christian tradition as a list of *Jewish* heresies. It was easy, therefore, for Epiphanius and his authority to fall into the error of supposing that the names were those of pre-Christian sects. Smith also lays great stress on the occurrence of the name of Jesus in an ancient Naasene hymn quoted by Hippolytus. But Bousset replies that it is generally acknowledged that the Naasenes made use of the New Testament writings. Smith is reminded that 'mere repetition does not transform error into truth.' Nowack reviews recent literature dealing with the *History of Israelitish Religion*. Peake's *The Religion of Israel* is favourably noticed, though exception is taken to the explanation given of the two forms of the Decalogue. 'The work is well adapted to set before its readers, in broad outlines, the development of the Israelitish Religion.' An important work by P. Torge on *Old Testament Teaching concerning the Soul of Immortality* is eulogized because good use is made of the materials supplied by the comparative study of religions. The individualism of Jeremiah and the complete destruction of the national hopes are regarded as accounting for the emergence of the hope of personal immortality. A reaction against these views, however, finds expression in some Psalms and in Qoheleth. A pamphlet by Bernard Duhm on *The Coming Kingdom of God* is described as 'thoughtful and stimulating.' In the Old Testament there are two lines of development—the idealistic and the theocratic—though they are not always kept distinct. In the Apocalyptic books the eschatological conception of the Kingdom is found. Jesus accepted the current ideas, but corrected them. The centre of religion He placed in the individual soul, but He also taught the necessity of world-renewal.

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APRIL 1912

MR. LLOYD GEORGE ON THE CHURCH AND THE POVERTY PROBLEM

THE Church in old days was actively responsible for the care of the poor and needy. The monks in their monasteries taught the children, entertained strangers, nursed the sick and fed the hungry. The Church has, in course of time, converted the State to these objects, and now it is the State which provides schools, hospitals, and means of relief. The provision is complete and intricate. There is hardly any form of poverty which some organization or institution is not established to meet. Millions of pounds are annually spent, and a whole army of agents are employed who work under skilled inspection. But after all has been done, the poverty of the people seems overwhelming. The underfed are evident in the streets; the underclothed suffer and are weakened by cold. Families live anxious lives not knowing when the thin partition which protects them from starvation may be broken. Children do not live out half the days of their childhood, and many of those who do live never taste its joys. The State is spending its millions, and such is still the problem of poverty.

What is the Church—using the term in its large ancient and modern sense, as ‘the body of all faithful people’—what is the Church called to do ?

Mr. Lloyd George has lately reminded us that 'Poverty, misery, and wretchedness do not exist in the land because the land is sterile and bare, and does not provide enough for all.' 'The area of poverty fluctuates,' he goes on to say, 'without any fault of the people who endure it, and many suffer largely through the fault of their surroundings.' The Church, obviously, cannot deal with such a problem. As well try to run the army and navy by appeals for voluntary subscriptions as try to get rid of poverty, wretchedness, and bad houses by charity. The Church has not the requisite resources, nor can it supply the necessary administrative ability. 'It is the community alone that can command the resources to drain this morass of wretchedness so as to convert it into a verdant and fertile plain.'

What can the Church do? It cannot itself, as in old times, bear this responsibility. It is not expedient that it should draft Housing or Poor Relief Bills, enter into political propaganda to support one particular measure against another. It is not wise, I would add, for it to become the almoner of charitable funds. That experience has not been happy in East London. Where the clergy have put on this habit of giving, their ministrations have lost respect. The man who takes a dole is never content with himself, he is angry at having received anything and at not having received more, and his neighbour becomes shy of the Church lest he too be suspected of begging. 'Obligation,' it has been truly said, 'is a burden between two people, under which both are restless.' The giver is inclined to be patronizing and the recipient to be resentful. The clergy who are givers of relief frequently fall into a habit of patronizing, which subtly affects even their manner of speech, and has done much to destroy their influence as peacemakers between classes. For myself, as I look back on my life, I think if I were again to have the charge of a parish I would hand over to an independent body every duty connected with relief. I remember with sorrow the

buds of friendship which were nipped both by my gifts and my refusals, and I remember the misunderstanding in which spiritual ministrations became involved.

What, however, is the Church to do if it can neither promote laws nor give relief? Its power, as Mr. Lloyd George says, lies in another direction. It is to guide, control, and direct the consciences of the community, and to establish the moral standards which fix the ideals of the people. It is to make a public opinion whose breath will reach the council chamber, the shop, the factory, and all affairs of life. 'The function of the Church,' in one word, is 'to create an atmosphere in which the rulers of the country not only can engage in reforming these dire evils, but in which it will be impossible for them not to do so.'

Such an atmosphere can be created, Mr. Lloyd George thinks, by two means: I. By rousing the national conscience to a knowledge of the existence of these evils, and to a sense of responsibility for dealing with them. II. By inculcating the necessary spirit of self-sacrifice.

I am disposed to agree that the duty of the Church is to create an atmosphere rather than to engage in great doings, and I would add a short supplement to Mr. Lloyd George's advice.

I. People must know the facts about poverty. A fact, however, is not always easily discovered. A representation of wretchedness on the stage, the lurid description by a missionary, the telling sermon, are sometimes accepted for facts. They are turned over in the minds of the spectators or hearers till they lose their savour, and more sensation is required to produce attention. They were not facts, they were pictures which were not always truth. The discovery of fact, like every other discovery worth making, must be made at some cost, and they who would know the poverty of the poor must get the knowledge first hand. The men and women who reside at settlements have given up much so as to live in crowded industrial quarters,

where they will every day be in touch with poor neighbours, feel the pressure of mean surroundings, and unconsciously learn the secrets of the streets. These facts eat into their daily experience and are worked into their memories. They know in a way they can never forget how the poor live.

The Church, then, if it is to help people to know the facts of poverty, must bring rich and poor into contact. It may seem a Utopian doctrine to preach the duty of the cultured to live amid mean streets. I remember how it seemed when the first proposal for a settlement was made, and how those who made it needed much encouragement. I would, therefore, encourage others to dare to preach the same doctrine, and, at any rate, it should be possible to bring together the members of churches situated in rich and poor neighbourhoods, so that they might be on visiting acquaintance and learn something of one another. The only sure way by which the knowledge of the facts of poverty can enter, is one made by knowledge of the people themselves.

Another way, less good, but much better than that of sensational narration, is for the Church to show the shadow which the facts of poverty throw on life. Rossetti, in a poem, teaches us that evil when it is looked at is apt, like the Medusa's head, to turn the heart to stone. Wise men strike at it by looking at the shadow. There is a dark shadow on England which is thrown by the fact of poverty. If that shadow were shown as it lies across the Churches, chilling many of the prayers and taking the reality out of the Christian profession; if it were seen as it confuses the outlook of honest business men in their relations with work-people, and as it shakes the home with the panic of suspicion, there would be more earnest desire to discover the facts which reach so far and are so powerful. The Church, without telling the tales of evil and sorrow which may turn hearts to stone, might so trace the shadow on the face of society that the people will seek for themselves the fact from which it falls.

There is, however, still one other way which the Church might use which it has in part neglected, the way of statistics. The statement of comparative figures, a carefully-worked-out poor man's budget, the proportion of property owned by the rich class to that owned by the poor class, the mortality among infants and children, the deaths by accident in industrial occupations, the waifs and strays picked yearly off our streets, the workman's average wage, the number of children whose education is stopped that they may work in factories and mines—these and such-like figures are eloquent beyond words. Few members of a Christian Church could hear them and not be moved to force their way into greater knowledge of the facts of poverty.

When the knowledge is gained, then it is for the Church to bring home to every member of the community the sense of responsibility. The nation has been well defined as a spiritual whole. Its citizens are joined together for their mutual support, and for a great common purpose. United they stand and united they fall; if one suffers all suffer. If one through ignorance or selfishness contributes to the making of bad laws or to the increase of lawlessness, if one through idle words tends to lower the public opinion which in a free country is the final arbiter, then the nation has less power to make its citizens strong and less power to perform its mission to humanity. The Church, in a self-governed nation, cannot keep itself apart. It is not a caste or a sect or a club with limited responsibility, and its members cannot consistently concern themselves only with the worshippers using their own peculiar doctrines and ritual, and remain indifferent to neighbours whose thoughts and acts must closely touch their interests. The Church has thus a duty to the whole nation, so that the citizens may fulfil their calling as part of a spiritual whole.

The Church is in a very real sense the guardian of patriotism, fanning national self-respect to greater force when it

suffers dishonour because its citizens are weakened by poverty or ignorance, restraining national pride when it becomes arrogant or boastful, and inspiring national ambition with higher ideas of service. When, therefore, facts so dishonouring to the nation as wretchedness and degradation are understood, and they are traced either to unequal laws or to the need of law, or to lawlessness, then it is for the Church to bring home to each citizen the sense of his responsibility. There are laws, like some of those affecting property, which encourage greed to be tyrannical, and there might be laws which would make slums impossible and raise everywhere the standard of health; there are customs and manners, approved by public opinion, which emphasize inequality, keep up signs of division between classes and limit happiness, and there might be customs favouring equality which would spread pleasure in widest commonality; there is a belief in force, founded often on careless talk, which embitters the relation of industry, and there might be a belief in courteous consideration and meekness which would make peace; there is a fashion of lawlessness evident in all classes which threatens to introduce a tyranny destructive to progress, and there might be a patient obedience to law which would secure the progress well defined as 'order in motion.' But without further examples, it will be admitted that much of the suffering, the wretchedness, and the poverty may be traced to the laws, customs, and habits under which people live, and for which the people themselves are responsible. When, then, in sight of such wretchedness the cry for reform is raised, and men ask 'Who is to be blamed?' 'What Government?' 'What class?' the Church in the old words has to say to each citizen, 'Thou art the man.'

The teaching will not be popular. Individuals in these days are apt to hide themselves from reproach by becoming members of great associations or combinations whose interests absorb their hopes. Workmen want to see Trade Unions

supreme, employers protest that capital must be master in its own house, and Socialists seem chiefly concerned for Socialism as a system to benefit one class. The teaching which puts the nation above any single interest, and humanity above even national interest, will never be popular. When the teaching goes on to show that class cannot throw the blame on class, that both workman and capitalist are responsible for much of the loss from which all suffer, then again there is resentment. The Church, in the present as in the past, cannot be popular as it preaches of an association greater than any one of man's making, and as it throws on each individual the responsibility for the poverty and wretchedness by which his neighbours are crushed out of the joy and strength of their manhood.

II. The second way which Mr. Lloyd George suggests by which the Church may make an atmosphere is by inculcating the necessary spirit of self-sacrifice. The Church's one foundation is Jesus Christ, and it must always hold up the Figure from whom new powers of sacrifice reach humanity. But while it preaches Christ, it will also have to give some guidance as to the new forms of sacrifice required by new times. The Church has often identified sacrifice with gifts of money, and it has raised mighty sums. But giving is not always the sacrifice which is required, and sometimes, indeed, is not sacrifice. Money subscribed in response to sensational appeal, or conjured out of the giver by the arts of advertisers, is not the sacrifice which is drawn by the contemplation of the Cross of Christ. And money gifts which in former generations successfully reached other needs do not so surely reach the needs of people whose relations to one another have become more complex, and whose individual characters have been greatly developed. Charity must have a larger meaning than almsgiving, and sacrifice imply more than a gift. The time is ripe for a change. The self-sacrifice of to-day, though it be measured by sums of money unrivalled in old times, does not make a glow in the

heart of the giver, and sometimes rouses scepticism in the minds of onlookers. Popular self-sacrifice can hardly be said to make the atmosphere in which politicians would be bound to legislate for the needs of the poor. The Church, again, has before it a hard task, as it takes away the satisfaction of those who raise mighty sums of money, puts a limit on the thanks offered to those who give money, and encourages new forms of sacrifice for others' needs.

Such new forms may, I think, be found in the way of study and in the way of self-subjection. By study the triumphs of modern life—its comforts and its wealth—have been won. No business man expects to succeed except by the close application of his mind and by keeping awake to every change. The most valuable asset in the country is the thought which is expended on its business and on its scientific discoveries. The asset is so valuable that people are tempted to retain all their thought in the service of their comfort and their pleasure—they give much study for these ends, they rise early and go late to bed, they wear out their bodies to make money and find excitement; but they do not take like pains to improve the condition of the people. They give their thoughts for themselves, they give only their money for others.

The Church, inspired by the sacrifice of its Lord, has to lead the people to give their best, and be as earnest and as serious in the study of others' needs as in the pursuit of business or of science.

It must make people think as they inquire into the causes of distress and give study as to what remedies are possible. Opinions about Trade Unions, and dogmas about Socialism, and votes about the policy of poor relief, are not enough. There will have to be much taking of pains if those opinions and votes are to be of any value. There will have to be Economy circles as well as Bible circles in every congregation, and the study of political history will have to go on alongside of theology. The Church en-

lightening and heating the people's powers of sacrifice at the furnace of Christ's love must lead them to give what they most value, and what is most valuable, their study. Good intentions without knowledge have again and again hindered growth, and knowledge is only possible by study.

Self-subjection is another form of sacrifice which may, I think, be more frequently preached. 'Why does charity sometimes fail—and rouse resentment?' 'There is often so much self in it.' 'Why do many generous givers to the poor object to the payment of a tax or rate? Why do so many honourable men and women feel justified in escaping the taxation necessary for the nation's welfare and defence?' 'They dislike to subject themselves.' Self-assertion takes many forms, but wherever it appears it is corrupting. It makes the giver of charity unconsciously patronize the recipient till the very name becomes hateful, it lurks about the steps of visitors to the homes of the poor till visits provoke servility and untruth, and it rouses resentment in the hearts of people when they are compelled to pay taxes for pensions, for sanitary improvements, or even for national defence. The people who are ready to give as they like rebel against the compulsion which puts constraint on their self-assertion, they grumble as if they had been treated unfairly, and think it right to cheat the law so as to escape payment. But the needs of the poor—as we have seen—can only be met by the taxation of the rich, and no freewill offerings will avail to secure the conditions necessary to health and to happiness. Self-subjection must be preached so that taxes may be cheerfully paid. The familiar text may, indeed, in the light of modern needs, be read as 'God loveth a cheerful tax-payer.'

Self-subjection, humility, or lowliness of heart have always been placed among the highest Christian virtues. They have fallen into disrepute during the years when popular opinion has done honour to strong action, and politicians have taken credit for not 'lying down' under reproach.

The Church, it seems to me, has much leeway to make up, so that in season and out of season it must preach against self-assertion and call for the sacrifice of self-subjection. Self-assertion or pride makes an atmosphere fatal both to peace and to healthy social reform. Nations, sensitive of their own dignity, are alienated by suspicion. Labour and capital are kept apart quite as much by want of mutual respect as by economic causes. Any appearance of patronage embitters the relations of neighbours. Reforms urged in the name of rights are apt to end in putting one selfish class in the place of another selfish class.

If the duty of the Church is to make an atmosphere in which it will be impossible for Governments to forget the poor, and which will give them strength to carry through measures of social reform, it must set in the very front of its teaching and practice the doctrine of self-subjection and humility. The sacrifice which God desires is always that of a broken spirit, and the High and Mighty who inhabiteth eternity still finds His place in the humble heart.

The Church might, as Mr. Lloyd George says, meet the needs of the situation. It has a hold on men's consciences, and it can bring to bear a force such as is wielded by no other body political or social. In past generations its strength may have been dissipated in rivalries about details of difference, but there are many signs that a unity is now being recognized in which differences have a place. The question is whether, in face of the dangers from poverty, the Church, inspired by communion with its Lord's eternal sacrifice, will use its force to keep open the window through which people may look and see the poverty in which their neighbours are living, and, further, hold up modern ideals of sacrifice so that all who call themselves Christians may serve their neighbours' needs with generosity, with judgement, and with self-subjection.

SAMUEL AUGUSTUS BARNETT.

EUCKEN ON CHRISTIANITY

Können wir noch Christen sein? von RUDOLPH EUCKEN.
(Leipzig: Veit & Co., 1911.)

The Truth of Religion. By RUDOLPH EUCKEN. Translated
by W. TUDOR JONES, Ph.D. (Williams & Norgate,
1911.)

Life's Basis and Life's Ideal. By R. EUCKEN. Translated
by ALBAN G. WIDGERY. (A. & C. Black, 1911.)

The Problem of Human Life. By R. EUCKEN. Translated
by WILLISTON S. HOUGH and W. R. BOYCE GIBSON.
(T. Fisher Unwin, 1909.)

ARE we still Christians? The question was asked by Strauss in his *Old and New Faith* in 1874 and was answered by a vigorous No! By this was meant that 'we'—including himself and those who accepted the positions laid down in his *Life of Jesus* and subsequent books—had relinquished all profession of Christianity, as well as all belief in a personal God and immortality; they only retained religion in the sense of acknowledging 'absolute dependence on the universe,' whatever that might mean. To this same question Prof. Eucken of Jena has lately returned an equally vigorous Yes! His answer in the closing sentences of a volume published at the end of last year¹ is 'that we not only can, but are bound to be Christians,' always provided that Christianity is understood as an historical movement still in mid-course, and that it be delivered from its stiff traditional and ecclesiastical limitations and placed upon a freer, broader basis. Such process of deliverance he considers to be the great task of the present and the ground of hope for the future.

Much water has flowed under the theological bridges

¹ *Können wir noch Christen sein?* p. 286.

between 1874 and 1912, and it seems worth while to inquire into the significance of the change from the sceptical and materialistic eighth decade of the nineteenth century to the bold theological reconstruction proposed in the second decade of the twentieth. Or rather, it is very desirable to inquire into the exact meaning of the utterances just quoted from Prof. Eucken. What this or that average German professor thinks of Christianity does not matter very greatly to the world; it may be that there are as many opinions as professors. But Eucken has a European, not to say world-wide, reputation; thousands of devoted disciples wait for his utterances, and a still larger audience is deeply interested in all that he writes. He shares with Bergson the repute of being the most truly 'alive' of all living thinkers on the Continent; and he has dealt at length, as Bergson has not, with the deepest problems of religion. Especially since he gained in 1908 the Nobel literary wreath of honour, he is eagerly read in every country and in most languages of Europe as the philosopher best able to shed light upon the religious unsettlement and restlessness of our age. He not only thinks, he can speak; he has a message to deliver, and, especially on such a subject as Christianity, it is important for all thoughtful Christians to listen to it.

I

It is impossible to understand Eucken's attitude towards Christianity without having some general idea of his philosophical position. This is happily now not difficult; for, in addition to his main, carefully constructed treatises, he has published a number of shorter, popular expositions, most of which have been translated into English. His leading works are: *Die Lebensanschauungen der grossen Denker* (1890), now in its ninth edition, translated into English under the title mentioned above, *The Problem of Human Life*. It contains a history of the leading philosophies

of life from Plato to the present time, and substantially furnishes a history of philosophy from Eucken's own point of view. *Die Grundlinien einer neuen Lebensanschauung* (1907), one of Eucken's chief constructive works, has been well translated into English, with an interesting introductory Note, by Mr. Alban Widgery, under the title *Life's Basis and Life's Ideal*. The book which the author himself describes as his main work is *Der Wahrheitsgehalt der Religion* (1901). It has had a large sale in Germany, and a translation by Dr. Tudor Jones was issued last autumn, with the title *The Truth of Religion*. It is a great gain to have this book accessible to English readers, but we are compelled to say that the translation from the English reader's standpoint leaves much to be desired. Dr. Tudor Jones was a pupil of Eucken, and is familiar with all his modes of expression. But his renderings are so near to the German that many of them will hardly be intelligible to readers unacquainted with the original. Prof. Gibson and Mr. Widgery are more successful from the English point of view. But the task of rendering Eucken's chief work on religion was not easy, and a critic who finds fault with Dr. Tudor Jones's English equivalents of some of the author's characteristic phrases may find it difficult to improve on them. One important work, *Geistige Strömungen der Gegenwart* (1904), a third edition of an earlier treatise, has not been translated into English. The Jena philosopher is, however, probably best known in this country through the friendly mediation and interpretation of Prof. W. R. Boyce Gibson, now of Melbourne, who has written a very interesting account of Eucken's life and work and has translated some of his lighter and more popular books. We may mention *Christianity and the New Idealism* (Harper) and *The Meaning and Value of Life* (A. & C. Black), both translated by Dr. and Mrs. Gibson, and *The Life of the Spirit* (Williams & Norgate), translated by Mr. F. L. Pogson.

Prof. Eucken's visits to London and Oxford last summer

brought him into personal contact with many English admirers; and his brief lecture on 'Religion and Life' then delivered, which can be read in half an hour, contains more food for thought than a score of more pretentious volumes. The book named first on our list, *Can we still be Christians?* has not yet been presented in an English dress, though a translation is promised shortly. It gives in popular form the author's conclusions as to Christianity previously declared in the more sustained exposition of his doctrines. To justify the question propounded in the title, Eucken describes the present position and claims of Christianity and the objections and difficulties in the way of its acceptance raised in modern times. The chief arguments here employed will meet us again, but he closes by pointing out what seems to him to be the impossibility of reform within the pale of what may be called ecclesiastical Christianity, and the inevitable necessity of a complete re-construction of its theology in the light of modern knowledge. Prof. Boyce Gibson says in one place: 'Eucken's philosophy is essentially a Christian philosophy of life; a re-statement and development in philosophical form of the religious teaching of Jesus.' Whether that is so or not depends on the meaning of the word 'Christian.' In what sense Eucken understands it, we proceed to inquire.

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II

Eucken's contribution to the philosophy of religion may be divided into three parts. First, he lays stress upon Life as a whole as the proper subject-matter of philosophy. He is in sympathy with William James, Bergson and others in their protest against the excessive intellectualism which has dominated philosophy: human life must be viewed as a whole—intellectual, emotional, practical, social and individual—and the study of the whole reveals Life Spiritual as the paramount factor. In the light of this alone can

human life be understood and its deepest problems solved. Secondly, he shows that in this life of the Spirit lies the groundwork, the evidence, and the justification of Religion properly understood. Man is born a part of nature and above nature, and a study of Spiritual Life proves that religion is a fundamental, universal, and permanent element in human life. But, thirdly, Universal Religion must be distinguished from 'Characteristic' religions, and Christianity is selected as the highest type of religion known. Eucken at the same time defends and keenly criticizes it, as the best guide at present to a solution of life's problems, provided always that it be not presented in its traditional form, but be freed from what he considers unworthy and disfiguring accretions, in which case it will prove valuable as one stage in the advancement of mankind towards that Absolute Spiritual Life which is the goal of all true progress.

With the earlier stages of this great argument we are not now chiefly concerned. Suffice it to say that in our judgement Eucken's powerful presentation of the conflicts, the unrest, the religious contradictions and difficulties of our time, is fully justified by the facts. The condition he describes is more characteristic of Germany than of Britain and America; but the need of a surer foundation for religion, such as all reasonable men, representing philosophy, science, morals and art, as well as religion, may accept and ought rationally to accept, is very great. Whether the foundation which Eucken lays is broad enough, and firm enough, to command general agreement, remains to be seen. It is enough that he has made a bold attempt to find a true groundwork for Religion as covering the whole of life, and providing the only satisfaction for the hopes, fears, aspirations, struggles, efforts and needs of men as spiritual beings.

Religious readers will not find it difficult to travel a stage further with Eucken, as he points out the failure and

inadequacy of alternative 'Life-Systems' or 'Views of Life.' (These unsatisfactory English phrases must perforce stand for *Lebens-system* and *Lebens-anschauung*, unless 'Philosophy of Life' be considered a better equivalent.) Eucken considers the alternatives presented by 'Naturalism,' 'Intellectualism,' 'Immanent Idealism,' 'Socialism'—in his own sense of the term—and other prevalent systems which present each its own characteristic view of the facts of life and their significance. He weighs each in the balance and finds it wanting. Further, he considers that even Religion, as it has hitherto been presented, coming with authority as if from the skies and bringing a message from a Higher Power to which obedience must unquestioningly be yielded, has lost its practical hold on men. The modern man cares for this world, not for the next; he is gaining knowledge of nature and mastery over nature, and a message as if from God on high has little meaning for him, the axioms on which such religion used to rest being no longer admitted. 'Religion in the traditional, ecclesiastical form, despite all it has effected, is for the man of to-day a question rather than an answer. It is itself too much of a problem to interpret to us the meaning of life.' Another firmer foundation for it must be secured.

The basis laid down by Eucken is the Independent Spiritual Life, world-pervading and world-transcending, which he describes and expounds in all his books from almost every conceivable point of view. It means as Mr. Widgery expounds it that 'the individual shares the self-conscious, or otherwise expressed, the spiritual life which transcends nature, the individual and society. . . . Unless goodness, truth, beauty and all tendencies leading to them are self-consciously experienced they have neither meaning nor value; viewed universally, they presuppose the Independent Spiritual Life. . . . Remembering that life is fundamentally self-conscious or spiritual, it may be said that life's basis and life's ideal is life itself—life completely self-conscious

and following out its own necessities.¹ It may be shown, says Eucken, that man at the same time belongs to nature and is above it, or is steadily growing above it, that the 'spiritual life with its reality surrounds man not as a mere environment of his; it attains in him as a whole an immediate present moment and becomes with its infinity his own life and nature. . . . It could never arise against the power of nature if it were no more than a purely human thing. . . . Transformations in the Whole could only arise out of a Whole.'²

The doctrine here sketched is a form of Idealism, and it might, as has been suggested, be more correctly called Spiritualism, were that name not already attached to a doctrine of another kind. It is akin to what is known as Vitalism, but Eucken's own name for his theory is Activism. He objects to a Rationalism which forms a mere thought-world of abstractions on the one hand and to an historical Relativism which denies all stability and permanence on the other. He lays stress upon active life in progress as the material of philosophy; the very principle of personality depends on our own acts and deeds, being indeed the result of a vital process and consummated only through the spiritual energy of that process.

In this progressive autonomy of the spiritual life in man, which is at the same time immanent and transcendent, Eucken finds the groundwork of religion. It implies a new world. 'Religion holds up before us, over against the surrounding world, a new kind of existence, a new order of things, and divides reality into different provinces and worlds.' It 'rests on the presence of a Divine Life in man; it unfolds itself through the seizure of this Life as one's own nature. Religion subsists in the fact that man in the inmost foundation of his own being is raised into the Divine Life and participates in the Divine Nature.'³ Above all else,

¹ *Life's Basis*, p. xii.

² *Truth of Religion*, pp. 158, 159.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 187, 206.

religion is the energetic longing to maintain the Spiritual Life as a whole and to carry it through in the midst of seemingly insuperable obstacles. Such is the nature of Universal Religion; the rise of 'characteristic'—or, as they are generally termed, 'historical'—religions will be traced later.

We have no intention of criticizing this part of Eucken's work, but some questions arise which cannot be wholly ignored. What is meant by 'Independent Spiritual Life,' as being at the same time within and without human history? Within that history we can understand the name as an abstract description of all the highest life of humanity, in science and in philosophy, in art and in morals, as well as in religion; though it is only by a kind of superhuman effort that we gain a standpoint from which we may view these various complex strivings as one whole, and can make any kind of consistent statements based on so broad a generalization.

But the Spiritual Life *outside* humanity, yet working within it to elevate and purify human nature, what of that? That means—God. What does Eucken understand by that sacred name? For here lies the great problem of the philosophy of religion, unsolved by any Hegelian theory of the Absolute, or by T. H. Green's 'Eternal Self-consciousness,' or by the 'Pluralism' of William James and others, recently discussed afresh by Dr. James Ward in his able Gifford Lectures of 1910. Eucken's exact position here is not easy to define. In one place, when speaking of 'this new reality and this whole to which the course of the movement trends,' he describes it as 'a direction rather than a conclusion that is offered to us in this matter.'¹ Elsewhere he writes: 'The idea of God is that which brings to expression the characteristic properties of religion and which makes the main striving of religion palpable'; and by 'God' he understands 'Absolute Spiritual Life in its grandeur above

¹ *Life's Basis*, p. 185.

all the limitations of man and the world of experience—a Spiritual Life that has attained to a complete subsistence in itself and at the same time to an encompassing of all reality.’¹

But is the Absolute a self-conscious Spirit, or is it the impersonal spirit in all spirits, or is it a goal towards which finite spirits endlessly strive? Does ‘a spiritual life that has attained’ a complete self-subsistence mean that God only realizes Himself in and through the progress of finite spirits, through what is described elsewhere as ‘the creation of self by self’? The question, Is God personal? is not to be evaded, but Eucken hesitates in his answer. He is no Pantheist, either of the Spinozistic or the Hegelian type, but he is terribly afraid of ‘anthropomorphism,’ and apparently shrinks from the position of pure Theism. ‘An unconditional affirmation of the personality of God,’ he says, is undesirable. ‘Therefore it may be recommended as a scientific expression of the fact, not to transplant the expression ‘personality’ to the Absolute Life, or at the most not to employ it as more than a symbol.’ And he suggests the use, in reference to Universal Religion, of the term ‘the Godhead,’ rather than ‘God.’ But clearness and certainty here are of the first importance. There is only one Absolute Religion, for ‘characteristic,’ i.e. ‘historical,’ religions are only moments, or factors, in the progress towards the Absolute. But our whole judgement of these historical religions, and of actual spiritual life in humanity, depends upon our conception of that Absolute Spiritual Life, of which Eucken hesitates to say that it is personal. We must not labour the point now, but we cannot help noting, before we pass on, that Eucken exhibits in his doctrine of the Absolute that fundamental and fatal vagueness which characterizes Hegel, Green, the brothers Caird and other Idealists, when they are describing the relation between

¹ *Truth of Religion*, pp. 208, 209.

finite spirits and that Infinite Absolute Spirit, who for them is

He, They, One, All; within, without;
The Power in darkness whom we guess,

rather than the One living and true God.

III

Christianity is for Eucken not the Absolute Religion, but the highest of all historical religions. These latter 'do not grow in a calm kind of way from the ordinary work of thought, but appear as an entirely new beginning in great personalities, who, as mediators between the Godhead and the world, announce the will of God to humanity and establish a closer communion between the Godhead and humanity.' Parsecism, Judaism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism are instances of 'characteristic' religions, though the precise content of the message and the mode of communion with God vary in each case. Their relative worth is determined by 'the kind of life they reveal; what they make of the life-process; how through the relation to an absolute life they evolve the life-process to a higher stage.' Each religion in its own way 'gathers, builds and brings the scattered elements of human life into a whole,' illustrates their significance by a light of its own, and ushers man into the presence of 'a new kind of world.'

Christianity is the highest of all; it has exercised most deep-reaching influences on the course of history; in the first place by implanting a new vitality in an exhausted humanity; 'then in the Middle Ages it worked to the education of a new race; and now that it has become mature, it has not ceased to exercise strong, though quieter, influences. Considering all the facts, Christianity appears as the most powerful force in the life of history.'¹ It is distinguished from the rest, and stands unique as 'an ethical

¹ *Life's Basis*, p. 7.

religion of redemption.' It unites life to a supernatural world and subjects our existence to its supremacy, but it does not do this by way of law, like Judaism and Zoroastrianism, but through a message of redemption, 'a transformation and elevation of human life through an intimate entrance of the Divine.' Esoteric Brahmanism and Buddhism are religions redemptive of a kind, but theirs is an intellectual redemption, while Christianity is ethical. Buddhism offers emancipation from the illusions of sense, Christianity from moral evil; in Buddhism the very basis of the world is evil, and nothing but deliverance from individual existence will suffice. Christianity ascribes evil to a perversion of that which is in itself good, and does not seek to eradicate natural impulses so much as to ennoble and transform them. Especially has it 'laid bare the infinite perplexities in the soul of man in regard to his relation to the world, it has taken up suffering into the centre of life, not to perpetuate it, but to rise above it by the revealing of a world of spirit and of love. . . . In reality, it unites the negation and the affirmation, flight from and renewal of the world; the deepest feeling of, and the happiest deliverance from, guilt and suffering, and thereby it gives to life a greater breadth as well as a ceaseless activity in search of its true self. . . . It establishes a new community of life, which through the building-up of an invisible kingdom of God—which wins a visible expression in the Church—becomes to man in faith and hope a most certain presence. Christianity has revealed a new world, and through the possibility of sharing in it, conferred upon human nature an incomparable greatness and dignity, and upon the work of life an intense earnestness and a real history.' These sentences, selected from Eucken's own words in one or other of his chief works, give some idea of the full and rich exposition of Christianity as a religion which in all his writings he delights to give.

But we must distinguish. There is in the Christian religion what Eucken calls a Substance, and a merely

Existential form. These expressions are commonly used by Eucken to mark the contrast between the eternal, permanent essence and the actual transient embodiments of a religious principle. Thus we find him saying: 'On the one hand, Christianity in the nature of its Substance appears as the highest embodiment of absolute religion; and on the other hand, a fundamental revision of its traditional existential form has become absolutely necessary.'¹ The eternal element is bound up with inferior elements which bear the imprint of a special age, to which we must refuse to bind ourselves. Such a discrimination between the permanent and the transient in a religion is, however, a very delicate operation, and we must watch very closely the methods of any critic who undertakes to separate the two. The following is a brief summary of Eucken's description of the Eternal and the Transient in Christianity, as given in Part V, chapters xv and xvi, of his *Truth of Religion*.

The union of the human and the divine is a characteristic feature of Christianity, but the doctrine of two natures in the one Person of Christ is untenable, the contradiction implied in 'the Founder as one who is at the same time man and God' is utterly irreconcilable. Further, dogmatic Christianity, which 'in its doctrine of the bodily resurrection of Jesus has planted miracle in the very nucleus of religious belief' is quite misleading. And this for two reasons. All belief in sensuous miracle must be surrendered as involving 'a break in the order of nature,' and further, no historical fact can be an essential part of religious faith; faith contemplates only the timeless, and must not be 'externalized' by being entangled with events of history. The whole Christian doctrine of mediation in the work of human salvation is viewed as 'a crass anthropomorphism.' It injures man's direct relation with God and restricts the union between the human and the divine to one special instance. 'Religion cannot have more than one centre;

¹ *Truth of Religion*, p. 589.

either God or Christ stands in the centre and the one consequently represses the other.' The Christo-centric attitude must be therefore given up. No doubt a man may be a great help to his brother men in their upward path towards God; and Jesus inaugurated a new epoch by being the first and foremost to bring eternal truth to the plane of time, and He is for us 'the sole standard of the religious life.' He is 'not the mere bearer of doctrines, or of a special frame of mind, but He is a convincing fact and proof of the divine life, a proof at which new life can be kindled ever anew.'

Other leading doctrines of historical Christianity fare no better at Eucken's hands; they belong to that 'existential form' which must be got rid of if the Substance of the religion is to do its work for men. The notion of the death of Christ as an atoning sacrifice for sin must be entirely relinquished, but 'the conflict with suffering, particularly its inner conquest, becomes the principal aim of effort. In this spirit, Christianity can exalt the despised Cross into its symbol, and direct thought and meditation continually toward suffering, without falling under the latter's power.' The doctrines of the Trinity, and of Christ as Eternal Son and Eternal Word, disappear. The current doctrines of Christianity as to the creation and fall of man are, according to Eucken, in direct conflict with modern knowledge, though he allows that the principle of evolution itself is not inconsistent with Christian teaching, only with certain forms of evolutionary theory. The whole conception of rewards and punishments is out of place in the life of religion; and the Christian doctrine of a future life, and of a judgement-seat, with its pronouncement of eternal blessing or condemnation, is little more than mythological.

IV

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that Eucken announces a reconstruction of traditional Christi-

anity as absolutely necessary, and does not look for such within the pale of existing churches. For a fairly liberal Christian of to-day, as he reads the account of the doctrines that must be given up, will naturally ask himself what is left. The Trinity, the Fatherhood of God, the Incarnation, Miracles, the Atonement, the Resurrection—if these are fables, what remains as truth? The answer would seem to be: The teaching of Jesus concerning the spiritual life of man, and the inspiration afforded by the sublime spectacle of His self-sacrifice and spiritual victory over pain and death. Eucken distinguishes between the belief of Jesus Himself and the belief of the Christian community in Jesus Christ. The former is evidently to him the true gospel—‘The proclamation of a kingdom of love and peace, the joyous trust in the nature of man as grounded in God, the invitation to all to a share in the great enterprise and feast.’ The gospel of Paul, of the Apostles, and of the Christian Church for two thousand years, in which ‘suffering is taken up into the Godhead’; man is wholly dependent upon a miracle of undeserved grace; the Divine Life descends deeper into the soil of humanity, and religion is raised far above all ordinary life and existence, is evidently, in the eyes of the philosopher, either dangerous or foolish. It involves the dangers of ‘a darkening of life and of falling into a blind devotion and into a mythological mode of thinking.’ When Christianity has passed through the fine sieve which Eucken provides for it, the ghostly residuum left may serve as a spiritual philosophy—it has certainly ceased to be a religion.

Three kinds of changes, we are told,¹ are specially necessary in the form of Christianity as it exists to-day: (1) The representation of the world found in the older form of Christianity is utterly untenable; (2) the whole movement of modern life has made us feel that the realities with which traditional religion has to do are far too insignificant and narrow; (3) the attitude of current Christianity is

predominantly passive and negative, showing 'a strong tendency to depreciate human nature and to leave the salvation of man entirely to God's mercy. . . . What is needed is a thorough-going reconstruction which shall emphasize the importance of action and joyousness in Christian morality, without in any way weakening the opposition to all systems of natural morality based on the rights of force.' The Old and the New conceptions, therefore, we are not surprised to read, 'do not appear as a More or Less between which some kind of a Mean may be found, but they appear as opposites in their main tendencies.'¹ If the doctrine of mediation, of salvation through Another, which in the view of the old theology constituted 'an indispensable entrance to the Godhead, appears to the new to be only a diminution of the Divine and a weakening of the fundamental process of religion,' how is any mutual understanding between old and new to be reached, or any peaceful transition to be effected from the one to the other?

For it will be seen that the complete revolution in traditional Christianity here indicated as essential if we are still to be Christians does not imply merely the relinquishment of such characteristic phases of doctrine as (say) Augustinianism, Calvinism, or Ultramontane Catholicism. Eucken goes further in his rejection of historical Christianity than the modern 'Unitarian'—though it is difficult in these days to define that term, and many Unitarians might accept him as a leader. But Prof. Eucken would appear to be advocating an ethical idealism of a more or less Christian type, rather than a religion in the proper sense of the word. True, he protests energetically against this supposition. He believes in *Umkehrung*, 'conversion' (of a kind), as a necessity. He tells us that the conflict within the nature of man brought about by the exhibition of Christian ideals causes a deep convulsion, out of which springs a new life,

¹ *Truth of Religion*, p. 589.

issuing in a new world; 'and when this has happened, the elevation and transformation become religion.' But it is a conversion from the *kleinmenschlich*, the 'petty-human,' to the *grossgeistig*, the 'heroic spirit,' which regards the Whole not the narrow interests of the individual self. Each man must freely and unconditionally yield himself to these higher ideals of Truth, Beauty, and Goodness.

And here the philosopher becomes vague indeed. He urges that nothing of the energy or depth of religion need be lost in the journey from the old Christianity to the new, though he admits that the prospects of the latter are obscure and uncertain. We need not trouble ourselves concerning the future, since there is so much to do in the present. 'The activism of the present, taken in its deepest sense, has work enough under its very eyes to trace the outlines of a new ideal world in the midst of a perverse generation and immense confusions.' The leader of this new movement, however, is not afraid. He sees in a vision the whole culture of the world dominated by a new religion for which he would retain the name Christian. The two books in which he has dealt most fully with the subject, the *Truth of Religion* and *Can we still be Christians?* both end on a high note of confidence and hope. If only Christianity be understood in the future, as Eucken has expounded it, he is assured that it will enter upon a new career of victory. It will find itself emancipated from the traditional forms and human elements, 'which once seemed to bring the spiritual and the divine so near, but which have now become a burden and a hindrance,' and thus, as time passes, instead of the coming on of old age for religion and for humanity, 'there will be breathed into its soul the gift of eternal youth.'

V

It is an attractive picture, especially as painted by one who is certainly a spiritually-minded philosopher, and

who is acclaimed by some as a Christian seer. If only its forecast were not a mere vision of philosophic imagination and for all practical purposes an empty dream ! Let us see for a moment how this new evangelist, whilst with the best intentions seeking to preserve what he calls ' Substance ' of Christianity, has in reality only shown us how to give up the substance for a shadow.

We hold that Eucken has rendered good service to the cause of religion by his doctrine of the spiritual life in man and his demonstration of its groundwork in the very constitution of humanity. In the life of the spirit—individual and racial—when rightly understood, lies the proof that a higher than human power is at work in human history, and thus in man himself are to be found the evidences of a Life and Power above man. But, as is perhaps to be expected in an idealist philosopher, though hardly in an advocate of Vitalism or Activism, Eucken stops short in abstractions and refuses to recognize the higher power at work as a Personal principle of spiritual life. But the personal element in man—mind and heart and will at their deepest and best—requires a personal God. Religion consists in personal relations; when these are denied or explained away it collapses, like a breaking organism in an exhausted receiver. As William James puts it: ' At a single stroke, Theism changes the dead blank *it*, as also the equally powerless *me*, into a living *Thou*, with which the whole man may have dealings.' Till man has learned in the presence of the universe to say ' *Thou*,' he has not begun to know the living God, and how can such a man ever come to know the God and Father of the Lord Jesus Christ ? To insist on the personality of God is not of course to restrict the Most High within the limits of finite human personality, but the abstractions of the modern idealistic philosopher do not afford even a foothold for the religious sense to rise from, they yield no Voice in response to the heart of man when it cries out for the living God. A whole heaven separates

the teacher who describes the Absolute Life as 'It' from one who brings man into a personal living Presence.

Further, man not only asks, Does God exist? but What is He? May we use of the Absolute Spiritual Life the word 'holy,' the word 'love'? What kind of revelation of Him, if any, has been vouchsafed? Or is man left to grope his way towards that absolute life which he must not describe as personal, through the age-long strivings—the errors, the confusions, the wanderings and partial self-recoveries—of the spirit of humanity? Sir Oliver Lodge has a fine passage in his description of the relation between science and Christianity in which he says: 'The Christian idea of God is not that of a being outside the universe, above its struggles and advances, looking on and taking no part in the process, *solely* exalted, beneficent, self-determined and complete; no, it is also that of a God who loves, who yearns, who suffers, who keenly laments the rebellious and misguided activity of the free agents brought into being by Himself as part of Himself, who enters into the storm and conflict and is subject to conditions as the soul of it all.'¹ But how is belief in such a God to be reached, and with what right does a Christian propound such a doctrine of God, one that seems too good to be true, so out of harmony does it appear with the inexorable order of nature and the insoluble riddles, the bitter ironies of actual human life?

Eucken would say that these questions belong not to absolute religion, but to 'characteristic' religions. Certainly very different answers have been given to them by the religions of history, and Eucken does not sufficiently indicate why, on his showing, the answer of Christianity is to be esteemed so highly above all the rest, or how it can be indicated as anything more than a transient and imperfect stage in the progress of humanity.

¹ *Man and the Universe*, p. 318.

For Eucken's Christianity admits no doctrine of Incarnation, in the true sense of the word. We do not complain of the fact that he unconsciously misrepresents the orthodox doctrine of two natures in the one Person of Christ, though his language on the subject shows that he has not thoroughly understood it. He believes in a union between the Divine and human in Christ, as in all humanity, but he cannot admit the entire union of God and man in one historical person. He quotes more than once as conclusive, Lessing's well-known and misleading words: 'Accidental truths of history can never become the proof of the necessary truths of reason.' He contends that 'history is encompassed and borne along by a timeless Spiritual Life, which relegates history with all its accumulation to a secondary place.' This depreciation of the historical element in religion brings about its own Nemesis, and prevents the philosopher from finding a solid foundation for his airy structures. He objects to the use of the current phrase, 'the God of the Christian,' as leading to 'a particularism which lies not very far from the belief of a primitive stage of culture in special national gods,' regardless of the fact that for a Christian a Christian idea of God, clearly differentiated not only from the gods many and lords many of idolaters, but from the ideal substitutes for God dear to philosophers, is a paramount necessity.

It is unnecessary to add that Eucken cannot for a moment admit the Virgin Birth of Jesus or His Resurrection from the Dead. All miracle is excluded from his Christianity as 'a violation of nature.' This summary judgement precludes all discussion. How many questions it begs without inquiry, we will not stay to point out. But a definition of 'nature' which preserves the free will of man, his direct communion with a personal God, and prayer as an efficient energy in a spiritual universe, while it explicitly excludes the possibility of divine action in the natural order, is a very difficult one to frame. The presuppositions which lie in

the background of Eucken's philosophy seem to preclude a candid examination of historical Christianity. It may be said that this belongs to the department of criticism, and that a philosopher who is scaling the heavens in fine speculation cannot be expected to loiter on the earth engaged in detailed discussion of historical minutiae. In that case he cannot complain if his empire chiefly extends over castles in the air. But Eucken, in common with some professedly Christian theologians, would dismiss critical questions concerning historical sources as in themselves largely insoluble, and discredit existing records of Christian origins as too closely bound up with incredible assertions of supernatural intervention, in order to build up a new Christianity of ideas. These alone, he thinks, belong to the 'Substance' of religion, these alone can claim to be eternal. He fails to see that so far as Christianity is concerned he is assiduously sawing away at the bough on which he is sitting, undermining the very foundations on which Christian belief rests. This would not be true in the case of a philosophy which is independent of historical relations. But the Christian religion, known as a living force in the history of the world, has its roots thoroughly, though not entirely, in history. The philosopher, who gladly loses hold of history except as a series of stages in the development of thought, finds that he has lost hold also of the human heart and of human life. Eucken tries to protect himself against the dangers of what he calls 'a destructive relativism,' but at points he signally fails. The Christianity which he preaches may be a lofty, spiritual philosophy, but as a religion for a man to live by and die by it is the shadow of a shade.

It would be easy to illustrate in detail this general thesis, but space permits of only one example. Where is to be found the motive power of this neo-Christianity? A religion is worth nothing if it cannot move and actuate men, the many as well as the few. The power which

turned the ancient world upside down was not a philosophy, but a faith. The foundations of this faith Eucken has removed, or he acquiesces in their removal, and it is necessary to ask what dynamic energy he proposes to substitute for the faith that has been lost in thin air. The faith that overcame the world, the faith that through two thousand years has done the work of world-renewal has been faith, not in Jesus of Nazareth as a sacred and heroic figure, but as the Son of God, God manifest in the flesh. As Dr. Fairbairn has said: 'It is the apotheosis which has proved the real or substantive factor of change. It is not Jesus of Nazareth who has so powerfully entered into history; it is the deified Christ who has been believed, loved, and obeyed, as the Saviour of the world.' We are not arguing for the moment that the Christ of the New Testament is a more credible figure as the founder of a religion than the attenuated spectre of 'liberal' Christianity known as 'the Jesus of history,' though we hold that it is true. But a philosopher who propounds a shadowy religion, 'defecated to a transparency,' as an improvement upon faith in the Lord Jesus Christ whom Paul and John preached, and for whom Ignatius and Polycarp and hosts of martyrs lived and died, must be prepared not only with a doctrine which can be analysed in the study, but one which is able to move and regenerate a world.

Eucken has correctly gauged the forces that are opposed to Christianity to-day. He has much to say—and he says it well—of 'the modern man,' what he holds, and what he does not hold, the materialism which so largely rules thought and dictates action, the futility of 'work' as a remedy, the powerlessness of 'culture' at its best. But let it be borne in mind that the objections raised by the modern man are not against the Christian religion merely, they are against all religion. How are such men to be reached and swayed and transformed? How is the slumbering conscience to be touched and quickened? What moral or

spiritual lever is mighty enough spiritually, to move and raise so terribly inert a mass? The new Idealist has, as he confesses, problems enough before him. We honour a man who, like Eucken, sees so plainly the needs of the times, who points them out so vigorously and earnestly, and who does his best to lay the foundations, not merely of ethical, but of lofty spiritual and religious teaching. We are so completely in sympathy with him in one main portion of his doctrine that it is not a congenial, though it is a necessary, task to point out the inadequacy of the rest.

It is said that Christianity as a religion is failing, that in the churches there is at least arrest of progress, and it must be admitted that the fight just now is hard. At intervals in the long campaign the stress of the conflict is more keenly felt, and the outlook becomes dark and threatening, just as from time to time periods occur in which the battle against the world, the flesh, and the devil is more cheerfully fought and victory is more manifestly and easily won. The causes of these fluctuations may often be traced; the path through the long gorge leads out to the light of day, and the valley of Achor proves to be the very door of hope. In any case, it is not for Christians to complain of such tribulation. In the task of overcoming the world they do not expect to swim with the stream, or to march always on level ground. To the discerning eye the signs of our times are not gloomy, though the immediate prospect can hardly be called bright. It would appear that one of those epochs is upon us, when an unusually great victory may be won, provided an unusually great effort is made. The Church of Christ is being led not by easy ways into smooth waters, but it is called on to face great tasks and splendid but exacting opportunities, which will test its fidelity to the utmost. *Per aspera ad astra*. There is a good reason why the darkest hour comes before the dawn.

The one thing Christians cannot afford is to lose heart,

and they will lose all heart if they lose the essence of their faith. The form and fashion of theologies may change, as they have changed in the past; and when they decay and wax old, it is well they should vanish away. Institutions and organizations may change; they must change in a changing world if the work for which they were devised is still to be carried on and to be effective. But the heart of the Christian faith must remain the same. 'Perhaps,' said Prof. Mackenzie at the end of his book on Social Philosophy, 'we want a new Christ.' That is exactly what we do not want. What is wanted is a new Christendom. A speaker at the Edinburgh Conference two years ago said that the reason why Christianity did not make headway more rapidly in India was because it had not yet mastered and moulded Western civilization, and India knew it. That is no reason for arresting missions in India: it is a very good reason for arousing Christians at home. The shadowy Jesus of the new Idealism, with the Absolute Life of the Spirit in the background, as a philosophical substitute for the living God, is not likely to prove a Captain of Salvation for a sinning and perishing world. The Christ of the New Testament is a living Lord, the same yesterday, to-day and for ever, and 'this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith.'

W. T. DAVISON.

ITALY AND HER SOLDIERY

ON the 11th of December, 1911, the streets of Naples offered a picturesque spectacle. Young, distinguished, attractive women, gracefully dressed, were everywhere on foot, offering with winning smiles to all *Italian* passers-by the dainty wares which they carried in baskets tastefully adorned with red, white and green Italian tricolour. Their wares had small intrinsic value—merely artificial trefoil leaves, red and white and green, mounted on pins, and mingled with little red-and-yellow cockades; but they were eagerly bought up, at prices ranging all the way from the 800 francs of a rich enthusiast to the ‘soldino’—the ‘little halfpenny’—of an earnest barefoot child; were proudly pinned on the purchaser’s breast, often to the number of two or three; and were displayed with a kind of affectionate pride. Every hackney carriage and every motor-car bore its tricoloured flag, and every tram-car its trophy of a gilded eagle draped with Italian banners, while all along the streets the balconies flaunted the same colours. Before the day was done, you could scarcely meet Italian man, woman, or child—no matter how wretchedly clad—who had not mounted the ‘Trifoglio.’

What was the meaning of it? The noblest and most distinguished ladies of the city, under the direction of the ‘Committee of Help’ and the Italian ‘Red Cross’ Society, had adopted this way of raising funds for the families of Italy’s poorer soldiers, and for her wounded. From early dawn they had been at work, gathering in *Via Depretis* at the offices of the Italian ‘Jubilee Committee,’ whence they were transported in motor-cars to the districts assigned to them, and whither they often returned for fresh supplies of

the 'trefoil.' Not the most squalid quarters, not the filthiest alleys of old Naples were unvisited, and the poorest showed themselves eager to have their part in the patriot offering; the ragged street-urchins clubbed their coppers to buy a 'trefoil.' Perhaps the prettiest incident was when a group of soldiers, accosting a lady, asked to buy the little badge, and she replying 'No—you have already given your lives—from *you* we should take nothing,' a dark young Neapolitan soldier said, 'Take our pence also! we too would help the families of our brethren. Are we not departing for the war to-night? Who knows what may befall *us* also?' They would not be denied; and when they had pinned on their badges the high-born dame and the soldiers exchanged silent hand-grasps, with deep emotion.

The ladies stormed the railway station and did good business with passengers, guards, and porters; they invaded the Court of Appeal, and from magistrates, lawyers, clients, officials—even from prisoners' families—they reaped a harvest of some 2,000 francs. The poor boatmen and fishers of the Port and its ragged hangers-on were no less responsive; theatre-goers at night bought up the last remaining 'trefoils'; and when at the end of the long day's work the sums collected were transported, duly guarded, to the Bank of Naples, they were found to amount to not less than 50,000 francs = 2,000 pounds sterling. Be it remembered that the majority of those among whom this sum was raised are poor—many wretchedly poor. Yet they bought 180,000 'trefoils' for love of their country and its army.

Only those who know the rigid etiquette that hedges in the ladies of Naples, and the deep poverty of its populace, can understand the intensity of patriot passion and of enthusiasm for the Army and its present task which underlie the doings of 'Trefoil Day.' That is why we have thought well to preface by an account of those doings our

brief study of the character, cruelly impugned in certain quarters, of the citizen-soldier of Italy. A bitter sense of that injustice was probably at the back of the prohibition to *offer* the trefoil to any foreigner. If the foreigner bought it of his own free will—well and good; but he should not be *asked* to help the calumniated soldiery. How deeply and vilely they have been calumniated I shall now endeavour to show.

The soldiers of Italy are something more than admirable fighting-machines. Drawn from all classes of the community, from all trades and occupations, they are apt for many kinds of service, and in great emergencies the State has recourse to their aid. It was after the great volcanic eruption of 1906 that I first saw them at work, which was neither drill nor parade. The showers of volcanic dust which had filled the air and hidden the sun had left Naples in a piteous condition; its thoroughfares blocked, its buildings imperilled, its traffic checked, by drifts and mounds of the fearful black snow. It was the soldiers' task to remove this perilous stuff; and it was a pleasure to see how gaily they worked, with spade and shovel and sturdy arms, till the vast mass of *débris* that choked up the circulation of Naples was clean gone. Yet more helpful were they in the Vesuvian communes devastated by the volcano. At the imminent risk of their lives they explored the shattered, tottering houses, rescued half-buried living victims, and reverently removed the dead—doing all with equal kindliness and courage. One saw them returning from such terrible toils, marching briskly with shouldered spades and cheerful look; and one honoured their gay, dauntless valour. Nor did this spirit fail them in the long days of horror that followed the great earthquake of Messina.

Aided in the first instance by Italian and foreign seamen, it was again their business to clear away where possible the impending masses of ruined masonry, save those who still lived, and remove the dead for decent burial—a gigantic task in which they did not falter, though confronted with

horrors which no battlefield could outdo; 'strange images of death' from which any but the soldiers of humanity might recoil.

In other civic troubles their aid is requisitioned. Italy is something prone to strikes, of which most mischievous was the General Railway Strike of a year or two ago, which paralysed her industry and commerce, and threatened the life of the nation. Then the soldiers, who in their civil life had known the railwayman's work, undertook it, and as signalmen, drivers, stokers, guards, kept communications open, till the energetic action of the Government, forbidding the railwayman as a 'servant of the State' to employ the strike-weapon, and penalizing its use, ended the dangerous situation.

It has been the same with other trades of indispensable public utility; if the gas-man, the electrician, the baker, goes on strike, there are soldiers skilled at each craft who can replace him at the Government's bidding, and do his work, within restricted limits, till the difficulty is rationally settled. And all is done not brutally, but with a cheerful, tolerant kindness that endears the serviceable soldier to the people.

Let it be remarked that this valuable citizen is, like the majority of his countrymen, a creature of warm family affections, with a peculiar tenderness for helpless, innocent childhood. This is a national trait that is very apparent to any impartial observer. Nothing is more common than to see an Italian of the humbler class carrying his little child in his arms by the hour, amusing it, feeding it, patiently enduring its caprices and beguiling its sorrows, with the unwearied, gentle skill we commonly associate only with motherhood. The soldier does not put off his sweet humanity with his civilian dress; this, many incidents in the Tripolitan campaign have clearly shown. From time to time there are published extracts from the letters of men at the front to their friends at home, instinct with a playful tenderness that seeks to comfort their anxiety. 'You will

be surprised,' writes one, 'to learn that I have now a child on my hands—a little Arab; but this is how it happened'; and he tells in artless phrase how, after a skirmish with treacherous Arabs, who fell before their fire, he and his comrades found this little creature alive among the corpses of their assailants. 'We had killed its friends; it was our duty to take care of it,' writes the soldier, telling how he tended it till proper provision could be made for it. This is but one instance among many; none perhaps is more characteristic than that related by the *Times* correspondent.

'A group of Arabs was advancing towards the city. The women were weary; and the Italian soldiers, to save them from too much fatigue, carried their children in their arms. One carried a little boy on his back; smiled on him, talked to him, danced him on his strong shoulders. . . . One was immensely amused, because the little Arab girl he carried gave him smart slaps on his cap. All at once they met a group of officers; and then these brave fellows tried to stand stiffly at attention, but could not, for their burdened arms. He who had the child on his shoulders, reddening, said, "Excuse me, Colonel . . . but I have a little boy at home!"'

This is the Italian soldier as he really is, and as he is known to his compatriots. It is then most natural that the falsehoods printed in certain German and English newspapers, which have enlarged on imaginary 'atrocities' attributed to Italy's army in Tripoli, should have been passionately resented. The insult was addressed to the Nation, which is one with its soldiery in heart and life. Hence arose, what otherwise might seem unaccountably excessive, the extraordinary enthusiasm excited for Jean Carrère, the French correspondent of the *Paris Temps*. The slanders against Italy had found a certain echo in the French press; Carrère, as an honest eyewitness, had written the plain truth about the conduct of Italian and Turkish troops respectively; and it is clear that his outspokenness

had been deeply resented, since a Turkish assassin waylaid him in Tripoli streets, striking him from behind—a dagger-thrust that must have been mortal but for the very substantial quality of the victim's clothing. There followed on this incident an outburst of feeling not easy to parallel. 'A stranger, a foreigner, is struck down for speaking in our defence; he, no Italian, has defended us against foul slanders—and for this his life is attempted!' Too much honour, too much sympathy, could not be shown him in his lingering convalescence; his life, for the moment, was the most precious to Italy. Naples gave him her stormy welcome, full of love and wrathful pity, when she received him, a shattered invalid; Rome re-echoed the plaudits, and almost overwhelmed the sufferer with too much gratitude. Was the feeling, was its expression, in our colder judgement, exaggerated? Measure by that excess the depth of the wound which the hostile criticisms of once friendly foreign peoples, France and England, had inflicted. The letter of Signor Luigi Luzzatti, ex-Prime Minister of Italy, to the English Press, has made it clear that most sharply felt was the apparent unkindness of England. 'Et tu, Brute!'

England, on whose free institutions Italy had tried to model herself; England, which through Gladstone and John Russell 'had done as much for Italy as the French did in the glorious episodes of Magenta and Solferino'; England, whom during the South African War Italy had often staunchly upheld against the adverse judgements of the rest of Europe—*her* Press should not have made itself the mouthpiece of cruelly unjust misrepresentation, 'charging us with atrocities against the Arabs; thus transforming one of the mildest and most civilized of peoples into military brigands.'

What was the truth? The Italian troops, under the irresistible protecting power of the great guns of their war-ships, had effected their landing in Tripoli with admirable skill and discipline, avoiding as much as possible useless

destruction and slaughter, directing their fire against fortified places only, carefully respecting hospitals and places of worship, and doing all that they could to conciliate the native inhabitants, as distinguished from the Turkish soldiery opposed to their landing. Apparently their advances, which often extended to the sharing of their rations with the poorer natives, were well received. But in the evil days of October 28 to October 26, they learned to their cost how treacherous Arab friendliness could be. While repelling a Turkish frontal attack the entrenched Italian troops suddenly found themselves savagely and feloniously attacked in the rear; their native 'friends,' transformed into fiendish enemies, were striving with fanatic hatred to murder them. The peaceful-seeming inhabitants of the oasis flanking Tripoli—who had passed freely to and fro, trafficking with the soldiers, selling their rural produce to considerable advantage—revealed themselves as a guerrilla force, as well-armed as evil-disposed. A murderous conflict followed, in which two companies of Bersaglieri—those hardy, quick-marching foot-soldiers distinguished by their sweeping plumes of cock's feathers—justly popular wherever they are known—were almost wiped out. Happiest were those who fell fighting, even though they did not see the ultimate repulse of the traitorous foe!

Here be it noted that, before abandoning Tripoli, the Turks had flung open all its prison-doors, setting free, as the jail-registers proved, a number of prisoners charged with the very blackest crimes. It is beyond doubt that these liberated criminals played the worst and most bloody part in the great treason of the Arab revolt on October 28. On that day a few Bersaglieri, in the trenches of Henni, sustained during nine hours of incessant firing attacks from both front and rear, without abandoning their positions. Behind them the convoys were being carried by storm, the encampment plundered, their isolated companions were being cut off, murdered, tortured; the 'Red Cross'

was being assailed in the houses where it had installed its work of mercy; the good doctor, who had lavished his cares on many sick and wounded Arabs, was being repaid for his compassion with a death of unspeakable torture; and hundreds of Arabs, armed with guns plundered from the camp, were stealing through the olives of the oasis and firing on the entrenched Italians, who, outnumbered ten times, returned shot for shot to the armed hordes that broke in ceaseless waves on the hill-side. The handful of valiant men held their own; but it was subsequently necessary to retreat from the position, and concentrate to the rearward. Only when Henni was recaptured were the full horrors of that day realized. Then the little white house which had been utilized as a hospital gave up its ghastly secrets, its tale of mutilated corpses, with features still showing the spasms of atrocious suffering, with hands and feet brutally hacked off from limbs yet living; then its garden-wall showed to European eyes its fearful array of impaled, crucified, mutilated dead, still witnessing to the refinement of varied cruelty with which the wounded soldiers, unhappily captured alive, had been slowly done to death. 'To give a detailed description of these tortures,' it has been said, 'would be useless and demoralizing.' But it has been suggested, by those learned in the ways of African fanaticism, that the butchery of 'Giama-bel-Nage,' as the terrible little house is called, has a kind of ritual, sacrificial character; that its atrocities were carried out possibly under the orders of a priest, the worthy successor of ancient Carthaginian Baal-worshippers (indeed, certain details recall not remotely the old story of the sufferings of the Roman Regulus at Punic hands); and that the intention was to purify with expiatory sacrifice the place—very sacred, it appears, in the eyes of African Arabs—from Christian contamination. 'The parody of crucifixion' (a parody too hideous for us to describe) 'seems to allude to this.' But though Giama-bel-Nage put the crown of horror on

that day, it was noticed that similar mutilations had been inflicted on all the Italian dead whom the troops found on the scene of conflict when, having regained the lost position, they proceeded to the sacred work of interment. It is pardonable, then, if an Italian should say, 'Our so-called repression was but a feeble defence against the horde of murderous assassins which filled the oasis; any other nation, any other generals, would have rased the oasis to the ground, and cleared its way with shot and shell and fire as far as Tajura.' But, though the Italian commanders have been compelled in their own despite to transgress the vaunted teaching of Beccaria, and inflict the death-penalty on all natives convicted of murdering Italian soldiers; though they have had to alter the form of punishment from shooting—which has no terrors for the fanatic Moslem, who deems such a death a sure passport to Paradise—to hanging, which is deemed infamous; nothing but simple death has been inflicted; no attempts have been made to exact 'an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.' This was not done even in that savagely criticized clearing of the oasis, which revealed the peaceful-looking farm-houses and villas as storehouses of concealed ammunition, and lurking-places of armed murderers.

We may deplore, we may denounce, the merciless slaying of the treacherous Arab fighters of the oasis. But it is a mischievous error to regard the hideous work of Giama-bel-Nage as 'reprisals' for wholesale massacres of Arab women and children during that terrible period *following* the fatal 28rd of October. There is no trustworthy evidence that the Italian soldiers have wittingly attacked Arab woman or child, while there is abundant evidence for their gentle treatment of such helpless non-combatants. We may quote again the *Times* correspondent on the spot, who, writing immediately after the event, said that as far as his experience went, 'there was no war on women, in any sense of the phrase, in the retribution exacted by the Italians';

who, after full investigation, refused any credit to that often-told tale of senseless savage murder (for which, had it been true, no denunciation could have been too severe). He also says, 'I admire the calmness with which the Italian soldiers assisted at the burial of their comrades, mangled by the enemy.' Nightmare-horrors, to outdo even those of Cawnpore, confronted these men; dare we English have reproved them, had their vengeance equalled that exacted for Cawnpore? But such was not the case. Truly said Luzzatti that 'it is not in the good and generous nature of the Italian soldier to go to excess,' and rare were the instances in which the cruel foe was cruelly dealt with. On the other hand, Italians point with just pride to the admirable, well-organized, scientific hospital system installed at Tripoli for the benefit of Arabs afflicted with such maladies as cholera, small-pox, and bubonic plague. Cleansed from their filth, lodged in large airy wards, the most advanced medical science employed for their healing, their dwellings disinfected—they are given a better chance for healthy life than they have ever known. Gratitude is not looked for. But recognition of this good work is demanded from English justice.

A highly competent Jewish witness has lately paid his tribute to the compassionate humanity which led Italian soldiers to share their bread with starving Arabs, and succour their sick and wounded. This is the Professor and Rabbi Jussuf Cohen of Tripoli, an accomplished linguist devoted to the cause of advanced education (steadily obstructed by the Turks). He tells us how the intelligent majority of Jews in Tripoli have long awaited with hope the Italian occupation, which might bring European civilization to Northern Africa, and saw with joy the first Italian flag waving over the fields of Cyrenaica. When it shall fly over the whole region, the many Jews who have fled from the face of war will joyfully return to hail the new era of peace, toleration, and just administration.

We can neither defend nor condone Italy's *forcible* occupation of Tripoli—a measure deeply disapproved by many intelligent Italians. But it is one thing to reprobate a policy, adopted for reasons hid in the dark mazes of Continental diplomacy, and another to assail with slander the men nowise responsible for it, whose duty binds them to carry it out. Such attacks rather tend to strengthen the responsible Government, enlisting patriot feeling on its side.

We can believe that the army of occupation had expected to be welcomed as liberators rather than hated as invaders, understanding too little the savagery of native Moslem fanaticism. Unhappily for Italy, that savagery has apparently seen in her the representative of the Papal system with its persecuting traditions, and of the manifold popular idolatries, hateful to Islam, associated with it. With little judgement, some Italian priests and prelates have spoken openly of the war as if it had something of the character of a Crusade—a character which the Italian commanders have taken extraordinary pains to discountenance; but some such idea lurks, doubtless, behind the peculiar murderous hostility shown to all wearers of priestly robe or monkish frock, no matter how innocent or beneficent the character and conduct of the individual wearers; some such idea can be traced in the ferocious attacks on the 'Red Cross'—symbol of brotherly love and mercy to all the Christian world, but hated of the Turk—and in the sacrilegious tortures inflicted on the Italian wounded. But in despite of all special difficulties, the cheerful heroism of the Italian soldiery shows no abatement. Their task is arduous indeed; but hitherto they are undefeated. Their leaders appear wise and wary; able in planning, prompt in execution, full of resource and initiative, understanding perfectly how 'from the nettle danger to pluck the flower safety'; and their excellent discipline is united with a warm personal devotion to their officers, of which this war has afforded many touching instances.

Italy is a country of long memories. When, the other day, the enshrouding desert sands, under Italian pick and spade, were swept away, restoring to the light a wonderfully preserved fine mosaic, once the pavement of some stately Roman hall, the excavators thrilled to the knowledge that they were standing where once their remote forefathers had stood, the imperial masters of North Africa. The crimes and weaknesses of decadent Rome had deprived her of her lordship over the fruitful province, once her chief granary; wave after wave of fierce barbarian invasion had desolated it; the sterilizing flood of Arab conquest had rolled over it, the blighting despotism of the Turk, like the withering simoom of the desert, had wasted it. Still, despite its centuries of suffering and slavery, this region of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica is a region of great possibilities, capable of wonderful development, by such intelligent and industrious cultivators as Italy can supply, under an intelligent and upright administration.

An enslaved, an enervated, a corrupt Italy, divided against herself, not less in respect to things spiritual than things material, had forfeited her dominion over the once wealthy province. Might not a united, an enfranchised, an enlightened Italy, a renovated and purified Rome, win it back, govern it wisely and righteously, and restore it to more than its ancient prosperity?

Such is, undoubtedly, the hope animating many an Italian breast to-day. And such a re-conquest will only benefit the world, if Italy herself perseveres in the path of self-redemption, self-enfranchisement, on which she entered fifty years ago; if she continues her efforts to extirpate the cankering moral diseases, heritage from her own days of enslavement, which enfeeble her; above all, if she embraces a purer, a truly Christian faith instead of the corrupt and corrupting caricature of Christianity, which so largely contributed to her loss of empire.

ANNE E. KEELING.

THE WHITE MAN IN THE TROPICS

The Broad Stone of Empire. By Sir CHARLES BRUCE,
G.C.M.G. (Macmillan & Co.)

Mosquito or Man? By Sir RUPERT BOYCE, F.R.S. (John
Murray.)

Insects and Disease. By R. W. DOANE. (Constable & Co.)

The Conquest of the Isthmus. By HUGH W. WEIR. (G. P.
Putnam's Sons.)

*Malaria. A Neglected Factor in the History of Greece and
Rome.* By W. H. S. JONES. (Macmillan & Bowes.)

SIR CHARLES BRUCE'S book, *The Broad Stone of Empire*, which gives an account of his work, his experiences, his impressions, while acting as a high official in several of our Crown Colonies, is both interesting and informing, but the most notable thing about it is that he considers it necessary to devote no fewer than three chapters, 114 pages, to 'Health in the Tropics.' Ten years ago this would have been impossible. At that time a colonial administrator would have had little to say on such a subject. He could only repeat a melancholy and well-told tale of perils and dangers, of innumerable lives lost or ruined. He could point to little that would cure or prevent, and could look to the future with no hope of improvement. Whoever went to tropical lands, went with his life in his hands. From the time of landing to the time of departure was one continuous period of haunting fear. He well knew that a large proportion of his fellows fell victims to the dreaded diseases that loom so large in the life of those regions. Few, indeed, escaped malaria or yellow fever or one of the other maladies that have extorted so heavy a toll on the hardy European.

So it had been from time immemorial. So it promised to be in the indefinite future. There was absolutely nothing to suggest that there would be any change for the better.

Ten short years, and how different the prospect! Sir Charles Bruce has quite another story to tell. He shows from personal knowledge and experience how affairs have changed since first he went to those enchanting lands. He has had to deal with most of the diseases that distress the inhabitants of hot countries. Most of his experiences were in the days of ignorance, and he has to speak of distress, desolation, poverty, and huge mortality. Some, happily, were in the times of enlightenment. How different is the picture then! Speaking of his disastrous stay in Mauritius, he says, 'Had all that recent research has discovered been at the time within the range of medical knowledge, there seems to be little reason to doubt that measures of prophylaxis and treatment would have been at once adopted which would have arrested the epidemic, and saved the colony from an enormous mortality, an endemic disease, a vast depreciation of property, and the displacement of the homes of a large section of the community.'

His story is the plain, unvarnished truth. During the last ten years our knowledge and resources have increased beyond belief, and now we see the time fast approaching when the terrors of the tropics shall have vanished like a bad dream.

The history of this unexampled progress reads like a fairy tale, and can be equalled by nothing in the whole course of medicine. Much has been heard of the conquests of surgery, and not without reason. The introduction of anaesthetics and antiseptic surgery has rendered possible operations that were undreamt-of less than a generation ago. Every day, in every little hospital and in every small country practice, diseases are dealt with that were the despair of our fathers, and lives are saved that were beyond hope when practitioners of middle age were students. Then,

it was almost certain death to open the abdomen. Now it is done with impunity by the most immature and inexperienced surgeon, and every organ in that cavity is subject to successful manipulation by every budding operator. The merest tyro in surgery can teach the greatest surgeon of a generation ago more than he ever knew. Great indeed have been the triumphs of surgery. But the physician has not lagged behind. Great as has been the success of surgery, medicine can show even greater triumphs. While the surgeon is saving his thousands, the physician saves his ten thousands. If we look only at our own country this statement might be difficult to justify, though it is possible to point to great strides in the management of such diseases as diphtheria, typhoid, scarlet fever and tuberculosis. It is in the tropics that we see the supreme triumphs of medicine. The glamour and romance that from our childhood have surrounded these favoured regions have now a real being in the conquest of the diseases that have added so much to their mystery. When this century opened, it was an axiom that the tropics could never be colonized by white people. It was assumed to be an eternal law that white men could not live and spread and retain their vigour and virility; that the deadly nature of the atmosphere, the heat, the miasms, the poisons put an everlasting barrier to the spread of civilization in those luxuriant tracts. It has been the supreme accomplishment of medicine in the twentieth century to turn these truisms into fallacies, and to show that the time is not far distant when the tropics will be as amenable to the habitation, the culture, the commerce, the civilization of the white man as the temperate zones. Malaria, yellow fever, relapsing fever, Malta fever, beriberi, and other forms of disease which have stricken down the soldier, the missionary, the trader, the explorer with relentless hand, are now conquered, and the days of dreaded scourges like plague, cholera, and sleeping-sickness are all numbered. Already the causes of most of these are

recognized and the means of combating them known. In the case of some, it is only a question of administration and money to ensure their extinction. In the case of others, there needs only a little further investigation and research and they, too, will be under our complete control.

It is impossible to form an idea of the destructiveness of these terrible diseases. Malaria, especially, has always been full of dread. It is the deadliest enemy of half the human race. Endemic in the most fertile, well-watered, and luxuriant tracts of the earth's surface, the parts that are of the greatest value to the human race, it has put an effectual bar to the successful exploitation of the richest parts of the world. The pioneers of civilization have been struck down remorselessly, and the natives have been constantly subject to its awful and grinding depression. Ever, it has been the 'principal and gigantic ally of barbarism.' It has annihilated empires, destroyed armies, enervated nations, devastated countries, and arrested the march of civilization. 'No wild deserts, no savage races, no geographical difficulties have proved so inimical to civilization as this disease.' It has been more fatal to humanity than any other agency. The ravages of war have been as nothing to it. It is extremely probable that it had much to do with the downfall of ancient empires like Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon. The researches of Jones and Ross clearly prove that it was largely responsible for the degeneracy that heralded the fall of Greece and Rome. It was introduced into Greece somewhere about 400 B.C., and some little time after that a noticeable change came over the character of the people. There was a marked deterioration, a loss of 'manly vigour and intellectual strength.' That change in character has continued to the present time. To-day no fewer than forty per cent. of the population of Greece are infected with malaria. So with Rome. 'Malaria made the Greek inefficient; it turned the sterner Roman into a bloodthirsty brute.' From the time of the early empire,

malaria was rampant in Italy, and it led to the brutality and degeneration which, in due course, left the empire an easy prey to the barbarians.

But Africa and India show malaria at its worst. According to Sir Ronald Ross, no fewer than 4,919,591 died from 'fever' in India in 1900, most of these being cases of malaria, 'while of the military population, out of a total force of 805,927 in the same year, there were 102,640 cases admitted into hospital suffering from malaria.'

But this statement by no means sets forth the terrors of the pest. Although it kills a great multitude, it is not its mortality that makes it so fearful. Unlike so many other diseases, it does not make a nation hardier by carrying off the unfit. It attacks the great majority of the children of India, and keeps them ailing until their fourteenth or fifteenth year. The fever may then leave those that survive, but its effects remain. It leaves them enfeebled, anaemic, and a readier prey to other diseases. What is more, it produces a peculiar nervous depression which deprives them of the inclination to work, takes away their powers of initiative, saps their energy, and weakens their moral force. Hence, the whole population is influenced and the national character spoilt. In some parts of India, Ross found that eighty to ninety per cent. of the natives harboured the malarial parasite. No wonder that the effect is so far-reaching. Much of the weakness and moral inefficiency of India must be credited to the universal prevalence of malaria. Nor does it only deteriorate the national character. It is especially severe on the white men who visit its pestilential districts. Large numbers of these fall victims, and many pay the penalty in shattered lives and fail to do the work which civilization demands. White men and natives die and degenerate, rich men become poor, lands become infertile, whole districts are devastated. It is only too common to find opulent and prosperous communities ruined and compelled to migrate to healthier districts. Sir Charles Bruce tells of such an

experience when he went to Ceylon in 1878. A certain school was visited for inspection. When the inspector went to the place in which it was situated, he found that it had been transferred to a site seventy miles away. 'The village, with its school, had migrated to successive locations, from each of which it had been driven by visitations of fever until it had reached the spot where it was found by the inspector.' This was typical of the history of the province. It was the most interesting district in Ceylon, and contained innumerable monuments of a great religious and political past. 'At the present day, the province, once the most richly cultivated and thickly peopled part of the island, is a region of abandoned lands, the home of a sparse and anaemic population.' Malaria had produced the ruin and depopulation of the province. This is the sort of thing that is going on constantly, not only in India but in all malarial countries.

Scarcely less deadly is plague. But while malaria is endemic and always present in large parts of the earth's surface, plague is endemic only in much smaller areas. Its great fatality is due to the waves of epidemic which characterize its visitations. History abounds in examples of these. Time after time it has spread over continents, and frequently whole countries have been decimated by it. Happily to-day its area of distribution is considerably restricted and Europe is practically free from it, due in a large measure to the better sanitary conditions that prevail. Its home is India and other countries in the East. Occasionally it spreads sporadically to Africa, the Pacific coasts of North and South America and Australia, and even to the larger seaports of Europe, but it has never been allowed to stay there for long. In India, Hong-Kong, and Manchuria it has been fearfully destructive in recent years. In British India, during the first seven years of the present century, it has been responsible for the death of 6,000,000 people, most of these being young and in the prime of life.

Just as plague has raged in India, sleeping-sickness has reigned in Africa. There it has played much havoc. It has been said that the tsetse-fly has been the greatest obstacle to civilization in Africa. It has either cleared the white man out of that continent or kept him out, and the native has suffered much more severely than the European. Until late years it has been unconquerable. The saddest part of the history of sleeping-sickness is that, more perhaps than any other tropical disease, it has been spread by the extension of civilization. The opening up of Equatorial Africa has done much to extend the area of its distribution, for it has steadily advanced along the trade routes. Especially has it followed the track of natives who have had to remove to other parts in order to supply the demand for labour which is essential to the cultivation and commerce of the continent. Until a few years ago it seems to have been confined to Western Africa, where it has been endemic for a long time, but now it has extended also to the east and centre, and it threatens to find its way all over the Sudan and United South Africa. Wherever it has appeared its mortality has been frightful. Its victims have been numerous, they have suffered for years, and practically every case has died. 'Whole villages have been wiped out, and huge tracts of fertile land become impenetrable jungle.' In the Uganda Protectorate alone over 200,000 have perished in a few years. Wollaston, who saw much of it in his journey from Ruwenzori to the Congo, and who describes very vividly the unspeakable horrors associated with its prevalence, is constrained to say that its prevention is by far the most serious problem which confronts Europeans in Africa.

The same tale of destruction, devastation, and death has to be told of another scourge of the tropics—yellow fever. Fatal to natives, it is still more fatal to incomers. Its very name is redolent of the Spanish Main, and it was more feared by and fatal to the Spanish conquerors of the West Indies and Central America than the human enemies whom they

encountered. So long ago as the time of Elizabeth, our own adventurers suffered more at the hands of 'yellow jack' than at the hands of Spain. Time after time do we find records of our regiments being completely exterminated by it, and mortalities of fifty and sixty per cent. are quite common. In many districts it is not uncommon to read of half of the population being carried off. In the *History of the 13th Hussars*, published by Blackwood last year, there is an instructive account of a short term of service in the West Indies towards the close of the eighteenth century. Although only one man died in action, the regiment was all but annihilated by yellow fever. Nineteen officers, seven quartermasters, two volunteers, and 287 non-commissioned officers and men were killed by it. Of the fifty-two men who, after sundry transfers to other corps, finally represented the regiment on its return to England after an absence of two and a half years, many were found to be totally unfit for service, while the rest, completely exhausted and worn out, were gradually discharged. The virulence of the disease did not abate with time. All through the last century it continued its triumphant career.

How dreadful are these records of the ravages of tropical disease! How can we wonder at the prevalence of fatalistic notions of the impossibility of the tropics for white men? What chance has there been for the spread of commerce, of Christianity, of civilization?

Sir Charles Bruce points out how impossible has been the efficient administration of our Crown Colonies because of the 'difficulty of finding qualified candidates for employment in regions where even a short period of service brought almost certain sickness and probable death.' He illustrates the danger of residence on the West African coast by reference to a dispatch alluded to in Parliament some years ago. Before it arrived in London, the Colonial Secretary who drafted it, the clerk who copied it, and the Governor who signed it had all died. 'In 1895 the number of European

officials on the Gold Coast was 175. Of these seventeen died and twenty-four were invalided. In 1896 the number was 176, of whom fifteen died and twenty-six were invalided.' 'Corresponding returns from other West African colonies were scarcely less alarming.' Wherever we look, we get the same story of life in the tropics. White men were the constant prey of strange diseases, and apparently there was no remedy. So it had been from the first. So it would continue. There was not a ray of hope that things would ever be better. To-day all is changed. 'The white man's grave' is an almost forgotten phrase. Sir Charles Bruce follows up his account of the deadliness of West African service by saying that the increase of our knowledge has already effected such a change that appointments in West Africa are eagerly sought for by officials and administrators of proved ability. The improvement has not been confined to officials. It has included the natives. So different are their health conditions that it has had a marked effect on their whole outlook, and it has increased their eagerness to respond to missionary appeal.

The advance throughout the tropics has been prodigious. Some of the most pestiferous regions in the world have become the most healthy, and we can easily foresee the time when the tropics will become as suitable for the residence of white men as the cities of Europe.

How has this wonderful revolution come about? Simply by the epoch-making discovery that most of these fearful diseases are caused by parasites which are conveyed to man by insects. For centuries the unhealthiness of the tropics has been attributed to the climate; to the atmosphere, the miasms, arising from swamps and other suspected sources. So long as this theory held sway, progress was impossible. The first ray of light was shed by Laveran, who, working in Algeria in 1880, discovered that in every case of malaria which he examined, he could demonstrate the presence of a protozoan parasite, growing in the blood. This was the first

step in the elucidation of a problem that had baffled investigators from the earliest times. Bad air did not produce malaria, but the plasmodia which had managed to enter the blood, live there and multiply with enormous rapidity. Important as this discovery was, it did not carry things very far, and it was eighteen years before there was a decisive advance. How did the parasite obtain access to the human body? No one could answer the question, and until the solution came nothing could be done. In 1888 Sir Patrick Manson proved that another blood parasite, which caused the disease known as filariasis, got into the blood of man through the bite of a mosquito. Following up his discovery he was able to find in the mosquito the same parasite in another stage of development. Manson suggested that here was the key to the solution of the malaria problem. Did not the bite of a mosquito also carry the plasmodia into the human body? The association between the mosquito and malaria had long been suspected, and it had been repeatedly pointed out that wherever malaria existed, there mosquitoes abounded. But no one could trace the causal connexion. The honour of discovery was reserved for Major Ross, of the Indian army, now Sir Ronald Ross, Professor of Tropical Medicine in the Liverpool School. For two and a half years he conducted a most laborious and painstaking investigation in the heat of India. Following up the suggestion of Manson, he examined the bodies of thousands of mosquitoes. His results were negative until one happy day he had the joy of finding the parasite of which he was in search. Continuing his work, he demonstrated a series of most important facts. In a most beautiful and convincing way he was able to prove that the plasmodia were always carried to man by a mosquito and by only one kind of mosquito, the anopheles; that the insect got the parasite from the blood of her victim, received it into her stomach, where it underwent change into another stage of development, passed it on to the salivary glands and thence into the man

whom she bit. In the blood, it returned to its original form and produced the disease. Nothing more interesting than the successful work of Major Ross has ever been known in the history of medical research, and never had a discovery more far-reaching results. He proved that malaria was impossible without the anopheline mosquito, and that if the anopheles could be destroyed or kept away from man, malaria could be eradicated. The results obtained by Ross were confirmed by others and soon gained universal recognition. One interesting item of confirmation was associated with Sir Patrick Manson. An anopheline in Italy was allowed to bite a patient suffering from malaria. It was brought to London and there bit Manson's son. In due course he developed an attack of typical malaria.

This was the beginning of the wonderful advance in the management of tropical diseases. Its future progress owes much to the fact that about this time Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was Colonial Secretary. Struck by a lecture delivered by Sir Patrick Manson, he started a movement which resulted in the formation of Schools of Tropical Medicine in London and Liverpool, schools which have attracted able men from all parts of the world and have been the models of similar institutions in many other countries. From them have proceeded the men who have carried on the great work. Laboratories have been established in many likely neighbourhoods, and commissions have been sent out and have rendered inestimable service by studying the diseases on the spot.

The epoch-making discovery of Ross was soon followed by other great results in another disease—yellow fever. The actual cause of this disorder has not yet been found out, but its mode of propagation and its prophylaxis are now as well known as in the case of malaria. The elucidation of these forms one of the most brilliant triumphs of preventive medicine. For it we are indebted to the United States of America. The defeat of Spain in the

Spanish-American War was due more to the loss of life and the deterioration of the morale of the troops from yellow fever than to the military measures of her powerful opponent. The destruction of Spanish soldiers from disease was enormous. After the war, the administration of Cuba was put into the hands of a medical man, General Wood, and one of his first measures was to institute a medical commission whose duty it was thoroughly to investigate the cause of yellow fever and devise measures for its prevention. The investigation caused the death of two of the commissioners, but it soon obtained unlooked-for success. As with malaria, it was found that the virus which caused yellow fever was introduced into the blood by a mosquito, and one particular mosquito, *stegomyia calopus*. It was proved that all the elaborate measures of quarantine, which were supposed to be so essential, and which by crippling commerce had caused untold monetary loss, were absolutely valueless. After the first three days of illness the patient was incapable of conveying the disease to others. Just as Ross had shown that malaria was impossible without anopheles, the American commissioners proved that yellow fever was impossible without *stegomyia*. The true remedy was not quarantine but mosquito destruction. Get rid of the *stegomyia* or keep it from man, and yellow fever could be done away with. Thus was rung the death-knell of a scourge which had been a terror to mankind for centuries and which had produced unmeasured misery and destruction of life.

It is needless to detail other famous discoveries of the causation of tropical diseases. Suffice it to say that the mystery of plague yielded up its secret to commissions sent out to India. It was found that it was caused by a bacillus that was conveyed to rats and human beings by a rat flea which invested the rodent and passed from him to man. Also that sleeping-sickness was transmitted to man by a trypanosome whose host was the tsetse-fly, an insect exceedingly common in many parts of Africa. Beriberi,

relapsing fever, Malta fever, and other forms of disease peculiar to hot climates were also traced to their sources and rendered amenable to treatment and prevention.

The causation of these infections having been discovered, it remained only to devise means to render the knowledge thus gained serviceable for their extinction. The practical measures were soon forthcoming. Strange to say, the means of prophylaxis are remarkable for their simplicity. In the case of malaria and yellow fever, the obvious thing is to attack the mosquito and to make it powerless for attack. But before attacking the mosquito certain general precautions are necessary that are useful for the prevention of all forms of tropical disease. It is essential to attend to the first line of defence, namely, good sanitation. Tropical towns have lagged behind the cities of Europe in their sanitation, but of late years much has been done to make the general conditions more conducive to health, and to-day many places are quite up to the modern standard. It is now usual for them to have a good and unimpeachable supply of pipe-borne water. The houses are constructed on better and healthier methods. Sewage disposal is attended to, and care is taken to ensure efficient drainage. Everything is being done to guard against soil water standing in pools or collecting into swamps. The supply of milk and food of various kinds is carefully watched. From this cause alone, residence in the tropics has been robbed of some of its dangers and the health of the towns has vastly improved. There can be no doubt that these better conditions have greatly helped the more specific measures that are necessary for the fight against disease. But better sanitary conditions are not enough. In the case of mosquito-carried infections, the enemy must be attacked directly. The insect must be destroyed or kept from his prey. At first sight this would appear to be a difficult task, but, as a matter of fact, it is not so difficult as it seems. The mosquito is very selective in the choice of its locality. It breeds only

in standing water. The anopheline lives for the most part in swampy places where there is much water, and only at the margins of the water. It has a special preference for fresh water, and likes shallow water with a muddy bottom and slowly moving streams. As a rule, rivers and lakes are fairly free from it. It does best in little pools by the side of the road, in small collections of water in waste places and by the edges of marshes. The *stegomyia* is essentially domestic in its habits. It frequents cisterns of standing water, plant tubs, old tins, old pots and vessels of any kind, and, indeed, any receptacle about a house which will hold stagnant water. Hence it is easy to locate the habitat of the peccant mosquito in given districts, and equally easy to destroy it or to neutralize its harmful powers. The means of attack are numerous. Certain kinds of fish soon rid a collection of water of the larvae, and some of the West Indian islands owe their immunity from malaria to this alone. A thin layer of petroleum poured on to the top of the water in a cistern or tub or other receptacle will quickly kill the larvae by preventing them coming to the surface for air. The drainage and drying up of swamps will often clear a whole neighbourhood of anopheles. In the same way, the insects are prevented from accumulating by the provision of smooth channels by the roadside which allow the surface water to run off into the sewers. In the anti-mosquito campaigns which are now so general in many parts of the tropics, these and other measures are carried out, and the greatest attention is given to effectual compliance with regulations laid down. Severe penalties are imposed on all who do not carry out instructions, and many districts, in which not long ago mosquitoes swarmed, are now quite free. Fumigation of infected houses is extensively adopted in suitable cases. These methods of mosquito destruction are supported by others which keep the insects from the people—the provision of mosquito nets for use at night when the mosquitoes are most active, the covering of verandahs, doors

and windows by wire netting. Another most valuable remedy for the prevention and cure of malaria is the regular use of quinine, which acts as a powerful poison on the parasite. Such are the steps that have been taken to prevent the incidence of mosquito-borne diseases, and they have been attended by complete success.

The management of plague and sleeping-sickness prophylaxis is not so easy as that of malaria and yellow fever. Still, much has been done, and the future is full of hope. Plague can be fought successfully by good sanitation and by the wholesale destruction of rats. Sleeping-sickness has been stamped out in certain parts by doing away with the breeding-places of the tsetse-fly. Many other tropical diseases, such as Malta fever, relapsing fever, and beriberi are equally subject to control.

Such are some of the practical measures suggested by our new knowledge of the causation of these terrible diseases. Instances of their effectiveness can be given from all parts of the tropics. The records of successful campaigns already fill volumes. Anti-malarial campaigns have been carried out with complete success in Italy and Greece, in Ismailia, Port Said, and Khartoum, in Algeria and West Africa, in Panama, Rio, the United States and in many of the West Indian Islands, in Mauritius, the Philippine Islands, the East Indies, and Hong-Kong. Strange to say, the fight against the anopheline has been taken up with least vigour in India, the home of the great discovery, but during the last year or two the authorities have taken steps to deal with some of the difficulties that have faced them and are attempting to make up for lost time. Already they have reduced by one-half the malaria rate amongst the troops and the prisoners, and very soon the native populations will share in the improvement.

Yellow fever has been fought in most of its habitats, notably in Cuba, New Orleans, Honduras, Brazil, the Panama Canal zone, the West Indies, and the Amazon. Similarly,

sleeping-sickness has met with determined opposition in Central Africa. In Uganda the fight has been attended by marked success, but still much remains to be done. A new commission has recently been sent out, and much is hoped from its labours. Malta fever has been almost banished from our troops in Gibraltar and Malta, and no doubt the civilian population will soon share the immunity of the soldiers. Tick fever and relapsing fever are now nearly exterminated. Plague still defies all attempts to destroy it in its native haunts, India and parts of China, but when it invades other places like San Francisco, Glasgow, Hamburg and other great ports, it has proved itself eminently amenable to prophylaxis.

The classical examples of the fight against malaria and yellow fever are furnished by the campaigns in the Panama Canal zone and in Cuba. They were the first object-lessons, and the success of the fight is due to the skill, energy, and administrative ability of the United States. It is a simple matter of history that the failure of the French to build the canal was due far more to the destructiveness of malaria and yellow fever than to the formidable engineering difficulties of that vast undertaking, and there can be no doubt that the United States would have failed in the same way had not the new discoveries enabled them to devise means of reducing the enormous death and sickness rate which prevailed when they began the work. The district is one of the most pestiferous in the world. Explorers, traders, soldiers, workmen died off like flies when they approached that evil country. During the French attempt, 50,000 workmen died from the two scourges. In 1906, 821 died from malaria; in 1907, 424; and in 1908, 282, although many more men were employed. In those three years not a single case of yellow fever was recognized. At the present time the death-rate of Colon, the Atlantic port of Panama, formerly one of the unhealthiest towns in the world, compares favourably with that of most European

towns. In the whole zone, with 54,000 employés, 18,000 of whom are whites, the death-rate per thousand for the month of March 1910 was 8·91.

Cuba was lost to Spain for the same reason as Panama defeated France. In three years 100,000 Spanish soldiers perished in Cuba from disease. After the conquest and as a result of the administration of General Wood, the death-rate of Cuba has gone down to seventeen. 'During the three years between 1905-9 there were only 859 cases of yellow fever throughout the whole republic, and during that same period only forty deaths in Havana; whereas in the days of old there were thousands of cases.'

We can claim some credit for success in our own possessions. Witness what has been done in West Africa. About ninety years ago 'there were 1,912 deaths amongst 5,828 troops on the Gold Coast, and of 89 officers employed by the Church Missionary Society, 54 died and 14 returned home in broken health.' To-day the death-rate in Freetown is only 22 per thousand. Ismailia and Port Said, once hotbeds of malaria, are now practically free from fever. Examples like these might be multiplied indefinitely, but enough has been said to show how certain the conquest of the tropics is. Every year the condition is improving and the terrors of tropical diseases are fast disappearing. Sir William H. Lever, speaking in Liverpool a few months ago, said that if they only had a little more money, he was certain it would not be many years before they had swept tropical diseases from every British possession.

What an accomplishment this is! Truly it merits rank amongst the proudest achievements of the race. The unparalleled reduction of sickness and misery and death thus opened out must be fraught with momentous and unforeseen consequences. Its ultimate results it is impossible to estimate, but some of the more immediate are obvious. The enormous reduction in the death-rate must entail a great increase in the population. This increase will be the larger because of

the improvement in the birth-rate consequent on the lessening of the power of malaria, one of the leading causes of a low birth-rate. The people who survive will also be stronger and healthier, and before another generation is over we may look for a more vigorous and virile people. We have heard much of the upheaval and revival of the East. If malaria can be successfully combated in India, that revival will be intensified. Freed from the depressing and degenerating influence of that fell tyrant, we shall find instead of an enervated, morally inefficient population, a nation of strong and vigorous men, strong to think, strong to fight. The temperate zones will not then have a monopoly of progressive, far-sighted men, men of initiative and insight. The West will have to meet the East renewed in strength and moral force. Competition will be keener than ever, and Europe will have more powerful rivals for war, commerce, learning, and empire. As in the East, so in Africa and Central America. Much of the backwardness of these nations is due to the incidence of disease. Given the absence of its destruction and devitalization, there is a chance of these peoples coming to their own and a prospect is opened up of progress and competition hitherto unknown.

Again, if the white man is able to live and thrive and multiply in hot climates, we see the possibility of that room for expansion which is a crying need of the immediate future. The temperate zones are finding the world too small for them. They are becoming overcrowded. Nearly every country in Europe is calling out for other soils in which to plant its surplus population. The civilized races are crowding out their old homes. It is a necessity of their very existence that they shall find space for expansion. Here, thanks to the discoveries of tropical medicine, are the places getting ready for them—millions of miles of the fairest and richest areas of the earth's surface, unlimited room, unbounded productiveness.

In this prospect of the spread of the white races to the

tropics and the increased vitality of the natives, there are visions of commercial growth such as the world has never known. These areas of unlimited extent and unrealized fertility only want men for the development of their resources. Much as we already owe to the tropics, we have scarcely touched the fringe of their riches. There is scarcely a single district that has not undreamt-of possibilities, and as these regions become cultivated and scientifically exploited, there are certainties of commercial expansion such as have never been thought of. To Great Britain this outlook is of vital consequence. A considerable proportion of the tropics belongs to us. In India there is a population of 300,000,000. Our Crown Colonies, mostly tropical, cover an area of nearly 2,000,000 square miles and hold about 40,000,000 inhabitants. To these possessions we are largely indebted for our commercial prosperity. Without them we should lose our pre-eminence. From them we get many of the most important necessities. A list of the products of our Crown Colonies shows how vital to us is their development. Sugar, tea, coffee, cocoa, spices, rice, tapioca, tobacco, rubber, cotton, fibres, oils and minerals of many kinds all come from there. The mere enumeration of these articles of trade shows how vast are the potentialities of their development. The first condition of the realization of these potentialities is that the white man shall be able to colonize these regions, and to-morrow that condition will be fulfilled. For the rest, all that remains is enterprise and commercial courage.

What effect will the conquest of the tropics have on missionary work? This is a question of overwhelming importance. It ought to help on the work as no other agency has done. It 'opens doors' in all directions. The conditions of labour will be much more favourable than ever before. The increased healthiness of the mission field will make it more attractive to the missionary and will also enable fewer men to do more work. At present it is said

that sixty per cent. of the death-rate amongst missionaries is due to preventable diseases. There will undoubtedly be a great diminution in the number of lives lost and also in the sickness rate. Fewer men will be invalided home; fewer will be permanently ruined in health. Definite statistics on this point are not available, but all the great missionary societies agree that already an improvement in these respects has been noticed.

The mission work will also benefit from having a healthier and happier constituency. The successful fight against disease has already had a marked effect on the whole outlook of native races. The enormous and apparently inevitable mortality and sickness, the nervous depression especially associated with malaria, have engendered a fatalism, a pessimism amongst the native races that have directly contributed to the continuance and spread of fetishism which prevails so largely in the lower types of tropical humanity. The destruction of their enemies gives them a brighter and happier outlook and puts them in a better condition to receive the message. The fact that they owe the extermination of their pests to the white man increases their readiness to respond, and the help they are receiving in their fight against their dreadful foes has made a great impression on them. This impression may not of itself be sufficient to turn them from their own religions, but Christianity has thereby invested them with a new idea which has changed the world for them and which strongly predisposes them in favour of the religion of Jesus Christ. The effect is intensified by the self-sacrifice, devotion, and untiring energy of European doctors and missionaries in actual conflict with the foe.

The extension of Western civilization to the East is raising up new nations. At times we are almost afraid of the creatures we are making. They are taking our scientific methods, they are adopting our military ways; they are competing with us in commerce with our own weapons;

they are becoming great and powerful. Will they take our religion? The opportunities for us are increasing beyond the dreams of the most confirmed visionaries. Our missionaries are able to live and prosper in parts of the world that have been dangerous to them, indeed almost closed to them. They are able to go with enhanced prestige. They are not only accompanied by the weapons of wealth and successful commercial enterprise, of learning and of war. They take also the inestimable blessing of health, and in taking it they show also the best and finest product of Western character, self-sacrifice, self-denial, and the power of forgetting self for the sake of saving the bodies of the people. Will not this help in saving their souls? The conquest of tropical disease ought to be one of the grandest adjuncts of missionary enterprise, and should give greater volume to the cry of 'The World for Christ.'

EDWARD WALKER.

A LEADER OF THE RENAISSANCE

The Adagia, gathered out of the Chiliades of Erasmus. By RICHARD TAVERN. (London, 1569.)

The Manual of the Christian Knight. (London : Methuen.)

In Praise of Folly. (London : Gibbings & Co., 1900.)

The Colloquies. (London : Gibbings & Co.)

Life and Letters of Erasmus : Lectures delivered at Oxford, 1898-4. By J. A. FROUDE. (London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1894.)

Epistles of Erasmus. To his 51st Year. 2 vols. F. M. NICHOLS. (London : Longmans, 1901-1904.)

IN celebrating the Tercentenary of the English Bible we have not forgotten the debt we owe to Erasmus. Tindale based his New Testament on the Revision of the great Dutch scholar, and the Authorized Version is but an improved edition of Tindale. So the Revised Version of 1880 comes to us in direct succession from the revised Greek Testament of Erasmus in 1566.

The character of Erasmus and his attitude to the Reformation is one of the battle-grounds of Church history. His figure stands out in brilliant individuality at the close of the Middle Ages, but who accepts him ? Romanists see in him the man who blew the great trumpet that waked the Continent from its long slumber. He was not the first. Others there were before him, and a greater was to follow, but he was the first to get the ear of all Europe. On the other hand, Protestants condemn him as the man who stood aloof from the advancing German hosts—the faint-hearted soldier who would not march with Luther.

The position which Erasmus took up is one which is not tolerated in controversy. Unless a man is a good party

man, a good hater of one side or the other, he is suspect of both, and displeases both. Erasmus said himself that he was regarded as 'a Lutheran at Rome and an anti-Lutheran in Germany.' The moderate man is relegated to the political or theological limbo to take his unhappy place among those whom neither side will have. Erasmus made his choice, and his reputation has suffered ever since. Time, however, is on the side of justice, and all lovers of truth must rejoice in the revived interest which is being taken in the life and writings of the author of the *Moria*, as seen in the new editions in Latin published by the Universities of Oxford and Ghent.

The letters and works of Erasmus—especially the letters—furnish the key to his character. In these effusions there is no concealment of motives. He is the frankest of correspondents, and lays bare the recesses of his mind with a candour which some would say was not prudent, but which certainly does not agree with the caution so freely attributed to him. Any one can read his thoughts. He is as well known as Dr. Johnson or Charles Lamb; and in the peculiar and delightful note which distinguishes his writings, he is more modern than either. That is why we love him, for, with all his faults, there was in him that fascinating quality which has endeared greater offenders than he to the hearts of mankind.

Nothing is easier than to excite prejudice against a man, especially when he has few or no defenders, and this is so much the case with Erasmus that it is more necessary than usual to read what he has written, and not be content with the verdict of historians who are often unconsciously biassed.

There is first the familiar charge that he lacked the courage of his convictions. He compromised with his conscience, it is said: he would not face the lions of Rome, for his heart failed him. This is a damaging indictment indeed, for it means that there was lacking in him the

essential attribute of manliness. Here is a pretty weight of infamy with which to load a famous name in its travel down the ages. This imputed cowardice is used, too, as a foil to set off the splendid fearlessness of the man who nailed his theses to the church door at Wittenberg, and braved the Diet of Worms.

It is useless to deny that Erasmus took alarm at the consequences of his own propaganda. The conflagration spread further than he had expected; but in trying to arrive at a fair estimate of his conduct, there are some considerations which should be taken into account. If the part he played in the mighty drama of the Reformation is to be discounted in favour of Luther, it seems only just to contrast his feeble physique with the magnificent animal vitality of the German Reformer. Let us set the portraits of the two men side by side, and then ask which had the larger fund of physical strength and nerve force on which to draw, in such a life-and-death struggle? And as the body so often is the temperament. Deficiency of power in the one implies deficiency of power in the other. Moreover, there was not in Erasmus that concentration of intellectual interests which means driving power. The great humanist had wide sympathies, and could see all round a subject. Opposite sides of a question, clearly seen, tend to neutralize each other.

This would be but a poor plea, even in the case of an average man, in defect of some principle of action: how much more so when advanced in excuse of Erasmus! He had a principle of conduct from which he never swerved. We shall endeavour to show that he had an aim, and that he stuck to it. And as to courage, the man who wrote the *Moria* and the *Colloquia*, and who never ceased to expose and denounce the corruptions of the Church of Rome, and of princes on whose protection he relied, ought not to be stigmatized as a coward.

Then his begging letters are adduced in depreciation of

him. Froude, with an eye to literary effect, has made too much of these. They are 'good copy,' as were the Carlyle letters. Let us imagine such supplicatory effusions appearing in future biographies of Tennyson or Matthew Arnold. They would be more entertaining to the reader, who has a taste for that kind of thing, than creditable to the writer. They would not be possible now, for times have changed since authors depended on patrons. But it is not many years since it was no disgrace to a man of letters to receive pecuniary aid, when engaged in important literary work. Erasmus could have earned a moderate living by teaching, and in other ways, but that would have used up the time required for his priceless studies. He knew well that he was working for the future, and he felt he had a right to be supported, and said so. None the less he disliked the humiliation of asking for money. He calls his applications for assistance 'fulsome stuff,' and in the *Adagia*, in commenting on the proverb 'Emere malo quam rogare' ('I had liefer buy than beg'), says, 'To an honest heart it is death to beg, unless it be of a special friend.'

Doubts are also expressed as to the earnestness of his piety. It must be admitted, however, that, in an age when the standard was so low, his life stands out in striking contrast to the shameless profligacy of the priests and monks. He was constantly preaching purity of life, and, in character and conduct, he was an example of his teaching. The *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, written at the request of a lady for the benefit of her husband, must not be regarded merely as the automatic performance of a man who understood the theory of religion just as he understood Latin, Greek, or anything else belonging to the stock-in-trade of a professional writer. We take it as in part the self-revelation of Erasmus. It is as good a book as we know for moulding the character of a young man, sincerely wishful to live a virtuous and Christian life. The chief value of the book lies in the fact that it is not an exposition of

Catholic dogma and ritual : it might even be claimed that it is Protestant and evangelical. Erasmus himself says 'that it was designed to counteract the error of those who place piety in ceremonies and external observances, but neglect its very essence.' Under the sixth rule he says—

The only and most perfect nobleness is to be regenerate in Christ, and to be grafted and planted in the body of Him, to be one body and spirit with God. Let other men be kings' sons, let it be the greatest honour that can be that thou art called, and art so indeed, the son of God.

And again—

True and only pleasure is the inward joy of a pure conscience. The most noble and daintiest dish that can be is the study of Holy Scripture. The most delectable songs be the psalms indited of the Holy Ghost. The most pleasant fellowship is the communion of all saints. The highest dainties of all are the fruition and enjoying of the very truth. Purge now thy eyes, purge thy ears, purge thy very mouth, and Christ shall begin to wax sweet and pleasant to thee.

He calls the *Enchiridion* 'The shortest way to Christ,' and the book is saturated with Scripture. Moreover, as we read we feel it to be the expression of his own experience. He had not been in the hell of spiritual conflict like Luther—he was a different type; his was not so strong a nature. He was above all things a man of letters, and perhaps he loved the muses too well, yet the *Enchiridion* is, more or less, the transcript of struggles through which he had passed, and had yet to pass, and, so far as its autobiographical value is concerned, must be considered in any fair estimate of his character.

Erasmus was the most brilliant man of letters of his age. Apart from his other achievement, which we shall notice, there is his editing of the Fathers and the Greek and Roman Classics, with some translations—a range of performance which places him easily first, as a leader of the Renaissance. May it not be said that no other writer ever occupied the same commanding position in his own time that Erasmus did in his? We might go even further, and claim for him

that—leaving out the men of purely creative genius—he was the greatest literary man who ever lived. His amount and variety of production, his scholarship, his humour, his ease and grace of style, and that subtle incommunicable power to place himself in sympathetic touch with all periods and conditions of life, which implies genius—all unite to set him on a throne of his own, from which he has never been deposed.

The subject before us is admittedly full of complexity, and hence, in forming a judgement, it is safest to take the broadest view of the aim and achievement of Erasmus. His work was the emancipation of the intellect of Europe. Luther won for Germany the inestimable blessing of moral and religious freedom, which of course includes the liberation of the mind. The influence of Erasmus, if not so deep, was more widely diffused. He was listened to where Luther would not be heard. He obtained the ear of all Europe, especially of the educated classes.

In the pathetic story of *The Cloister and the Hearth*—in which his father Gerard is the chief character—we have a true and vivid picture of the state of Europe just before the coming of Erasmus. The intellectual atmosphere was stifling; there was no liberty of inquiry, no discussion of things pertaining to Church and State. The authority of Rome closed every avenue of free thought. Erasmus changed all that. He opened the doors and windows of the human mind, and let in the fresh air of criticism and unfettered investigation of matters of rule and custom, of privilege and prescription. He restored reason to its rightful place in the conduct of human affairs, and, in so doing, struck a fatal blow at the papal infallibility and the pretensions of the Roman Hierarchy. He was the Emancipator of the intellect of Europe.

The first step, in order of importance, by Erasmus in the work of emancipation was the publication of his New Testament. He did for the New Testament what Reuchlin

did for the Old. The Bible had been practically a closed book, kept, so to speak, under lock and key, as Luther found, in the Augustinian convent. The Vulgate was the only version in use. The Gospels and Epistles were doled out to the congregations by the priests. After years of research and labour, during which 'he worked with the strength of ten,' Erasmus published the New Testament in the original Greek, having collated the available MSS., together with a new Latin translation, and with prefaces and annotations, in which the Church of Rome, as it then was, with its indolence, its pomps and corruptions, was contrasted with the lives and teachings of Christ and the Apostles. Paraphrases were subsequently added, in order to make the meaning clearer. The scholarship would not perhaps be accounted much in these days, but he was the first to apply the principles of textual criticism to the New Testament, and so may be said to have been the founder of a school of experts. In his prefaces and notes the Roman hierarchy was gibbeted in view of all Europe, by a master of satirical humour and invective. The effect, as Froude says, was 'a spiritual earthquake.' The exposure was terrific, and the demand for the book was enormous. It ran through many editions; 100,000 copies were sold in France alone. Court and camp rang with laughter at the *débâcle* of the ecclesiastical reputation. The priests were furious, and if they could have given effect to their malice, the life of Erasmus would have been the price of his temerity, but his work was not finished, and Providence watched over his safety. We cannot forbear here quoting the well-known passage—

It is not from human reservoirs fetid with stagnant waters, that we draw the doctrine of salvation; but from the pure and abundant streams that flow from the heart of God.

The Holy Scriptures, translated into all languages, should be read not only by the Scotch and Irish, but even by Turks and Saracens. The husbandman should sing them as he holds the handle of his plough, the weaver repeat them as he plies his shuttle, and the weary traveller, halting on his journey, refresh him under some shady tree by these godly narratives.

Of his own writings the *Adagia* comes first in point of time. It is a collection of proverbs, taken from the classical writers, with parallel English adages, and his own witty comments and scathing attacks on the evils of the times, both in Church and State. The success of the book—introducing as it did a new and delightful note into the literature of the age—was immense.

After this came the *Encomium Moriae*, in which Erasmus pursues the attack with greater vigour than ever. In this remarkable work—the most brilliant that Erasmus ever wrote—Folly claims that she rules the world, and for the advancement and happiness of mankind. The book is the keenest satire, and shows that Erasmus had the terrible gift of Swift, without his hatred of the race. The humour is the humour of inverted argument. We are transported into the land of topsy-turvydom. Folly assumes the rôle of the philosopher and reasons with comic seriousness. By a curious process of logic she carries us from absurdity to absurdity, until the most amazing and amusing results are reached. As a sheer effort of wit it has never been surpassed. It need not be said that the sincerity of the writer is undeniable, and the purpose of the satire evident. Towards the close Moria drops her mask and cap and bells, and sits in grave and warning judgement on the religious and other evils of the age.

But perhaps the most daring excursion of the satire of Erasmus is seen in the pasquinade, *Julius II, Exclusus*. This is a drama in which the warlike and dissolute pope, after death, demands admittance at the gate of heaven, of which Peter holds the keys. The unapostolic life of the notorious pontiff is the ground of refusal. The scene is irresistible, and reminds us of Byron's *Vision of Judgement*, though the later work is profane, and without any serious intent.

It is difficult in these days when the press is free and nothing is sacred, to imagine the effect of such daring

criticism of an ancient Church—the only Church—the omnipotent Church that held the souls and bodies of men in its power. The little Dutchman stood in front of an institution whose shadow rested on the whole world, and hurled his weapons at it, as if reverence for it and regard for personal consequences were not to be thought of. It would seem as if Thor had come to Jotenheim. Yet with a temperamental breadth of view, not exactly according to Papal tradition and assumption, Leo X was friendly. Threatened by the Inquisition, yet protected by the Emperor Charles V, and courted by all the monarchs of Europe, and with the intellect and education of the entire Continent ranged on his side, Erasmus continued the campaign. The *Colloquies* followed. Here the whole state of Europe is reviewed in a series of witty dialogues, after the manner of Lucian. The book is a perfect quarry for the historian of the times. Pepys' *Diary*, or the *Spectator* of Addison and Steele, do not present a truer portraiture of their respective periods than does this literary cinematograph. All society comes on the vast stage. The Church of Rome, with its indulgences, fasts, pilgrimages, invocation of the Virgin Mary and the saints, is dealt with in as unsparing a manner as more deadly errors were, long after, by Pascal. The latter, however, had more material to work on, as the Casuists, Escobar, Le Moine, and others, had then arrived, with their doctrine of intention, their sophistries and lies.

Erasmus closes the preface to the *Colloquies* with these words: 'May that Spirit, which is the pacifier of all, whose instruments we are in various ways, make us all agree and consent in sound doctrine and holy manners, that we may all come to the fellowship of the New Jerusalem that knows no discords.'

Erasmus sincerely wished to reform the Church of Rome. It is not fair, whilst allowing that his books, which were sold by hundreds of thousands, were a root-and-

branch exposure of a corrupt system, to deny to him the motive of his work. Nor is it just to take hold of byplay confidences in his correspondence and place his character on trial on the ground of such doubtful evidence. Understanding his temperament, it is easy to explain his apparently inconsistent avowals. Erasmus has been rightly described as a man of moods. He was sensitive, as genius is, to the atmosphere of the moment. Moreover he was a rhetorician, and loved emphasis. He never tried to guard his utterances. He did not write like a man on view. He liked to give his mind plenty of sea room. In a case like this a man must be judged ultimately by his actions, and we know that he never strayed far from the central principle and conviction of his life. There was a distinct purpose, a connecting motive, in all his serious writing, and in all that he did.

Secure in our Protestant strength, it is easy to criticize his methods and say 'The devil is not expelled by rose-water.' His *New Testament* and the *Moria* and *Colloquia* were not rose-water. They opened the intellectual dungeons of Europe, and prepared the way for Luther. The *Man of Letters* was the forerunner of the *Man of Action*. Nor does Erasmus, when, late in life, and in much weakness and weariness, he said, deprecatingly, that 'he had laid a hen's egg, but Luther had hatched a game-cock,' do justice to the part he had taken in the advancing Reformation. The *Julian Dialogue* was not a hen's egg; Erasmus laid a game-cock's egg, but Luther hatched it. D'Aubigné quotes the saying of Fontaine, that 'Luther had only opened the door after Erasmus had picked the lock.'

Erasmus's relations to Luther is one of the questions of ecclesiastical history. It is difficult to settle, but it must be considered in any attempted estimate of his character and work. One could have wished that the issue had been different. If so, what would have been the effect on Europe? Erasmus soon found that the pace of Luther

was too great for him, and that they were parting company. In their correspondence there was, as there always is in such cases, where it is felt that the friendship must be kept up, a studied restraint on both sides. At last the suppressed feeling comes out. Erasmus 'fears that Luther is constructing a new Protestant Theology which might be as intolerant as the Catholic.' Luther retorts, and he was not the man to measure his words. Erasmus had made up his mind. 'Others may be martyrs,' he said, 'if they like. I aspire to no such honour.' 'Luther had an excellent cause, but was imprudent.' He intended, he said, 'to avoid both Scylla and Charybdis.' Yet he urged the Elector of Saxony 'not to give Luther up,' and ceased not to denounce persecution.

The Pope wrote to Erasmus, asking him, in effect, to crush Luther, and he should have a Bishopric. Erasmus was not to be bribed, and advised the Pope 'to reform the abuses.' Pressed by his friends, More and Fisher, to comply with the Pope's wish, he at last consented, and entered the field against Luther, but he would not attack the reformer personally. All he did was to engage in an abstract discussion of a question in metaphysical theology. He sent forth his *De Libero Arbitrio*. Luther replied strongly with his *De Servo Arbitrio*. Erasmus had aimed a blow at the throat of Luther's doctrine of Free Will, but his pamphlet was regarded as a milk-and-water production by the Curia. What they wanted was more vim, more bite, more sting. That was exactly what Erasmus, with all his armoury of satire and rhetoric, had made up his mind to avoid. Whatever the provocation he would not be provoked, but met Luther's assaults with courtesy. He had, moreover, the courage to stand up for him. He said 'that Luther had administered an acrid dose to a diseased body. God grant it may prove salutary,' and added that 'Luther could not have succeeded if God had not been with him.' When More urged harder hitting, Erasmus refused to go any

further. He thought that 'in the negative part of his teaching Luther was right, and that he would not be found fighting against God.' Space will not permit us to pursue the story of a painful breach between two men to both of whom we owe so much. Luther went his way with growing strength. Erasmus remained in the Church out of which, with all its faults, he once professed to believe salvation could not be found.

If Erasmus had come into line with Luther, would the alliance have turned the balance against Rome? He evidently thought so. 'Had I held out but a little finger to Luther, Germany would have seen what I could do.' Froude endorses this when he remarks 'that had Erasmus come to Luther's help, Luther would have gained the victory at Worms.' As it was, Luther split Germany, two-thirds becoming Protestant. Northern and Southern Europe took opposite sides. A century later, in the Thirty Years' War, the hostile camps of Gustavus Adolphus and the Emperor Ferdinand represented the Protestant and Catholic division of the Continent. If Erasmus had followed Luther, would their united strength have made any decisive impression on the South Germans and the Latin nations?

We doubt it. Luther had exhausted the possibilities of the Reformation—for the time, and Erasmus was not one to turn the scale of battle. But there cannot be a doubt that his remaining in the ancient fold was regarded as a victory at Rome. Otherwise there was not much to be enthusiastic over. Erasmus cared little for ritual or dogma. On the subject of the Real Presence he said that 'it is enough that spiritual grace be found in the symbols'; and Zwingle, who differed from Luther, who still held to the doctrine of transubstantiation, admitted his indebtedness to Erasmus for his own position on that question. It is true that, as time went on, the excesses—as he deemed them—of the Reformers produced a reaction in his own mind, and reconciled Erasmus more to the Roman doctrine

and system; though the last moments of his life, to which we shall refer, showed how far he really was from Rome.

It is thought by some sincere reformers, both inside and outside the Roman Church, that Erasmus was right in taking up the middle position. Old Catholics and Modernists, High Churchmen and even some Protestants, incline to the belief that reform must come from within. 'You cannot destroy the Church of Rome,' they say. 'It has been attempted again and again, and it never has been done—and it never will.' When we remember its imperious claim to authority, its marvellous organization, its profound knowledge of human nature, and, let us gladly admit it—in spite of its shameful history—its glorious dower of saintly lives, we cease to wonder at its apparently inexhaustible vitality. But, as it is with all other institutions, it can only expect, or rather ensure, perpetuity of existence, in so far as it can bring its formulas and system into accord with the teachings of the New Testament. Can it ever do that and still be the Church of Rome? Is it possible to find the mean between Papal authority and Protestant freedom which would solve the difficulty? Would an 'infallible' Church ever accept such a point of agreement as a working basis within, or as a *concordat* with those who are without, with a view to reunion? We do not think so; and as to those of us who are without, we could not consent without sacrificing our *raison d'être*. We prefer truth to compromise, even though it might bring union. If Erasmus attempted the impossible, we may be thankful for that which he did accomplish in the emancipation of the mind of Europe.

As to his personal attitude to the Reformation, is it not a fact that there are some things which some men cannot do? Erasmus certainly was not the man to take off his coat and join in the fray. He did not see it to be his duty, and besides, he was never strong physically, and was now getting old and had many infirmities. He was tired of

the controversy, and shrank from the pain and risk of personal conflict and persecution. He had done his work, and it was large and far-reaching. He had preached repentance, and had prepared the way for Luther. And when all is said and done, he had been consistent; he had not broken any promise; he had kept faith with his aims and convictions. It can be claimed for him that there was in him 'unity of character.' And now he wanted to be let alone, and to die in peace. If there ever was a case for the application of the eternal law of charity, as laid down by St. Paul, it is the final choice of Erasmus.

When the end came it was in perfect harmony with the life and the work. His last book—written during his last illness—was on *The Purity of the Church*. He did not send for a confessor. He died without the offices of the Church. His trust, expressed again and again, was in the alone merit of Christ, just as he had taught in the *Enchiridion* long years before, and often since repeated. With the words—as it were of a little child—'Lieber Gott' on his lips, he passed away. In his will, money was left for the aged and infirm, for portionless girls, and for the education of young men of promise, but nothing for masses and nothing for the Church.

In history there will always be men of pronounced views, who lean to moderate courses. They seek the same goal as their bolder comrades, but prefer to take the longer and, as they think, the safer path. They may not reach the goal—neither may the other! History gives full and deserved credit to the great paladin of the Reformation, the national hero of Germany, the grandest figure in the drama of the Christian Church since the days of the Apostles; homely, rugged, tender, strong, the man who gave the Bible to his nation in their own tongue, and, by his hymns and tunes, won for Germany a place of highest honour in the spiritual music of all races,—Luther, a name to live as long as flows the Rhine, the sacred boundary

and symbol of United Germany. If we are thankful for Erasmus, we are still more thankful for Martin Luther.

But let us not refuse to Erasmus his meed of praise. More and more do men's thoughts turn to the pale, indefatigable scholar, the first Reviser of the New Testament; the writer of immortal books, fresh and young as when they came from his hand, radiant with the genius of humour, yet irresistible in fact and argument; the lover of England and things English; the charming companion; the brilliant conversationalist—increasingly dear to all who can render homage to the men who use the pen as a sword, and who unite the gentle art of letters with the sacred offices of Truth.

R. W. G. HUNTER.

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

✓ *A History of the Revolutionary Rising in Kwangtung.*
Anonymous.

THE brochure which stands at the head of this article was written and published in the south of China. It was at once popular, and was widely circulated amongst all classes of society. It describes, in very vigorous language, the abortive attempt made to capture Canton, and massacre the local officials, on April 25, 1911. The pamphlet makes no claim to literary excellence, but aims at accurately describing what happened. The names of the leaders who sacrificed their lives are recorded. Their unhallowed tombs have since then been honoured by garlands of flowers, and their spirits been appeased by many sacrifices. The causes of the insurrection are also explained and emphasized, as well as the aims of the Reformers, which are duly extolled. The pamphlet will probably have but an ephemeral notoriety, for it has done its work. The ill-starred insurrection which its pages record is swallowed up in the vaster revolution which has just shaken down the ancient, time-worn canker-eaten throne of the Manchus, and buried underneath the ruins both the infant Emperor and his father, the Regent. The causes, progress, and probable issues of this sudden and startling revolution are matters of vital import, both to those Western readers concerned for Mission work and those who are interested in the onward march of one of the greatest nations of the earth.

The revolutionary drama has been carried on with fierce determination and wild enthusiasm all over China, and has not lacked spectators, sympathizers, and applauders who

have watched its progress with fixed eyes, and in many cases with interested motives. It may not be without interest to compare the present revolution with that which destroyed the Ming dynasty, in which we shall be able to trace the disintegrative action and reaction of powerful forces, checked and counterchecked, until at last the Manchus, blood-stained, indeed, emerged, grasping and wielding authority.

The Ming dynasty reigned in China from A.D. 1368 to 1644—that is to say for two hundred and seventy years; it will be seen that the Manchu dynasty has reigned two hundred and sixty-five years. The last Emperors of the Ming dynasty were young, dissolute, short-lived, and, in some cases, left no heir to fill the vacant throne. The recent Emperors of the late Ta'i Ts'ing dynasty have also been dissolute, with the single exception perhaps of Kwang Hsui, who was held within bounds by the grip of the Empress Dowager; they have been haughty, ignorant, and incapable. Hien Fung left but one son, who came to the throne at the age of six. He is known as Tung Chih, and died at the age of twenty, of small-pox, but left no heir. Kwang Hsui, who followed him, died childless, and the late Emperor is a boy of six. It will be seen that one of the circumstances that helped to overthrow the Ming dynasty has been repeated during the recent years of the late reigning family, and the Chinese, who are greatly influenced by precedent, saw, in these parallel circumstances, Heaven's fiat that the work of the Manchu dynasty was finished, and therefore it had to go.

We have already referred to one unhappy circumstance that materially weakened the once powerful Mings, viz. the short-lived heirless lives of several of the last Emperors. But the two determining factors of the dynasty's overthrow were the pitiful weakness of the internal administration and the haughty contempt with which the ministers treated 'outside barbarians,' whether northern Nomads beyond the great wall, or western traders that clamoured for trade

privileges at the gates of the several seaports on the coast. Let us glance first at the internal administration. Rapacious officials, cruel torture of prisoners, idle indifference to duty, licentiousness, and a haughty contempt of the rising tide of discontent, all alike contributed their share to the dire calamity that finally overwhelmed the last Emperors and submerged the throne. These things were borne with by the people till human patience could endure no more. The inevitable rebellions followed, which in turn were temporarily suppressed, with atrocious cruelties and the shedding of rivers of blood, only to break out afresh in a new centre and with increased rancour.

There came a time, however, when one of these revolutionary armies was too numerous and too strong to be scattered. It was led by one Li Tsi-chung. It had its origin in the province of Shensi. The Imperialists were at first victorious over the rebels, and scattered them; but their leader escaped, and ere long succeeded in creating another army of insurgents more fierce and terrible than the first. As an example of the wild rage and mad passion of those days, we may refer to the sacking of Ka'i Fong, the capital of Honan, which General Li had invested no less than three times. In the second assault he lost an eye by an arrow. The third time, after he had besieged the place for nine months, without obtaining any substantial advantage, 'he opened a passage from the Yellow River, and allowed its waters to inundate the city.' The confusion was indescribable. Rich and poor, young and old, male and female, were engulfed in the surging waters, which in some places rose to the enormous height of twenty feet. Historians say that more than a million lives were sacrificed within a few hours. Li, however, had swept away the stubborn city and created terror in the minds of those who had hitherto opposed his triumphant march. Peking, the capital, now lay exposed before the revolutionary general. The weak-kneed Emperor saw his fate approaching. He first killed

the ladies of his harem. He then wrote a note with his own blood, asking the rebel chief to mutilate his body but to spare his subjects; he finally hanged himself with his own girdle.

We have already said that not only was the internal administration during the last years of the Ming dynasty pitifully weak, but the rulers treated with haughty contempt 'outside barbarians.' We refer for a moment, as less important than the other, to their treatment of the strangers from the West. These strangers were first Portuguese, then Dutch. The last first saw China in 1622, with a squadron of twelve ships. These two countries also sent, not only traders and diplomats, but missionaries, apostles of both ancient and reformed ecclesiastical Christianity. We are not careful here to pass in review all that happened. The treatment of the Dutch embassy at Peking, after submitting to huge exactions and unconscionable delays in Canton, is typical of the Chinese character and suggestive of the working of the Celestial mind. The same attitude has been assumed, and the same haughty arrogance shown to embassies since then, which were less easily brooked, and which ultimately necessitated retaliation. It is true that the Dutch embassy was not sent till 1655, but much had happened in the past, and the contempt with which this embassy was received was but the climax of a long series of haughty insults. 'At length they were admitted into the palace, where they waited all night in an open court, in expectation of seeing His Majesty early next day.' They did, indeed, see the Son of Heaven, but no word was spoken. Presents, regarded as tribute, were presented and received. There the affair ended. The Emperor's edict on the 'negotiations' contained the following paragraph. 'We do heartily grant them leave to come once every eight years to pay tribute to this court: and this we do, to make known to the universe our affection for the people of the remotest parts.' The Emperor who promulgated this remarkable document, it

is true, was the first of the Manchus, but he is simply exhibiting the spirit and haughtiness he inherited from the fallen Mings, and which they had showed both to Dutch and Portuguese alike during their last years, before either party thought fit to attempt or were allowed to arrange a diplomatic embassy to the court of the Emperor. This fiasco no doubt offered much amusement to the actors, as much indeed as a farce usually does to the audience. But they repeated it too often, and their laughter was at last choked in tears.

The haughtiness shown towards the 'western barbarian' was humility itself compared to the treatment which the decadent Mings offered to the northern Nomads. The revenge of the latter was proportionately fierce and complete. At that time there lived in the north-east of Asia a tribe of Nomads, over whom Noorachu ruled. Before he had acquired the influence which he wielded in 1599 he had met and crushed several chiefs of his own race who had opposed him. Whilst he was engaged in bringing into subjection his various near neighbours, the Chinese had gratuitously interfered with and thwarted him. He soon, therefore, perceived that ere he could reach the summit of his ambition, the Chinese must be taught to mind their own business, and must be crushed and humbled in battle. His first attempts were gloriously successful. In five days he won three decisive and brilliant victories, partly through the bad generalship of the Chinese commanders. These victories not only strengthened his own position, but depleted the Chinese army of forty-six thousand warriors, who had been slain during these three bloody days. By the year 1625 Noorachu was so far successful that he was able to declare Mukden the capital of his new kingdom. The following year he died. His son reigned in his stead. Now was the hour for peace, but China rejected the opportunity scornfully and it passed by and never returned.

The son, Ta'i Tsung, inherited the identical ambition

that floated before the mind of his father, and in order to realize it determined to attack and invest Peking. In this expedition he was unsuccessful, and was compelled to retreat with enormous loss.

Meanwhile Peking had fallen into the hands of the arch-rebel Li Tsi-chung. He ordered the Ming officials, civil and military, to submit within three days, or lose their heads, whichever they preferred. Among those who hesitated was a Chinese general named Wu San-kwei. He was guarding the northern fortress, Ning Yuen, against the Manchus, who had been content, after their repulse from Peking, to await events in their own home. There, moreover, they had been kept in check by San-kwei. The latter had decided to comply with Li's demands, when he learnt from private sources that a favourite and beautiful concubine, who had been given to San-kwei by a high official and had been left in Peking, was in the hands of the rebels. He was enraged beyond self-control; and instead of proceeding to the capital, as he had intended, and paying fealty to the new upstart Emperor, he returned to his old post. He thereupon wrote a bitter letter to his father, who had already submitted, whom he charged with the loss of the lady. He wrote a second letter to the Manchu general, his old enemy, and in this he besought his aid to drive the upstart Emperor out of Peking, and save the decadent Ming dynasty from utter extinction. Ta'i Tsung, ere this, was dead, and his ninth son reigned in his stead. But the Regent, his uncle, was a man of prompt decision and immediate action. He at once, and with the utmost willingness, complied with the request. We need not follow the track of the terrible events that followed. The rebel emperor Li was driven out of Peking, and the Manchu leader determined that his nephew should reign in his stead. With a stroke of genius he continued to foster the rage and jealousy of San-kwei, and sent him south and west to scatter and annihilate the fleeing rabble of the upstart Li.

The Manchu leader immediately removed his capital from Mukden to Peking, proclaimed his nephew Emperor, and proceeded to issue edicts under an Imperial seal. The Manchus were absolute masters of the north of China, and were determined to rule, ere long, the entire Empire from frozen north to the sunny south. We see, therefore, that hopeless inability, self-centred haughtiness, and outrageous human passions were the factors that conduced to the ultimate fall of the Ming dynasty. The Empire fell into the hands of hardy Nomads through the personal jealousy of a Chinese general, who was impelled to this perfidy in order to gratify his personal rage at the loss of a woman whom he loved.

It is a long step from 1644 to 1911. But this step we now propose to take, and we shall find that the forces of destruction which were so effective for evil during the declining years of the moribund Mings have again been active, and have worked out the same unhappy issues in the fortunes of the late dynasty. We have already referred to the effeminate and helpless Emperors of the last fifty years. It is true that the fatal day was postponed by the dominating will and determined action of the strong-minded woman who really ruled China during the last fifty years. When she died, the all-powerful personality was wanting. The nerveless hands of the late rulers of China have been found altogether too feeble to hold the reins of government and direct the chariot of state. Hence it has been driven into a ditch, has overturned, and the results are before us.

Probably the recent terrible taxation has been the most exasperating irritant of the people, whose leaders at last became convinced that there was no deliverance from this burden except by a national revolution which should effectually remove the incubus from their shoulders. Recently a published tract fell into our hands which was sold broadcast in the streets of the British colony of Hong-

Kong for a farthing. Therein the burdens of taxation were shown in all their hideous bareness. Apart from the custom-house dues, paid on all merchandise imported into or exported from the ports of China, there are many other ways in which the officials manage to squeeze money out of the pockets of the people. They tax houses and fields; transfers of property and emigrants leaving the country; distillers and retail dealers in spirits; firewood and oil; butchers' meat and rice; prostitution and gambling. In short there is no commodity that can escape. Moreover, it is not the taxation itself that maddens the people, terrible as this is. The method of collecting the taxes is exasperating in the extreme. Along a river's route with which we are familiar, whose limits do not cover two hundred and forty miles, there are six lekin stations. Lekin corresponds roughly to the octroi of the French. The native cargo boats are held up at these stations not only long enough to effect a clearance, but they are detained as long as the officials see fit, ere they are released. Often enough they are compelled to pay extra sums before the boat is allowed to pass on. We saw in a recent paper that the moneys thus illegally squeezed from the people are greater than those legitimately demanded by the officers in charge of these stations. It will be seen from this statement, by no means over-coloured, we believe, that the people are compelled to pay large sums, extracted from their pockets in a way that annoys to the last degree, and these sums, it is believed, go into the pockets of those who receive them. The money is squandered in licentious extravagance and personal gratification, and therefore does not in any way assist in the support of the Government, whose duty it is to protect the people from the ills of life, and especially from robbers.

Perhaps the most effective factor in bringing about the present climax in China has been the native newspaper. Twenty years ago the vernacular newspaper did not exist.

I am not forgetful of the *Peking Gazette*, but that can safely be ignored. The first native paper published in Canton was issued under foreign patronage, and was printed on the British Concession. It was comparatively harmless as a political force, but it showed thoughtful men that a native paper could be a powerful agent for distributing actual knowledge, as well as an unparalleled medium for the propaganda of new ideas. In the older days, if there were a local rebellion no one knew of it except the official under whose jurisdiction it occurred. Whether the disturbed people were handled with humane consideration for life and property, or cut down with ruthless savagery, was known only to those who acted and suffered, and to those living in the vicinity. Now, all this is changed. Recently there was a local rebellion against the heavy taxation in Shantung. This uprising was suppressed with terrible severity. Everybody who could read, throughout the cities of China, read the published reports and shuddered at the cruelties perpetrated, till the blood boiled and the faces were bedimmed with tears. Previous Empress Dowagers and court eunuchs might waste and squander public funds to their hearts' content, and few were aware of the facts. Now, a native editor will publish a complete statement of the vast sums squandered. We read an article lately dealing with the terrible extravagance of the late Empress Dowager, which was the more effective because the writer said bluntly that the 'Old Buddha' had commandeered money levied for the support of the navy, in order to build palaces and gardens for her own pleasure, and so the ill-equipped ships of China's squadron went to meet the ships of Japan, and were sunk without being able to retaliate. In the olden days, if a Foreign Power sliced off a portion of the Chinese Empire, however important, the masses knew nothing about it: to-day if there is a dispute about the delimitation of Portuguese territory, or with the British about some question on the borders of Burma, the Chinese

are all familiar with the fact. There is anger at foreign interference, but there is fiercer anger at the rulers of China because they cannot protect their own domains. The writers charge the officials with selling China in order to preserve the throne and the palaces in Peking. Contemptuous scoffing and biting satire are flung at the Emperor and his advisers, whom aforetime the people referred to with bated breath and trembling awe.

But the papers have done more than this. Had they done nothing but vilify the officials, and expose their cruelty and tyranny, things would have remained as they were. They have opened up to the reading, and therefore to the most important section of the Chinese people, the Governments, the politics, the Parliaments, the privileges, and the freedom of Western nations. The antiquated and impossible system of China began to appear to the people, by comparison with the West, what a skeleton, clothed in the moth-eaten garments of the days of George III, would be, if it were suddenly seen standing side by side with a modern member of Parliament or the head of one of our successful business concerns. The contrast would be arresting; but it would be also hideous. Those who looked upon the effete anachronism called the Government of China, when compared with the Governments of the West, just felt the same, and have endeavoured to escape therefrom with the eagerness with which a child would run from a walking skeleton. We have but touched upon the fringe of a big question. The searchlight of the Chinese press was of course not in existence in the last days of the Mings, and so the revelation of the hideous bareness and uselessness of the Government could not be revealed with the same suddenness as has been the case with the Tai Ts'ings. For ten years the native newspaper has played an important part in fomenting and fostering the revolution that has come to pass.

Another factor in the problem to-day, that was altogether wanting at the earlier epoch, is the attitude and influence

of a new race of Chinese students. Any one wanting to understand the status and character of the genus 'student' in China should read the *Spectator* for Oct. 21. Most that the author there asserts will be heartily supported by residents in this country. We cannot speak too emphatically of the enormous impetus which Chinese students who have studied in foreign universities and schools have given to the present movement. The radical tendencies that are supposed to stir the blood of most students, and allure them to believe that they can accomplish in a leap what their fathers have failed to achieve after a day's march, have been imbibed by Chinese 'who have been through' Berlin, Oxford, Yale and Tokyo. We need not labour this contention. Sun Yat Sen has no doubt suffered much, studied hard, and thought deeply. He is at their head. He has now found his way back to China, from which he has been banished during twenty long years. He is reported a thorough-going Republican, and has played a large part in the establishment of that form of Government in China. At the head of another though smaller section was Hang Yau-wei, who stood for constitutional government, with the reigning family on the throne. The Government was to be a limited monarchy, after the model of Germany, or perhaps after the type of Great Britain. Most of the students, those still in foreign lands, as well as those who have returned, flocked after Sun Yat Sen. They affirm that when the mainspring of a watch has been broken it can with difficulty be repaired. It should be discarded and a new one substituted. The influx of Chinese students, who have studied with more or less thoroughness abroad, has greatly accelerated the rate of disintegration that has been going on, for with negligible exceptions they aim at a thorough cleansing of the Augean stables, though they may have to be cleansed with blood.

During the last five years several abortive revolutions have been attempted, whose leaders have failed, and were

either shot at the time, or executed immediately after. The first of these was attempted in the Kiangsu province. Ts'ui Sik-lun, a young soldier, succeeded in enlisting in the Imperial guards. His aim was to spread disaffection among the loyal soldiers, with a view to a revolt. He was too precipitate. He killed the Governor of the province, Yan Ming. There was a flash in the pan, which was suddenly quenched in blood. Another serious attempt was made in 1908, in Yam Chau in the Kwangtung province. This at first met with considerable success. The insurgents defeated the Imperialists and captured a fortress or two. The alleged cause of the collapse was a lack of ammunition and a badly organized commissariat. Canton has been the storm centre where at least two uprisings have been attempted. In the autumn of 1909 an attack was planned. Ngai, the leader, had been a student in Japan. After some experience in other parts of China he came to Canton, and attempted to organize an uprising. His efforts met with considerable success. The newly trained soldiers were allured to his side. Many were involved in the plot. On the last night of the Chinese year in February 1910 there was a quarrel between some of the new army and the Manchu bannermen. Ngai saw at once that his plans had failed, for the skirmish would lead to a premature revolution. He was right. Ngai led his men, and attempted the impossible. At the first discharge of arms he was desperately wounded. 'Several Imperialists seized him, and led him a prisoner before their general. Though wounded, Ngai shouted to his men to charge. The Imperialist general stabbed him on the spot. Thereupon the revolutionists fled, and were cut down in considerable numbers.' This attempt ended in utter disorganization, and many of the men of the new army lost their lives without making any impression on their enemies. Another determined attempt was made to capture Canton during April 1911. Most of the participants were queueless Chinese, who had returned

from the Straits Settlements with the avowed purpose of capturing the great city. About seventy of them took passage from Hong-Kong to Canton, and suddenly invaded with reckless courage, the Viceroy's yamen. They were armed with revolvers. The attack was desperate. They had pledged one another either to die or achieve their purpose. The thing, however, was impossible, with the force available. The soldiers of the Viceroy were immediately on the alert, and regarded the insurgents as no other than bandits. The guards at once opened a furious fire upon the insurgents, most of whom were killed. Thereafter a reign of terror was instituted. Queueless Chinese were suspected as traitors, and were arrested in large numbers; many of these, whose interest in the rebellion was confined to sympathy with the desperate men's purpose, lost their heads. Moreover, during the year 1911, two Tartar generals in the garrison of Manchu bannermen have been assassinated. The first was shot, and his assassin revelled in the deed of blood, even on the execution ground. The second was blown to pieces by a bomb, thrown from the roof of a house, on the day that he landed in Canton to take over his duties. It will be seen, from this brief survey, that the recent outbreak is by no means the first that has been attempted, though most of the others were confined to the turbulent and Manchu-hating inhabitants of the Kwangtung province.

The late revolution took the outside world by surprise, for it came as a bolt from the blue. Most people thought that, after the defeat in Canton, the rebels would be depressed for some time, though everybody knew that their work was not at an end. But the unexpected happened with the suddenness of an explosion of a restless volcano. On October 12 the revolutionists, apparently springing from the ground, rose, and in a few days captured the three great cities of Central China—Wuchang, the official capital, Hankow, the commercial capital, and Hanyang, the manufacturing capital.

The leader of this revolt was Li Yuen Hung, and it may not be amiss here to give a brief summary of his life. He is fifty-seven years of age, and is a native of the Hupeh province. He graduated first-class in the Peiyang Naval College and saw active service in the Japan-Chinese war. The cruiser in which he served was sunk, but he was saved. Soon after he was attached to Chang Chih-tung, the great Viceroy of the central provinces. Chang trusted him because he was incorruptible and straightforward. He set himself to form a strong provincial army, and during the following years his influence greatly increased. He was, however, unable to get the supreme command of the provincial troops, which was his ambition, for the way was blocked by Chiang Tiao, the Manchu commander-in-chief, who, though far inferior in ability, was the nominal head. When Viceroy Chang went to Peking, Jui Cheng, the new Viceroy, flattered by Chiang Tiao, made the outlook more dark and less hopeful for Li. He saw clearly enough that he had nothing to hope for from the new Viceroy, and this conclusion seems to have influenced his movements and ultimately led him to take the momentous stand with which all the world is now familiar. Before it was fashionable for Chinese students to rush to Japan, after the fall of Peking and the Japanese-Russian war, Li Yuen Hung went to Tokyo on his own initiative, taking with him about twenty men. He is also a graduate of a European college, and can speak both Japanese and English. He is said to be a strict disciplinarian, but just, and has a tendency to show mercy if there is sufficient cause. It will be seen from this brief sketch that the leader of the rebels was well prepared for his self-imposed task. He knows the army as well as the navy. He has studied both in the East and the West. He is in the prime of life. He knows men, both at home and abroad.

The taking of the three cities was a sudden success. After Wuchang was seized, a party of rebels, disguised as

Imperialists, went across the river and knocked at the gates of the arsenal at Hanyang. They pretended that they were loyalist soldiers who had escaped from Wuchang, and without suspecting treachery the gates of the arsenal were flung open to receive them. Thus, without a blow, they entered, seizing all the ammunition and the entire stock of arms.

The number of cities that went over to the revolutionary side without any fighting at all is remarkable. These were, in addition to Wuchang, Hanyang, and Hankow, which were conquered, Yochow, Changsha, Kiukiang, Huhow, Wuhu, Shanghai, Hangchow, Shaodshing, Ningpo, Soochow, Wusiah, Chinkiang, Taichowfu, Tsinanfu, Canton, Yunnanfu, Chefoo, Mukden, Foochow, Amoy and Tatung. A good map of China will show how vast was the area involved in the insurrection. The fact that so many cities turned aside from their lawful rulers, without any fighting worthy of the name, reveals the depth and extent of the disaffection of the people, and illustrates clearly enough that many causes must have been at work before such a sudden turning over could have happened. It shows also that the army was as thoroughly affected as the business community. Indeed in many places the army led the way.

The apparent apathy of the Government at Peking during these stirring days has been very remarkable. The Regent and his supporters seemed like a doomed bird, on which some snake is gazing. They resembled Macbeth, to whom the witches revealed the ghost of Banquo. 'Horrible sight!' Of course the suddenness of the rising would paralyse for the hour. Peking did nothing to stem the flowing tide and quench the spreading flames. Yuan Shih Kai at last consented to return to the council chamber of the Regent, but there never could be a hearty reconciliation between these two. Terrible oaths had been sworn to be revenged on the ex-Viceroy, because of his callous treachery in the

betrayal of Kwang Hsui, the late Emperor, when he was sent to assassinate Yung Lu. Probably, because of the dread of diplomatic public opinion, Yuan was allowed to retire into private life. In the recent confusion the Regent had no one else to whom he could look. Yet Yuan seemed in no hurry to go to Peking, and after his arrival he did nothing to weld together a fighting force to save the crown. He sent several messages to Li Yuen Hung, requesting a cessation of hostilities, that the situation might be discussed. The Emperor issued several proclamations, confessing, with sad humiliation, his past misdoings, and heartily promising amendment. The Manchu nobles should be dismissed; Parliament should be established. Most people, however, knew what Manchu promises were when extracted by circumstances.

If the apparent quiescence of the Imperialists was puzzling, the insurgents of China were a vast army *in posse*. Of every ten persons nine were revolutionaries. In places like Hong-Kong, hundreds left their regular employment, and the service of foreigners, and went to Shanghai to join the new army. The allurements were many. They posed as patriots; they were promised good pay; they had the hope of loot.

The robbers, brigands, and pirates were the real menace as far as foreigners are concerned. They fear not God, neither do they regard men. They care neither for Imperialist nor revolutionist; they respect neither Chinese nor European. They seek silver, loot, and reckless living. In Kwangtung these lawless bands, in some cases numbering more than a thousand, prowled about, seeking whom they might devour. The murder of foreigners in Kwangtung, in Yunnan, and in Shensi will probably be traceable to these bands. The life of a human being is no more to them than is that of a sparrow to the hawk, or the woodcock to the sportsman. In the past, when dynasties have been overthrown, these robber bands have been a potent factor

in the situation. A thousand soon becomes ten thousand, for, like the rolling of the snowball, they attract to themselves huge numbers as they march onwards. Such was the situation in China during the revolution.

Our long period of unrest and anxiety has had an unexpectedly happy ending. A Republic has been established, and a new future of untold promise is opening before us. The President of the Republic has received the congratulations of the Protestant community in Peking, and has expressed his determination to remove all religious disabilities and to enforce religious toleration throughout China. All Christian workers will take heart at this emphatic assurance. The obstacles which the old régime would most surely have interposed, and the suspicion with which the Manchus would have regarded such an institution as the Mid-China University in the very centre of their empire, will not disgrace the politics of the New Republic, nor bias the minds of its leaders. Many of them have themselves already drunk deeply at the fountains of Western knowledge, and have expanded their minds by contact with the wider world of life. Moreover, some of them are earnest Christians, and many of them nominal adherents to the faith of the New Testament.

How general missionary work is likely to be assisted by the new order of things is outlined in the April and May numbers of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, and we believe there is no reason to suspect the validity of the conclusions therein arrived at. It is true that, for the present, missionary workers are scattered; but already some are returning. The stability of the Republic is assured. With the final departure of the Manchus, the incubus that has lain so long upon the Church will vanish; and with the ascendancy of the Reformers, we may count upon freedom of activity, and vigorous and healthy development of all Christian service.

CHARLES BONE.

THE LIFE OF CARDINAL NEWMAN

The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman. Based on his Private Journals and Correspondence. By WILFRID WARD. In two volumes. (Longmans, Green & Co., 1912.)

NEWMAN'S portrait has at last been painted by a master. Mr. Wilfrid Ward has already written the Life of his father, W. G. Ward, and of Cardinal Vaughan. He is familiar with every stage of Newman's history, and has had full access to his private journals and correspondence. No man could have a more arresting subject. Newman is a great national figure. We sing his hymns in all our churches, we still feel the power of his Oxford sermons, even though the matchless voice is silent. His *Apologia* has taken us all into his confidence, and though we are not blind to the limitations it reveals, his silent departure from his old moorings comes on us almost like a personal tragedy. Everything that throws light on 'the Mystery of Newman' is sure of a welcome. Many have sought to pierce into the depths of his subtle mind and to understand the reasons for that scene at Littlemore when 'Father Dominic, the Passionist,' received the most illustrious of Rome's modern converts into what he had come to regard as 'the One Fold of the Redeemer.'

We have all wished to look over the walls of that sheep-fold and to see how Newman fared. We are familiar with his life at Oxford and at Littlemore, but the world into which he afterwards passed has been comparatively unknown to Englishmen. Mr. Purcell drew the veil rudely aside in his *Life of Cardinal Manning*, and showed that it was no

realm of peace into which Newman had entered. Mr. Arthur Hutton's reminiscences of the Cardinal, with whom he lived for years in the Oratory, do not present an altogether attractive picture. All this makes us the more eager to listen to Mr. Wilfrid Ward. Besides the Cardinal's diaries, he has had in his hands an immense mass of letters collected and arranged by Newman's literary executor, the late Father Neville, with other groups of letters which he himself has arranged and annotated. Father Neville's notes of Newman's sayings and habits and Father Ignatius Ryder's record of his conversations with Newman have supplied first-hand material of exceptional value.

The Oxford story is briefly told. Newman himself desired that this should be so. Everything had been already said. The first half of Newman's life is here compressed into a single chapter. That story never loses its pathos. Newman himself felt it keenly. In June 1868 he was able to revisit the scene of his sore travail. He says, 'I had always hoped to see it before I died. Crawley's cottage and garden (upon my ten acres which I sold him) are beautiful. The church, too, is now what they call a gem. And the parsonage is very pretty. I saw various of my people, now getting on in life. It was forty years the beginning of this year since I became vicar. Alas, their memory of me was, in some cases, stronger than my memory of them. They have a great affection for my mother and sisters—tho' it is thirty-two years since they went away. It is twenty-two years since I was there. I left February 22, 1846. I do not expect ever to see it again—nor do I wish it.' Canon Irvine writes, 'I was passing by the church at Littlemore when I observed a man very poorly dressed leaning over the lych-gate crying. He was, to all appearance, in great trouble. He was dressed in an old grey coat with the collar turned up, and his hat pulled down over his face as if he wished to hide his features. As he turned towards me I thought it was a face I had seen

before. The thought instantly flashed across my mind it was Dr. Newman.' Canon Irvine went to Mr. Crawley's house, looked at Newman's photograph there, and then returned to the churchyard. 'He was walking with Mr. St. John. I made bold to ask him if he was not an old friend of Mr. Crawley's, because, if he was, I felt sure Mr. Crawley would be very pleased to see him; as he was a great invalid and not able to get out himself, would he please to go and see Mr. Crawley. He instantly burst out crying, and said, "Oh no, oh no!" Mr. St. John begged him to go, but he said, "I cannot." Mr. St. John asked him then to send his name, but he said, "Oh no!" At last Mr. St. John said, "You may tell Mr. Crawley Dr. Newman is here." I did so, and Mr. Crawley sent his compliments, begged him to come and see him, which he did and had a long chat with him. After that he went and saw several of the old people in the village.'

No wonder Newman broke down as the memories of Littlemore surged round him. He had exercised something like a kingship over men's minds at Oxford. Then Rome conquered him. He had been its strong critic. In 1838 he had found the state of the Church in Italy deplorable. 'It seems as if Satan was let out of prison to range the whole earth again.' Rome fascinated him, but the religion that it harboured was 'a wretched perversion of the truth. . . . As to the Roman Catholic system, I have ever detested it so much that I cannot detest it more by seeing it.' He liked the seminarists of Rome, but feared that there were very grave and far-reaching scandals among the Italian priesthood, with mummery in abundance, though there is 'a deep substratum of true Christianity.' In his last letter from the Papal city he exclaimed, 'Oh that Rome were not Rome! But I seem to see as clear as day that union with her is impossible.'

On his return to England in July 1838, 'full of the spring and vitality which follows convalescence,' he found himself

in the forefront of the Oxford Movement. To him the Established Church was the Catholic Church in England; the only effectual barrier against the 'Liberalism' that threatened to engulf religion. The Movement, Mr. Ward says, was to accomplish its mission 'by strengthening the English Church as the home of dogmatic religion; by imparting intellectual depth to its traditional theology and spiritual life to its institutions; by strengthening and renewing the almost broken links which bound the Church of England to the Church Catholic of the great ages—the Church of Augustine and Athanasius.' The Apostle of the *Via Media* sought to vindicate the position of Anglican theology against 'Liberalism and Protestantism on the one side and Popery on the other.' At first the Movement seemed to carry everything before it. Newman was astonished at the result. 'Followers literally crowded to his standard, and one who desired only to work for a cause found himself against his own will the leader of a great movement.' Principal Shairp bears witness that there was not a reading man in Oxford who was not more or less directly influenced by it.

Then Newman was himself engulfed. He says in 1858 that he had believed in the Real Presence for twenty-five years. That carries us back to the time of Keble's sermon on 'The National Apostasy.' Six years later he began to feel his first misgivings as to the Anglican position. It was not enough for a religious society to appeal to antiquity; if the Universal Church failed to recognize its claim to fellowship, the appeal to antiquity was not allowed. St. Augustine thus unchurched the Donatists. '*Securus judicat orbis terrarum.*' Newman calls this his 'first real hit from Romanism.' He could no longer regard the English Roman Catholics as schismatics. He admitted that they belonged to the Church Catholic. But if the note of Catholicity was not clear in the Church of England, she had the notes of Life and Sanctity. Here also the ground crumbled under his feet. In 1840 he writes to his sister, 'I begin to

have serious apprehensions lest any religious body is strong enough to withstand the league of evil but the Roman Church. At the end of the first millenary it withstood the fury of Satan, and now the end of the second is drawing on.' He was not sure that 'good principles' did not tend to Rome—'not from any necessity in the principles themselves, but from the much greater proximity between Rome and us than between infidelity and us, and that in a time of trouble we naturally look about for allies.'

A year later 'Tract 90' astonished the world. The leaders of the Movement were now seen to be on the verge of Romanism, and were branded as dishonest in holding positions in the Church of England. On April 19, 1842, Newman took up his residence at Littlemore. The following year he wrote to a friend that he believed the Roman Catholic Church to be the Church of the Apostles. He told Manning, 'My one paramount reason for contemplating a change is my deep, unvarying conviction that our Church is in schism and my salvation depends on my joining the Church of Rome.' (Manning's *Life*, i. 258.) The fight was nearly over. He had resigned the vicarage of St. Mary's in 1843, and had publicly retracted all his attacks on Rome. He was writing his *Development of Christian Doctrine*. This was practically an apology for Rome. Her so-called corruptions and additions to the primitive Creed were set forth as legitimate developments. Mr. Ward says, 'In the keen mental life which this book had aroused, all the past was alive. He seems in its pages to see the Catholic Church of history as one great *aula* in which the Fathers are collected at one end and Pope Gregory XVI stands at the other.'

He had now chosen his path. Nothing remained save to make his submission to Rome. He would not delay that final act even until his book appeared in print. Mr. Ward makes much of circumstances as the 'kindly light' which 'relieved his uncertainty and marked out for him the immediate course.' Mr. Dalgairns, his companion at Littlemore:

had been admitted into the Roman Catholic Church at Aston Hall on September 27, by Father Dominic. He gave the father an invitation to Littlemore, where he thought he might find something to do. On October 8 he came, on his way to Belgium. Newman made up his mind to ask him for 'admission into the One true Fold of the Redeemer.' He said nothing to those about him till the last moment. Dalgairns says, 'About three o'clock I went to take my hat and stick and walk across the fields to the Oxford "Angel," where the coach stopped. As I was taking my stick Newman said to me in a very low and quiet tone: "When you see your friend, will you tell him that I wish him to receive me into the Church of Christ?" I said "Yes" and no more. I told Fr. Dominic as he was dismounting from the top of the coach. He said: "God be praised," and neither of us spoke again till we reached Littlemore.' They arrived about eleven, and as the visitor was sitting by a fire to dry his clothes he wrote, 'Mr. Newman entered the room, and, throwing himself at my feet, asked my blessing, and begged me to hear his confession, and receive him into the Church. He made his confession that same night, and on the following morning the Reverend Messrs. Bowles and Stanton did the same: in the evening of the same day these three made their profession of Faith in the usual form in their private oratory, one after another, with such fervour and piety that I was almost out of myself with joy. I afterwards gave them all canonical absolution, and administered to them the Sacrament of Baptism *sub conditione*. On the following morning I said Mass in their oratory, and gave Communion to Messrs. Newman, St. John, Bowles, Stanton and Dalgairns.'

Rome had now gained her noted convert. What were his fortunes in the new world that he entered? What use did Rome make of him? What compensations did he find in his new communion for all that he had resigned in the old?

He was confirmed at Oscott on November 1 by Dr.

Wiseman, who told a friend : ' I assure you the Church has not received, at any time, a convert who has joined her in more docility and simplicity of faith than Newman.' Father Robert Whitty, afterwards Provincial of the English Jesuits, ' used to describe the scale of hope and feeling among Catholics at this moment as quite exceptional. There was a general sense that supernatural agencies were in operation, and there was in the atmosphere that faith which works wonders.' The old English Catholics had scorned the idea that the Oxford School would submit to Rome. Now that Newman had come over they were prepared for any marvel. Newman himself seemed to expect striking developments. Meanwhile he was visiting the Roman Catholic colleges. ' I was received with the most unaffected singlehearted kindness everywhere, and saw nothing but what made me feel admiration and awe of the system in which I find myself.' Wiseman offered him a home at Old Oscott, and on February 22, 1846, he left Littlemore. During the last weeks he thought much of his thirty years at Oxford, and especially of his responsibilities at St. Mary's. ' Yet how dreadful is a cure of souls in the English Church, an engagement, with no *means* to carry it into effect—a Jewish yoke ! '

Eight members formed the little community at Old Oscott—now to be known as Maryvale. Dr. Wiseman wished to make the most of the opportunity, and urged Newman to write a succinct account of his reasons for becoming a Catholic. But the new convert refused. He had no short and easy answer. ' Catholicism is a deep matter—you cannot take it up in a teacup.' Catholicism and Christianity had in his mind become identical, but he wanted to know more about his new community before he became its champion. He thus early showed that he had a mind of his own, and was no blindly docile convert. His brother Frank came to see him in July, but Newman regarded this as a ' gratuitous intrusion interrupting the new life.' ' I saw him yesterday. Why should he come ? I think

he has some obscure idea about thumbscrews.' Father Dominic thought the new converts ought to be 'preachers, missionaries, martyrs.' Wiseman wished them to use their special gifts in combating infidelity, and Newman fell in with this idea, though he felt that it was not to be accomplished so much by literary work as by founding a school of divinity for English priests. All his thought and writing would thus find their fitting outlet. Rome was exultant. Newman writes, 'Dr. Wiseman's credit has risen at Rome much in consequence of our conversions.'

In September 1846 the new convert set out for Rome. It was what has been called the 'honeymoon period.' 'The halo of "the blessed vision of peace," of which he speaks at the end of the *Essay on Development*, bathed in its light all manifestations of Catholic life, feeling, and devotion.' He urged his friends to become Catholics, and reproved their dull delays 'with an eagerness which contrasted with his more cautious habit in later years.' Mr. Ward says, 'He seemed to think that to be critical of the devotions or beliefs which came before him might show a weak faith in a convert. The critical period came later.'

At Milan he speaks of the Church of S. Fidelis. 'Nothing moves there but the distant glittering lamp which betokens the Presence of Our Undying Life, hidden but ever working, though entered into His rest. It is really most wonderful to see the Divine Presence looking out almost into the open streets from the various churches, so that at St. Lawrence's we saw the people take off their hats from the other side of the street as they passed along.' He tells a friend 'It is so soothing and pleasant, after the hot streets, to go into these delicate yet rich interiors, which are like the bowers of Paradise or an angel's chamber.'

Newman was treated with marked respect in Rome. The Pope said he was very much pleased to see him—a recovered sheep. Schoolboy life and schoolboy companionship at Propaganda with 'a whole troop of blackamoors' somewhat

tried Newman after the select circles of Oxford. He already began to be aware that 'developments in philosophy with a view to the thought of the hour received no encouragement.' This 'led to a certain moderation in anticipations for the future. The new life was, in Newman's own phrase, "loss and gain." Trials multiplied later on.' He was pressed to preach a funeral sermon which it was hoped would impress many Protestants in Rome who were thought to be deterred only by worldly motives from joining the Church. He consented reluctantly, and his strong words about the miserable irreverence of English visitors who went 'prying about like brute beasts into the Holiest Places' in the Roman churches, gave huge offence. The Pope said Newman had spoken too strongly to the Protestants, and added he supposed he was more of a philosopher than an orator. The English Catholics were displeased, whilst the Protestants, who got a notion that Newman had 'called them all brutes and dogs, &c., became quite rabid.' There was another grievance. The Roman theologians raised difficulties about certain views which Newman had expressed in his writings. His *Essay on Development* seemed to him all-important in apologetics and in theology. The Unitarians of the United States, however, quoted it as evidence that the Trinitarian doctrine was not primitive, but a development of the third century. The Roman Catholic bishops in America regarded the *Essay* as 'half Catholicism, half Infidelity.' Newman's *Prophetical Office*, in which he had stated that the Papacy was Antichrist and that Rome was 'possessed by the devil,' was quoted against him in Italy. Newman discovered that no theologian in Rome read English with any facility, and discerned that if he pressed his views on Development he might even incur censure. He therefore resolved to abandon his scheme for founding a theological college at Maryvale, and to allow his books to make their way gradually. He tells Dalgairns, 'From what I hear to-day, I fear theology, as such, must

for a time be laid on the shelf at Maryvale, and we must take to preaching practical sermons. The theologians of the Roman Church who are said to sway the theology of Rome are introducing *bits* (without having seen the whole book), bits of my Essay into their lectures to dissent from. This seems very absurd. I will not raise controversy in the Church, and it would ill become a new Catholic to be introducing views—and again, really all my books hitherto have been written from hand to mouth—and though it will not only be a triumph to such as Palmer but, I fear, throw back such as Hope, I think I shall be content to let the matter rest for years before I write again. The worst is that I am cut off from controversy against infidels altogether.'

A French version of his *University Sermons* was being prepared, and he was 'terribly frightened' lest it should be brought before the Index. 'It seems hard, since nations now converse by printing, not in the schools, that an English Catholic cannot investigate truth with one of France or Rome without having the Inquisition upon him.' The sermons seemed the best things he had written, and made him feel that justice had not been done to him. He adds, 'but I must leave all this to Him who knows what to do with me. . . . Yet sometimes it is marvellous to me how my life is going, and I have never been brought out prominently—and now I am less likely than ever—for there seems something of an iron form here, tho' I may be wrong; but I mean, people are at no trouble to deepen their views. It is natural.'

Newman and his friends finally decided to become secular priests and Oratorians rather than Jesuits or Friars. That meant that the idea of teaching theology must be abandoned. Newman inquires about 'a good musician,' 'a good lay-brother,' 'a good cook.' St. John added this postscript to the letter in which Newman broached the plan to Dalgairns: 'Newman has never told you that it is part of the Oratory rule to flog, I think in public but in the

dark during Lent for edification. If this rule is essential and cannot be abolished, he says he will put you and our Irish John in front as the best floggers whilst he and Walker retire to the rear and lay on gently behind a screen. Our John, by the bye, is a regular good fellow, quite a prop in Maryvale at present.' The Pope highly approved of the founding of the Oratory, and suggested that its future members should pass a kind of novitiate in Rome, under the care of an Oratorian Father. Newman says, 'We are now musing over our need of companions who have a good deal of fun in them—for that will especially be wanted in an oratory. I should like a regular good mimic, who (if we dare suffer it) would take off the great Exeter Hall guns. What stuff I am writing! If we have not spirit, it will be like bottled beer with the cork out.'

Newman was ordained to the priesthood on March 30, 1847, and reached London on Christmas Eve. In January 1848 the community took up its temporary quarters at Maryvale. As superior, novice-master, and lecturer Newman had enough to do. The strain of organizing the Oratory told heavily on him, and he felt at times as though his power for service was gone. Faber and some enthusiastic young converts from Cheadle cast in their lot with the Oratorians. But they were not easy to control. Newman says, 'My great trouble is some of the *Giovani*—not that anything new has occurred, but they have so repelled anything between us but what is external, shown so little kindness when I have done things for them, treated me with so little confidence, as to throw me back upon myself—and now I quite dread the fortnightly chapter-day, when I have to make them a little address, as being something so very external, when I have no means of knowing what is going on in their minds. In consequence I feel as if I was not doing my duty to them, yet without any fault. I don't know what influence I am exerting over them. It is as if my time of work were gone by.'

The younger members were disposed to adopt Continental forms of popular devotion, and though Newman went with them for a time, he afterwards fell back to what seemed a safer and more practical course. At first he used strong language about the Church of England, with its 'ritual dashed upon the ground, trodden on and broken piecemeal, . . . a dreariness which could be felt, and which seemed the token of an uninspired Socinianism pouring itself upon the eye, the ear, the nostril of the worshipper.' Mr. Ward says that as years went on such language became less congenial to him. At Newman's suggestion Faber translated the lives of some Italian saints, but these caused much scandal. One priest of the old school accused the writer and translator of idolatry because St. Rose asked favours from the image of a saint. Bishop Ullathorne urged him to bring the series to a close.

The community removed to Birmingham in January 1849, and soon afterwards Faber took charge of a branch oratory in London. Newman warns him not to be carried off his legs. 'The Jesuits may have an excess of caution, but they are wiser in these matters.' It was little use, however, to preach moderation to Faber. English Catholicism began to be divided into two Schools represented by the oratories in London and Birmingham. Faber was busy composing hymns. Newman tells him, 'I admire your poems; I don't revolt at the "Predestination"—but I stuck at the Scholasticism. Have not I heard similar dogmatic effusions, though of an opposite school? e.g.—

My righteousness is "filthy rags,"
No "merits" can I plead,
For man is but a "lump of sin,"
And sin his worthiest deed.

Vel splendidum illud et trochaicum—

Man is but "accounted righteous,"
And, tho' justified, must sin.
Grace does naught but wash the surface,
Leaving him all-foul within.'

In May 1850 Newman delivered his lectures on 'The Difficulties of Anglicans,' at the Oratory Chapel in King William Street, Strand. They were intended to draw over those Tractarians who still lingered on the brink of the Roman Church. The lectures belong to Newman's 'honeymoon period,' and have an exultant optimism 'which we find at no other period of his life either as an Anglican or a Catholic.' Their brilliant irony made a great impression, and some converts were won. Newman's aggressive attitude towards the Church of England at this time was probably due in some measure to the influence of the London Oratorians. He did not, however, look with favour on the new Roman Catholic hierarchy. Self-advertisement was obnoxious to the former Oxford don. He desired work rather than show. His object was not to weaken the hold of the Anglican Church on the masses. That would impair a great bulwark against infidelity, and Catholicism had no adequate force to meet such a situation. He writes in November 1850 to Mr. Capes: 'I don't look on the Church of England as important in contrast to *Dissent*, but as a bulwark against infidelity, which *Dissent* cannot be. Were the Church of England to fall *Methodism might remain* awhile. I can't tell, for I don't know it—but surely, on the whole, the various denominations exist under the shadow of the Establishment, out of which they sprang, and, did it go, would go too: i.e. they would lose their organization, and whatever faint intellectual basis they have at present. Infidelity would take possession of the bulk of the men; and the women, so they had something to worship, would not care whether it was an unknown tongue, or a book of Mormon, or a pudding-sleeve gown. Infidel literature would be the fashion, and there would be a sort of fanatical contempt and hatred of all profession of belief in a definite revelation.' Such a view of woman is strange indeed, and how hopelessly astray is Newman's estimate of *Dissent* and of *Methodism* every reader can judge.

In the summer of 1851 Newman delivered a course of lectures on Catholicism in England at the Corn Exchange, Birmingham. In these he made his famous onslaught on Dr. Achilli, an ex-Dominican, who had lectured in London on the scandals of the Inquisition. Newman knew that he was treading on dangerous ground. Cardinal Wiseman had given a detailed account of the friar's immoralities in the *Dublin Review*, and the article was afterwards issued as a pamphlet. Achilli was silent. Newman asked Hope-Scott whether to repeat these charges might lay him open to a libel action. The lawyer thought this was possible, but not probable. Under the circumstances the risk might be taken. Newman struck with all his might, and within a month Achilli brought an action. Wiseman failed to furnish the proofs Newman needed, and witnesses had to be searched for in Italy. In the end Newman was found guilty of libel. His counsel constrained him to appeal for a new trial. This was refused, and he was fined £100. Worse still, Mr. Justice Coleridge held him up as an illustration of the way that men deteriorate when they become Catholics. Newman's expenses, amounting to £12,000, were paid by subscription.

Amid this strain and stress Newman had been asked by Archbishop Cullen to become rector of a proposed Catholic University in Ireland. Archbishop Murray of Dublin disapproved, but he died in the same year, and the Irish bishops supported Dr. Cullen's request. Newman accepted the task, which he came to regard as *the* work of his life. But he soon began to see that the work would be a failure. His idea was to have a University like that of Louvain with scientific experts on its staff who should enjoy the freedom necessary for efficient work. Dr. Cullen, however, was not ready to give the laity their share of influence. If his type of University prevailed, Newman told Mr. Ornsby, 'it will be simply priest-ridden.' Cardinal Wiseman had secured the promise of a bishopric for Newman, in order to give him the status needed for his office, but the Irish prelates seem to

have objected to the appointment and it was not made, though his friends had provided him with an episcopal cross, ring, chain, and other things. He felt this slight keenly.

Despite all hindrances he did notable service in Ireland, and his lectures on the *Scope and Nature of University Education* are a permanent addition to the literature of that subject. He had thought that in Dublin he might repeat his Oxford success. But Mr. Ward shows how his hope of making the Catholic capital city of the kingdom a centre of religion as well as of learning faded. 'The glow of the "honeymoon period" passed away in these years. Sadness—at moments something like sourness—came upon him. The University scheme broke down; and though he had appreciative friends in Dublin he failed to influence the life of the town.' He contrasts the former days with these. 'It was at Oxford, and by my Parochial Sermons, that I had influence,—all that is past.' His faith in Papal sagacity was weakened. 'I was a poor innocent as regards the actual state of things in Ireland when I went there, and did not care to think about it, for I relied on the word of the Pope, but from the event I am led to think it not rash to say that I knew as much about Ireland as he did.' These years, 1858 to 1858, did much, Mr. Ward says, 'to break his spirit.'

Rome was not more happy in its treatment of Newman in two other matters. Cardinal Wiseman asked him in 1857 to edit the new English Version of the Scriptures which the Synod of Oscott had recommended. The task was congenial. He told Principal Brown in 1872, 'It seems to me the first step to any chance of unity amid our divisions, is for religious minds, one and all, to live upon the Gospels.' He adopted the Cardinal's suggestion 'without hesitation or reluctance,' set himself to secure the most competent translators, and began to write Prolegomena to counteract the influence of the agnostic propaganda then carried on in the

name of modern science. A year after he had undertaken this task the American bishops wrote to deprecate any action, as they were engaged on a similar work. It was suggested that there should be a common version, but the whole project fell through. Newman was left to bear the expenses, which amounted to 'a good part of £100.'

Then came another rebuff. The new convert realized that the keener and more active thinkers among English Catholics needed a guiding hand. 'They were reacting fiercely against the exuberant, and at times extravagant, statements on matters of doctrine or devotion which the writings of Louis Veuillot and Abbé Gaume presented in France, and those of Father Faber (to some extent) in England. There was a real danger lest they should abandon the Christian faith.'

These feelings brought Newman into association with Sir John Acton, who had just returned from Munich, where Döllinger was trying to meet a similar situation. Thought in educated Catholic circles was to be brought abreast of the intellectual methods and research of the day. Newman dined in Acton's company in London in March 1858, and next day the young scholar returned with him to Birmingham. In the autumn Döllinger came with him to Edgbaston. They paid a second visit to Rednal, where the Oratory had just secured a country house. These champions of Liberal Catholicism brought home to Newman the need for the historical study of dogmatic theology. Döllinger and Acton wished to encourage 'specialist research in the history of the early centuries, absolutely frank, yet undertaken with Christian rather than anti-Christian sympathies.' Döllinger summoned a Congress at Munich in 1868 to promote and organize this work, but his utterances there brought down a Papal censure which gave a severe blow to the movement. The placing of Mgr. Duchesne's *L'Histoire ancienne de l'Église* on the Index last January shows that Rome is still the foe of fearless research. 'One of the most important

works produced by an ecclesiastic in modern times ' is thus laid under the ban of his own Church.

Acton had associated himself with the *Rambler*, which he hoped to make a Liberal Catholic organ. In December 1858 he wrote, 'I have had a three hours' talk with the venerable Newman, who came out at last with his real sentiments to an extent which startled me with respect both to things and persons, as Ward, Dalgairns, &c., &c.; natural inclination of men in power to tyrannize; ignorance and presumption of would-be theologians. I did not think he would ever cast aside his diplomacy and buttonment so entirely, and was quite surprised at the intense interest he betrayed in the *Rambler*. He was quite miserable when I told him the news' (that an article by Döllinger had been denounced to the authorities), 'and moaned for a long time, rocking himself backwards and forwards over the fire like an old woman with a toothache. He thinks the move provoked both by the hope of breaking down the *Rambler*, and by jealousy of Döllinger.'

'The *Rambler* fell distinctly short of the customary tone of respect for authority and for the saints themselves,' and when it was in imminent danger of Episcopal censure Newman reluctantly accepted the editorship, hoping gradually to modify what was offensive and show the bishops what service a Catholic review might render. But the authorities would not give him time to effect a change in tone. The first number which he edited did not escape sharp criticism, and at his bishop's desire he severed his connexion with the Review as soon as he had seen the following number through the press. It was another keen disappointment. He told Henry Wilberforce: 'When I am gone it will be seen perhaps that persons stopped me from doing a *work* which I might have done. God overrules all things. Of course it is discouraging to be out of joint with the time, and to be snubbed and stopped as soon as I begin to act.' Wilberforce replied: 'I cannot but admire and acquiesce

in your spirit, but I feel deeply that our bishops do not understand England and the English. Either the Catholic laity will kick, or, what I rather fear, they will more and more fall below Protestants in intellectual training and have no influence on the public mind.' For the last number he was to edit Newman wrote 'On Consulting the Faithful in matters of Doctrine.' One bishop formally delated the article to Rome as heretical. Newman had no difficulty in answering the charge, but suspicion had been aroused, and his 'position in the Catholic body was not again for a long time to come what it had hitherto been in this respect.' He continued to advise Acton. 'The great point is to open men's minds, to educate them and make them logical. It does not matter what the subject-matter is. If you make them think in politics, you will make them think in religion.' Sir John found himself beset with difficulties, and thought that even Newman failed him. He writes, 'I beg of you, remembering the difficulties you encountered, to consider my position, in the midst of a hostile and illiterate episcopate, an ignorant clergy, a prejudiced and divided laity, with the cliques at Brompton, York Place, Ushaw, always on the watch, obliged to sit in judgement as to the theology of the men you selected to be our patrons, deserted by the assistant you obtained for me, with no auxiliary or adviser but Simpson.'

In the early 'sixties Newman was regarded with suspicion because he did not sympathize with the extreme champions of the Temporal Power. He wondered that the framework of government had been kept together so long. 'The Pontifical States find, admit of, no employment whatever for the young (lay) men, who are in consequence forced to go into mischief, if they go into anything. Fancy the state of Birmingham if the rising generation had nothing to do but to lounge in the streets and throng the theatre.'

He felt more and more keenly that he was 'cast out of the good books of Catholics and especially of ecclesiastical

authorities.' He tries to comfort himself. 'Well, I suppose it is all intended to keep me from being too happy. How happy should I be if let alone,—how fond of living! On the other hand, certainly, I have been carried marvellously through all those troubles which have come to me hitherto, and so I believe I shall be to the end.' Mr. Ward calls the years 1859–1864 'the low-water mark of Newman's life-story. Almost every work he had undertaken so far, as a Catholic, had proved a failure.' He had hoped to do great things for Romanism, but his designs had been frustrated by those in authority. 'He felt that he was expected to effect showy conversions among the titled and learned, to preach sermons which should be talked of in the newspapers.' In his private journal he wrote that he was treated as 'some wild incomprehensible beast, a spectacle for Dr. Wiseman to exhibit to strangers, as himself being the hunter who captured it.' Even the London Oratorians were not working in harmony with the Birmingham House, and in 1856 they became independent. Three years later the Oratory School at Edgbaston was formed. Newman gave up literary work, devoted himself to the school, and taught the boys to write. 'They have put me on the shelf,' he said, 'but they can't prevent me from peeping out from it.' He lived much in the past, and was strongly drawn towards his Oxford friends. Protestants seemed to understand him better than Catholics. He writes in his journal for January 1860: 'I have been treated, in various ways, only with slight and unkindness. Because I have not pushed myself forward, because I have not dreamed of saying: "See what I am doing and have done"—because I have not retailed gossip, flattered great people, and sided with this or that party, I am nobody. I have no friend at Rome. I have laboured in England, to be misrepresented, backbitten, and scorned. I have laboured in Ireland, with a door ever shut in my face. I seem to have had many failures, and what I did well was not understood. I do not think I am saying this in any bitterness.

... What I wrote as a Protestant has had far greater power, force, meaning, success, than my Catholic works, and this troubles me a great deal.' He had seen great wants which had to be supplied among Catholics—wants which they did not themselves see or feel, and those for whom he laboured 'felt no thankfulness at all, and no consideration towards a person who was doing something towards the supply, but rather thought him restless, or crotchety, or in some way or other what he should not be. This has naturally made me shrink into myself, or rather it has made me think of turning more to God, if it has not actually turned me. It has made me feel that in the Blessed Sacrament is my great consolation, and that, while I have Him who lives in the Church, the separate members of the Church, my superiors, though they may claim my obedience, have no claim on my admiration, and offer nothing for my inward trust.'

These entries abundantly justify his biographer's verdict that if Newman had died in 1868, 'his career would have lived in history as ending in the saddest of failures. His unparalleled eminence in 1887 would have been contrasted by historians with his utter insignificance in 1868. His biography would have been a tragedy.'

Such was the state of Newman's fortunes when Charles Kingsley brought the memorable charge: 'Truth for its own sake had never been a virtue with the Roman clergy. Further Newman informs us that it need not be, and on the whole ought not to be;—that cunning is the weapon which Heaven has given to the Saints wherewith to withstand the brute male force of the wicked world which marries and is given in marriage. Whether his notion be doctrinally correct or not, it is, at least, historically so.' This roused Newman, and though Kingsley made an apology, Newman pressed his advantage in a way that made the public feel that he was 'unduly sensitive and personally bitter towards Kingsley.' Even Dr. Hort says Newman's reply was 'sickening to read,

from the cruelty and insolence with which he trampled on his assailant.' Newman was now led to give Englishmen his memorable account of his own Anglican life and all the influences by which it had been fashioned. His *Apologia pro Vita sua* was a public confession from which he sorely shrank, but it aroused almost unparalleled interest. It brought back the Newman of Oxford days, and won the sympathy of those who differed most intensely from him. His good faith was clearly demonstrated, but his subtle, sceptical intellect and his strange modes of reasoning were even more plainly revealed.

Newman rejoiced that at last the Catholics of England—both priests and laymen—understood him and gave him their gratitude and confidence. All were not of the same mind, however. Herbert Vaughan read the *Apologia* with 'a mixture of pain and pleasure. . . . There are views put forward which I abhor, and which fill me with pain and suspicion.' (*Life*, i. 215.)

Manning's dread of Newman's influence was increased. He says, 'I know that the Anglicans look on the *Apologia* as a plea for remaining as they are' (i. 328). The two converts distrusted each other. Newman told Manning in 1869, 'I do not know whether I am on my head or my heels when I have active relations with you.' He also wrote, 'I have felt you difficult to understand.' Manning replied that this was exactly his position as to Newman, whom he denounced in private as an unsound or disloyal Catholic.

Mgr. Talbot, stirred up by Manning, wished to trade on the change in public feeling produced by the *Apologia*. He invited Newman to visit Rome and deliver a course of sermons, but the Oratorian regarded the letter as insolent and curtly declined. Newman now felt that life had suddenly blossomed out. The course of events had 'put him in spirits' to look out for fresh usefulness. He began to dream of renewing his work at Oxford with the power of the Catholic Church behind him. Two months after the

completion of the *Apologia* he was in treaty for a site there, which he bought for £8,400. Here again he was doomed to disappointment. Rome dare not trust her sons to enter the University. When Newman visited Cardinal Wiseman in London he met with a very cool reception. Manning and Ward had been stirring him up to oppose the Oxford scheme, and he listened 'half querulously' to Newman's plans. On December 18 the bishops passed resolutions in favour of an absolute prohibition of the scheme. With his honours fresh upon him as the triumphant champion of Catholicism Newman found himself vanquished. 'Does it not seem queer,' he wrote to a friend, 'that the two persons who are now most opposed to me are Manning and Ward?' 'As to the Oxford scheme it is still the Blessed Will of God to send me baulks. On the whole, I suppose, looking through my life as a course, He is using me, but really viewed in its separate parts it is but a life of failures.' He sold the land, with bitter feelings. It was not till three years after his death that his plan was carried out.

In December 1864 Pius IX published the encyclical *Quanta Cura*, which Newman describes as 'a heavy blow and a great discouragement to us in England.' Mr. Ward adds, 'There was an outcry in England, and the Holy Father was said to have declared war against modern civilization.' Catholics were forbidden to belong to the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom. Manning held that this Association discouraged conversions to Rome. W. G. Ward was jubilant over the encyclical, which he described as the Church's infallible utterance. Newman wished to make a public protest against this view, but found that the theologians were not willing to commit themselves. Wiseman died in February 1865. Newman felt that he and Faber had been the two persons who were unjust to him. Manning now became Wiseman's successor, with Ward as his close ally. Ultramontaniam was absolutely in the ascendant. Mr. Purcell has spoken plainly as to the relations

between Newman and Manning. Mr. Ward, though more reticent, abundantly confirms those revelations. Newman was out of sympathy with the extremists. He tells Pusey, 'Certainly I so dislike Ward's way of going on, that I can't get myself to read the *Dublin*.' Some popular 'devotions to the Blessed Virgin' seemed to him 'unnatural and forced.' He wrote freely to Keble, and in September 1865 visited him at Hursley Rectory. 'Keble was at the door; he did not know me, nor I him.' Pusey was there. The three old friends met after twenty years of separation, 'but without a common cause or free-spoken thought.' Newman wrote, 'Vanity of vanities, all is vanity, was the sad burden of the whole—once so united, now so broken up, so counter to each other—though neither of them, of course, would quite allow it.' Keble died the following year. Newman wrote, 'he seems to have received all doctrine except the necessity of being in communion with the Holy See.' That is an illuminating sentence! The old friends talked over 'the necessity of communion with Rome. Till he (Keble) saw that (or that he was not in the Church), he was bound to remain as he was, and it was in this way that he always put it.'

Newman now found himself in the cold. He tells a friend that he views 'with equanimity the prospect of a thorough routing out of things at Rome. . . . Instead of aiming at being a world-wide power, we are shrinking into ourselves, narrowing the lines of communion, trembling at freedom of thought, and using the language of dismay and despair at the prospect before us, instead of, with the high spirit of the warrior, going out conquering and to conquer.'

Newman was asked by his bishop to undertake a mission to Oxford, where he was to build an Oratory church; but after three years of suspense, whilst he was saying 'Earlier failures do not matter now: I see that I have been reserved by God for this,' he received instructions that he was not to go. The Oratory might be established, but Propaganda sent a 'secret instruction' to Dr. Ullathorne that if Newman

himself showed signs of intending to reside at Oxford his bishop was to do his best blandly and suavely to recall him. An anonymous attack had been made on Newman in the *Weekly Register*, and this led the Catholic laity to present him with an address 'to express our gratitude for all we owe you, and to assure you how heartily we appreciate the services which, under God, you have been the means of rendering to our holy religion.' The address gave considerable umbrage to Manning and his friends. Mgr. Talbot wrote to Manning: 'Dr. Newman is the most dangerous man in England, and you will see that he will make use of the laity against your Grace.' He added that if Manning did not 'fight the battle of the Holy See against the detestable spirit growing up in England,' the Pope would begin to regret Cardinal Wiseman, 'who knew how to keep the laity in order.'

Mr. Ward quotes the correspondence between Manning and Talbot with this comment: 'These letters reveal a state of feeling among active and influential counsellors of the Holy See in England, which made Newman's determination to take active steps to defend himself in Rome most necessary.' He sent two ambassadors to Rome, and was able to clear himself from the charge of unorthodoxy, though he found that the Oxford scheme must be dropped. His experience had been bitter, and he felt that his confidence could never blossom again within him. The question of Papal Infallibility widened the breach. As the civil Principdom seemed to be fast slipping away the neo-Ultramontanes supported Pius IX in his protests against modern Liberalism. They urged that the infallibility of the Pope should be made an article of faith. Manning and Ward were enthusiastic in support of this action. Newman followed the utterances of the extremists with profound and ever-deepening distress. He believed in the dogma, but regarded a definition of it as a calamity. When the Vatican Council met he 'continued to pray and hope that the definition might be averted.' He

unburdened his mind to Bishop Ullathorne. 'Why should an aggressive and insolent faction be allowed to make the hearts of the just to mourn whom the Lord hath not made sorrowful?' Mr. Alfred Austin quoted the words in the *Standard*. Newman denied that he had used them, but had afterwards to explain that he had overlooked them when he consulted his rough copy. There is no doubt that they expressed his real mind. Cardinal Vaughan's *Life* (i. 217-225) shows what he thought of the whole business. When Newman denied that he had used the words, the *Tablet* wrote that 'no man in his senses could speak in such terms of the great majority of the bishops, priests, and faithful in communion with the Church. Our contemporary may be assured that grave men, especially men whose words have so much importance as those of Dr. Newman, do not indulge in outrages of this kind.' When the whole letter came out the *Tablet* 'left the thing to the charity of silence,' but Herbert Vaughan read the letter with 'something like consternation.' In 1870 appeared Newman's *Grammar of Assent*, in which, as Dr. Rigg put it, he sought to show that certitude was only 'attainable through religious faith and obedience leading up to Church infallibility.' In 1874 Mr. Gladstone made his attack on the Vatican Decrees, in which he said that no one could become Rome's 'convert without renouncing his mental and moral freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another.' Newman replied in a 'Letter to the Duke of Norfolk,' which won him the grateful thanks of his co-religionists.

The years from 1875 to 1879 were very sad for Newman. His faithful companion, Ambrose St. John, who had been his chief stay and comfort for thirty-two years, died in May 1875. It was the greatest affliction of Newman's life. He told a friend that he did not expect to get over it. Proofs of goodwill from Anglican friends cheered him. His old college, Trinity, made him an honorary Fellow, and invited him to visit them at Oxford. The visit was a great delight to

Newman. His portrait was painted for Oriel. These honours were crowned by the new Pope, Leo XIII, who made Newman a cardinal in 1879. Through some misunderstanding on the part of Cardinal Manning a report got into the *Times* that Newman had declined the honour. This was duly set right, and this supreme mark of Papal favour gilded the last days of Newman's life. He never ceased to regret the opposition which had defeated so many of his efforts to serve his Church. That note is struck in his last sermon. 'When we look back at the lives of holy men it often seems wonderful that God had not employed them more fully.'

The last letter quoted in the *Life* was written to Mr. G. T. Edwards, the well-known District Secretary of the Bible Society, who paid the Cardinal many kindly attentions, and once sent him as a birthday gift a large-type New Testament in four volumes, not too heavy for his old age. Newman sent him some lines full of love to Christ which he called his Creed, and a charming note: 'Accept my tardy Christmas greetings and good wishes to you for fullness in faith, hope, charity, gladness, and peace; for the blessing of Holy Church, and of Gospel gifts, for the Communion of Saints and the Life Everlasting.' The last incident in the biography is pathetic. A silk handkerchief had been left at the Oratory door by a poor man many years before Newman was Cardinal, with a message of respect. 'When he went to bed expecting to die, he had it brought to him, and put it on, and, though the doctors said he might as well be without it, he died with it on. He had kept it quite thirty years, even more.' His long life closed on August 11, 1890, and he was buried at Rednal with his chosen motto on the pall, 'Cor ad cor loquitur,' and on the memorial slab the words he desired, 'Ex umbris et imaginibus in veritatem.'

Mr. Ward has produced a masterly biography which makes Newman more lovable than we had dreamed. What a fine compliment he paid Mr. R. H. Hutton: 'I believe

you to be one of those to whom the angels on Christmas night sent greetings as "*hominibus bonae voluntatis*," and it is a pleasure and a duty for all who would be their companions hereafter to follow their pattern of comprehensive charity here.' Mr. Ward allows us to see Newman as he really was, and though our respect for his sincerity grows, our distrust in his judgement as to the claims of Rome deepens as we share his secret thoughts. He knew little of science or philosophy or biblical scholarship. He cannot be compared with Döllinger as an historian, but he cast a spell on others. 'He laid a hand upon those who came near him, and at that touch they were transformed.' Rome did not know how to use him. It embittered his life for many years by rebuffs and disappointments, which closed almost every door of usefulness. The Cardinal's hat strikes us as a poor atonement for long suspicion and misunderstanding, and W. G. Ward and his school were not pleased with such a reversal of Papal judgement. His writings, his labours at the Oratory, were his chief contribution to the work of the Roman Catholic Church. The whole story is a much-needed warning against practices and principles which tempt a man along the road which Newman travelled. He regarded the Catholic Church and its doctrine as 'directly from God,' but his private journal is 'more or less a complaint from one end to the other,' and it represented the real state of his mind. Such a frank revelation cannot fail in many ways to do service to the cause of English Protestantism.

JOHN TELFORD.

Notes and Discussions

THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE

THE newspapers, some time ago, were making merry over the jeremiads and forebodings of a certain 'gloomy dean.' In self-justification the Dean of St. Paul's has now published, under the title of *The Church and the Age*, the lectures that gave rise to criticism, and it is much more satisfactory to read his utterances in their original form and context than to depend upon the extracts of reporters chiefly anxious to provide 'good copy.' The lectures themselves were well worth reprinting, and deserved a careful reading at the hands of those who do not, as well as those who do, agree with their main scope.

We cannot banish as a mere transient and embarrassed phantom our old friend the *Zeitgeist*, but it is not so easy to decide what to do with the Spirit of the Age, even if we are clever enough to find out what it really is. Dean Inge's main thesis is that we should not regard the spirit of the age, but the Spirit of the Ages, by which he means 'the Will of God for humanity at large.' Excellent advice indeed. A teacher renders a valuable service to his generation if he can help it to realize something of the scope of the Eternal Purpose in the midst of the shifting, eddying, perplexing currents of the passing hour. But after all we have to live in our own time. The Dean bids us remember that humanity is perhaps 150,000 years old, whilst civilization is a child of only 10,000 years. He looks forward to interminable cycles yet to come, and thinks that the Church has in two thousand years only just begun to 'crawl and babble,' that her traditions are those 'of the rattle and feeding-bottle.' But we cannot all be Struldbrugs. 1912 is more important to most of us than 1920, and as we have not the slightest idea what 2012 will be like, we ask from our leaders guidance for to-day rather than for that to-morrow when we shall be with yesterday's 'seven thousand years.' And on this subject we do not find our present seer, albeit he tries hard to rank himself among the 'cheerful deans,' to be as illuminating as we could desire. He can coin caustic phrases, which at least give pleasure to himself, but of light and leading he has none to spare. He is determined not to flatter the spirit of the age, and in this he is obviously right; but it does not seem to have struck him that there is something better than either flattering or denouncing, and that is, trying to understand it.

His *bête noire* is democracy. One main purpose of these lectures, it would appear, was to persuade the ladies to whom it was addressed that democracy is 'a superstition and a fetish, perhaps the silliest of all fetishes.' The Dean is very hard upon those who use catchwords, but here surely is the commonest and emptiest of catchwords. It is easy enough to sneer

at the 'multiplying spawn,' the multitude with their 'most sweet voices,' whom Coriolanus disdains to woo except with bitter satire. We expect something better from an Oxford scholar of learned leisure, and one would rather have thought that on the very mention of 'democracy' he would have begun with a scholastic *Distinguo*. Does not he himself tell us, for example (p. 88), that democracy 'is reminding us of one of the most original and important parts of the Christian message'? Surely then the same word should not be employed without discrimination to describe the silliest of all fetishes.

A little less anxiety to coin smart epigrams and a little more sympathy with the needs of those who are not installed in comfortable benefices would surely have enabled the accomplished writer of these lectures to diagnose more accurately the signs of the times. He dislikes the tendency of a considerable part of recent legislation, and he is not only within his rights in protesting against it, but as a Churchman he does good service in reminding his fellow-clergy—if they need the warning—that the best way to help the multitude is not to flatter them, and that there is no virtue in shouting with the largest crowd. But infallibility no more belongs to a minority than to a majority. It is well to be 'in the right with two or three,' but it is only too easy to be in the wrong with an upper ten thousand when brought face to face with the burdens and needs of a lower ten millions. The Church—however that vague word be defined—should be ashamed of 'pandering to the masses,' but in the past the danger of the Church of England has rather been that of cultivating the classes. And if the Spirit of the Age is teaching us anything, whether it be in Britain or in China, it is that to promote the welfare of the many, rather than that of the privileged few, is the chief duty of the community. No doubt the methods employed to this end are often clumsy, sometimes mischievous. All the light that wise critics can give is urgently needed, and we had hoped, for the most part in vain, that the lecturer would furnish some helpful constructive teaching to counteract the dangerous contemporary tendencies which in his earlier pages he had so vigorously denounced.

The Dean of St. Paul's apparently does not hope for much at present from the Church. He is broad enough not to use that term as synonymous with Anglicanism. He has recognized, as few of his fellow-churchmen have, that in numbers 'the Episcopalians have no great superiority over the Methodists'—the balance lies, we believe, slightly the other way. Taking the noble definition of the Bidding Prayer, the Church is 'the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world,' and generalizations concerning what such a body can or cannot do are not easy to frame. We are in full sympathy with the Dean when he declines to identify the Church of Christ with any individual organization. But we are more hopeful than he appears to be as to the future, because we believe that the future lies with those churches that most completely identify themselves with the real moral and spiritual needs—not disregarding the material privations—of the *multitude*. Dean Inge distrusts democratic churches. But it is not clear that he knows much about them. He suggests that when Protestant dissenters federate amongst themselves

'the whole object of the fraternization is the dismemberment of their dear brother,' the Church of England—apparently unconscious that during nine-tenths of their deliberations the Church of England is neither mentioned nor thought of. The Free Churches have their own work to do, and they try to do it in the spirit of the Dean's words that 'the idea of a common Christianity behind all denominational loyalties is one which we should encourage by every means in our power,' and they believe that, whether for children or adults, this common Christianity is not to be confused with the Anglican bogey of undenominationalism.

It is a pity that the Dean of St. Paul's should have permitted himself to forget the spirit of Christian courtesy in his supercilious gibe at the Nonconformist conscience as 'tortuous and greasy,' especially when he seeks to justify it by saying that he refers only to English and Welsh dissenters, and that his words 'have no reference to Scotland'—where, by the way, it is the Episcopalians who are dissenters from the Established Church of the country. History shows that the consciences of those who are contending for the redress of a grievance are not usually more 'tortuous' than the consciences of those who are maintaining cherished privileges. Nothing is so likely to make the conscience 'greasy' as the possession of ample emoluments and the necessity of defending their retention against challenge. The charge of making the Church an instrument of party politics is two-edged, and in this country at all events the danger is not peculiar to Nonconformists. Recriminations in such a case are undignified and useless, and we regret that the Dean should first have used words which he must have recognized as offensive, and then on mature reflection should have tried to justify them.

It is pleasanter to read and heartily to endorse such words as these: 'I am convinced that our whole duty is this—to hold up the Christian view of life, the Christian standard of values, before the eyes of our generation.' We should have been glad to extract the whole of the long and eloquent sentence that follows, setting forth the characteristic features of the Christian view of life. The Dean begins with 'the unique stress which our Lord lays on love and sympathy,' he reminds us how He 'broke down all the barriers, sacred and profane, that separate man from man,' how He 'advocated plain living without harsh asceticism, and transformed all values in the light of our divine sonship and heavenly citizenship.' The few paragraphs in the last lecture in which these ideas are briefly expounded are all too short and they are worth whole pages of cheap sarcasms. The Dean urges simplicity in our way of living, bids us restrain that 'reckless wastefulness of our habits' which is the bane of our time, and he exhorts his generation not to follow 'immoral, extravagant, and foolish fashions, but to save what they can of the old English Sunday, and to make a vigorous practical protest against betting and gambling, including all card-playing for money.' Another paragraph sets forth 'luxury' as a social disease, and if it could be taken to heart by those whom it most concerns in Western Europe and in America, processes of national degeneration would be arrested which, if they are not soon checked, will entail a certain, if not a speedy, Nemesis. These are the considerations which constitute the real

strength of lectures which, taken as a whole, show little real understanding of the spirit of the age. As a physician who undertakes to put his finger upon the pulse of his generation and prescribe for its immediate welfare, the Dean of St. Paul's is not impressive. We greatly prefer him as a Bampton Lecturer.

W. T. DAVISON.

METHODISM AND THE WORLD PROBLEM

THE publication of a revised edition of the *Statistical Atlas of the Edinburgh Conference on Missions* enables us to get a complete view of the missionary operations of any of the Churches. By a process of selection and aggregation it is possible to find out what is being done by any Church, or group of Churches, in any country in the world. The Edinburgh Conference allowed itself to be over-ridden by the High Anglicans—it was the price of co-operation—so that no account was taken of work done in countries where either the Roman Catholic or Greek Church was nominally in possession. Wesleyan work in Spain and Italy, the Methodist Episcopal work in Mexico and South America, for instance, were thus blocked out.

This gave such dissatisfaction, subsequently, to the Americans, that they have now issued the Atlas afresh, with a slightly revised title, and have included the work they are doing in grossly superstitious Roman Catholic countries. The new edition is entitled *World Atlas of Christian Missions*, and is issued from New York by the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. It is indispensable to exact study of modern missions, and is well worth the fifteen shillings to be paid for it. The maps are very good.

The figures it gives are of course for 1909 and 1910, some for one year, some for the other, as they could be got. All the figures are less than the actual totals. For a few men who are intolerably busy, and some who are superciliously superior, neglect or refuse to send returns in; and what is more, and something to be thankful for, the mission work itself is going forward every moment: the leaven is at work.

Not only can the figures for any Church be seen, but the appalling waste occasioned by over-lapping can be realized, through this magnificent Atlas, as nowhere else. The waste comes in in the matter of supervising and directing, and is a replica of the abominable waste going on all over England to-day—myriads of our people here being unreached, while ecclesiastics are crossing over one another's areas to maintain their rival organizations. The objective is surely not the maintenance of the regiments but the destruction of the enemy. Compared with *that*, the disappearance of a brigade of regiments is nothing.

The following is an interesting list of the various Missionary Societies of the Methodist Churches, their incomes, and that income divided by the church membership.

	Missionary Income in Dollars.	Average Dollars and cents per member per annum.
South African Meth. Miss. Society . . .	488,648	4.18
Foreign Churches of the Methodist Episcopal Church . . .	785,917 ¹	2.87
Free Methodist Church of N. America . .	58,248	1.89
Do. Women's Society . . .	6,800	
Canadian Methodist Church . . .	518,102	1.87
Do. Women's Society . . .	97,802	
Wesleyan Methodists of Gt. Britain—		
Home Income . . .	782,884	1.59
Women's Auxiliary . . .	96,000	
Foreign Income . . .	945,182 ¹	6.59
French Methodist Church . . .	2,820	1.28
American Auxiliary, Primitive Methodists .	600	0.85
Australasian Meth. Missionary Society . .	125,852	0.82
Wesleyan Methodist Connexion of America .	15,000	0.78
Methodist Episcopal Church, U.S.A. . .	1,857,886	
Do. Women's Society . . .	689,818	
Do. from Home Mission Board for Asiatics and Indians . . .	49,847	0.68
Do. Do. Women's Soc. . .	80,885	
United Methodist Ch. Miss. Soc., Gt. Britain	116,048	0.62
Methodist Episcopal Church, South . . .	706,716	0.46
Do. for work among Jews . . .	1,500	
Methodist Protestant Church, U.S.A. . .	28,889	0.25
Do. Woman's Society . . .	22,866	
Primitive Methodist Miss. Soc., Gt. Britain .	89,587	0.18
African Methodist Episcopal Church . . .	85,000	0.04
Do. Women's Society . . .	4,886	
Do. Zion Church . . .	18,000	0.04
Do. Do. Woman's Soc. . .	1,300	
New York City Church Extension Miss. Soc.	12,912	—
World Total . . .	\$6,981,587	\$0.80

The average missionary contribution per Church member per year is 80 cents, the world over. So that Methodism is not likely to become bankrupt yet on account of its devotion to the foreign missionary cause; 80 cents, or 8s. 4d., per member per year is not a big figure, especially as a considerable portion of that amount is contributed by those who are not in the Church membership roll at all. The fact is that although the devotion of many Methodist people to this great cause is sacrificial, yet of the majority that cannot be said.

¹ This includes grants, and is divided by the foreign membership alone for the proportion in the second column.

The following are the figures for world-wide Methodism. (The Wesleyan work in Spain and Italy is not included, I find.)

I. FOREIGN MISSIONARIES.

Ordained	918
Physicians—Men	67
" Women	58
Laymen—not physicians	104
Married Women—not physicians	769
Unmarried Women—not physicians	648
Total foreign missionaries, deducting for those placed under more than one heading	<u>2,528</u>

II. NATIVE MISSIONARIES.

Ordained	1,419
Unordained, teachers, preachers, biblewomen, etc.	19,490
Total	<u>20,849</u>

Note that there are eight native workers to every foreign one. Note also the absolute necessity of raising the educational efficiency of these to the level of the foreigner. We need not say that their moral and spiritual equality is even a more important matter.

III. STATIONS.

Principal Stations	678
Sub-stations	6,089

IV. NATIVE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS.

Baptized Christians	708,105
Total Christians and adherents, whether baptized or not	1,448,394
Sunday-school Teachers and Scholars	458,165
Native Church contributions in U.S.A. dollars	796,089

Another matter that strikes us is the division of forces on the mission-field, and the loss sustained by that. Elaborate investigation into the facts shows that Methodists are engaged in work in forty-one areas of the world. In many of these a number of different Churches and Societies are working—all Methodist, and yet all wasting both money and men in supervising areas that are more or less common. How do the facts look? The following are the countries and the separate churches or missionary societies, at work in each. Japan has three separate Methodisms at work in it; Korea two; China seven; British Malaysia, Dutch East Indies, the Philippines, New Zealand (Maoris), Melanesia and Polynesia, only one each; India has three distinct Methodist organizations; Ceylon one; Bulgaria one; North-West Africa (between Tripoli and Morocco) two; Western Africa (from the Senegal to Nigeria) has seven different Methodist Missionary Societies at work; South-West Africa (Kamerun to German South-West Africa) two; South Africa (British Union, with Basutoland and Swaziland) has five separate Methodisms; South Central Africa (five British Protectorates) three; East Africa (Portuguese,

German and British) has three Methodisms; Madeira, Argentine Republic, Chili, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, one each; Brazil has two; Central America including Panama has three; Mexico and the Lesser Antilles have two each; Porto Rico one; Haiti and San Domingo three; Jamaica three; Cuba two; the Bahamas one; work among the North American Indians and Eskimos carried on in the United States and Alaska is conducted by two Churches; work among Asiatic immigrants to the United States by two; Canada and the Labrador in its work among Asiatics, American Indians, and Eskimos manages to get on with no second missionary society.

No one can quietly go over the list and imagine the necessary work of supervision that must be carried on if efficiency is to be realized, without being not a little appalled at the waste of money and forces in the crossing over of the work. Furthermore, one feels now that collaboration, in work and in common institutions, should be the rule in the same linguistic areas.

In the areas of any considerable size or population where only one Missionary Society is working, as a rule very little has as yet been attempted. Judging by the past, if serious work began, the Societies engaging in it would multiply.

✓ Of course you could dump all the missionaries of the world into India, or into China, without reaching all the population, or nearly reaching them, in either of those great conglomerations of peoples. How pathetic then is it at this time of day, with the forces of heathenism amenable to influence and with the insufficiency of our resources, that so much wealth in both men and money should be lost by lack of co-operation and generalship!

Our objective being the salvation of the race, division of labour and restriction of area should be the tacit principle for missionary operations among all true Methodists. We are the friends of all and the enemies of none, least of all enemies of those who are nearest us and bear the same name. For the sake of mere organization it becomes us not to hinder or injure the work of God. We have an Oecumenical Conference: it would be a good thing if we had an effective Oecumenical Missionary Bureau for co-operative and transfer purposes, to avoid waste and friction. Best of all would it be to pool our Methodist Missions among the heathen in any given linguistic area. Space does not divide comparably with language.

Looking at the world-wide operations of our Methodist Churches among the heathen, the fruit is abundant enough to cause great thanksgiving to God. From the heathen and Mohammedan world the call to the churches at this time is loud. Mighty peoples are open to our influence as never before. Indeed, apart from Afghanistan, Tibet, Bhutan and Nepaul, the whole world is open to the gospel. Let us pray for labourers to enter into the great harvest; let us conserve the means and forces there are already at our disposal, so as the sooner to gain our end; let us combine in every possible manner so as to secure the most perfect efficiency and the strongest possible power to attack; and let us not cease from our prayer and labour and thought and sacrifice till the present weltering

chaos of heathen thought and life and usage be subdued to the will and word and example of the Lord Jesus.

The two thousand Christian students gathered at Liverpool in January show how profoundly the leaven of Christ is stirring the coming age. The divisions bred of the quarrels of our grandfathers are nothing to us. Christ is all, and His Command to disciple the nations is enough. 'But one thing is needful' and 'the world is our parish.'

In conclusion, the thought occurs that those who are cynical, or supercilious, or indifferent about the ecclesiastical combination of the Methodists for the evangelizing and saving of the common people of England are hardly likely to rise to the idea of the union of Methodism for the evangelization of the race. However, we are saved by faith, and believers are the saviours of the world, under Christ and His Holy Spirit. And they are the saviours of the Church also.

JAMES LEWIS.

EARLY MAN

THE Professor of Geology and Palaeontology in the University of Oxford has written a book on *Ancient Hunters and their Modern Representatives* (Macmillan & Co.), which is of extraordinary interest. It is an attempt to trace the early history of man in the light of scientific exploration in many parts of the world. Dr. Sollas has visited the painted caves of France, and describes their wonders in a way that will make every man of science eager to see them with his own eyes. He has carried out personal research in South Africa, and under the guidance of the chief explorers and students of Europe has gone over the scenes of their discoveries and formed his personal estimate of their value. The 285 illustrations form a museum filled with specimens which light up the whole of the exposition. A fine chivalry for the lower races and a sympathy with their sorrows and wrongs give a glow to many descriptions of Tasmanians and Bushmen. The volume is the first survey of the whole field which has appeared in England. It has long been needed, and it is marked by the knowledge and sound judgement that entitle it to rank as an authoritative text-book on its subject. Every one with a taste for such inquiries will find its chapters nothing less than fascinating.

Schimper the poet-naturalist stimulated the researches of Agassiz into 'The Great Ice Age,' and he reached the conclusion that at no distant date the earth had passed through a period of extreme cold, when ice and snow covered large parts of its surface. Scarcely a year passes which does not add new facts in confirmation of that view. Prof. Sollas takes us to the Gorner Grat, where we look with the aid of his fine frontispiece from Monte Rosa to the Matterhorn. If the mass of slowly moving ice below these peaks could be swept away, we should be able to trace the smoothness of rounded outline caused by the abrasive action of the glacier and mark the grooves and scratches indicating the direction once taken by the river of ice. A general rise of 4° or 5° C. would drive the snow-line high up the

Swiss peaks and all the glaciers would disappear. If the temperature fell 5° C., the Bodén glacier would be so enlarged that it would reach the valley of the Rhone. In the valley of the Visp the trained eye can detect on every side signs of the ancient extension of the ice on the most stupendous scale. Nearer home 'smoothed and striated surfaces, boulder clay and superficial morainic material' make it clear that the greater part of the British Isles was once 'buried out of sight beneath a mantle of ice formed by the confluence of many colossal glaciers.' Large parts of North America were thus covered, and the Southern hemisphere seems to have been similarly affected. The Great Ice Age affected the whole of our planet.

Dr. Sollas holds that no evidence, forcible enough to compel universal belief, has been found of the existence of man before the Great Ice Age. Dr. Dubois discovered in Java in 1891 three teeth, a cranial vault and a thigh bone which he proclaimed to be the remains of the ancestral man. The leading anatomists of Europe consider these to be the remains of an animal that bore a close resemblance to men and apes. 'Some regard *Pithecanthropus* as an ape with certain human characters, others as a man with evident Simian characters; others again, and in particular Dr. Dubois himself, regard it as a connecting-link, standing midway between man and the higher apes.' Dr. Sollas inclines to the opinion that *Pithecanthropus* was separated only by a few steps from man. In 1909 a lower jaw of a primitive man was found at Mauer, near Heidelberg, in a bed of fluvatile sand, at the depth of about eighty feet. 'The dentition is completely human, the teeth forming a close, regular series.' The incisors are comparatively small, no larger than those of existing men, whereas in the Anthropoid ape these teeth are much larger. This Heidelberg man, the oldest known European, belongs to none of the existing races of mankind. Prof. Sollas thinks that he marks the highest level reached by human evolution in Pleistocene days. In October last, since Prof. Sollas's book was written, Mr. Muir had discovered a human skeleton beneath an undisturbed layer of chalk boulder clay, more than a mile north of Ipswich. This is thought to represent the earliest remains of man yet found in England and in Europe with the exception of the Heidelberg jaw. The chalky boulder clay is far earlier than the Neanderthal man whose remains have been found in France. The Ipswich skeleton lay on the right side with the legs folded up on the body and the arms flexed (see the *Times*, Feb. 1, 1912).

As to coliths, or pebbles thought to be shaped by man, we have no unequivocal marks of design in the Tertiary period. Earth pressure or torrent action may account for the shapes assumed. Every touch of the finished flint implement met with in Pleistocene deposits tells of intelligent design. A study of the Tasmanians helps us to understand the past by the present. They were a Palaeolithic race, and supply clues and analogues for reconstructing with some probability the past by the help of the present. France has yielded rich material in the deposits of caves, river gravels, and other sediments which form the Palaeolithic series. Prof. Sollas took with his own hand several flakes from the Mesvinian gravel at Helin near Spiennes, which he says were shaped by an intelligent being and are the earliest

known implements used by Palaeolithic man. The trail left by man in these days is carefully followed to extract all information possible and to discover the fauna of the age. Not a single implement remains which can be regarded as a weapon.

In the Mousterian age, which takes its name from the cave of Le Moustier in the valley of the Vézère, Dordogne, we first see man himself. His implements are much improved in design and workmanship. He now first made his home in caves. The mammoth then lived, and remains of plants found in 1901 in the stomach of one of these creatures included several which still grow in the Siberian tundra. The Arctic fox, the glutton, the marmot, the hare, and the musk-ox were included in the fauna. Bones found in caves show that the rhinoceros, wild horse, reindeer, mammoth and bison were killed by these ancient hunters. One of them was found buried on his back with a number of implements, fragments of ochre, and broken bones around him. 'This was evidently a ceremonial interment, accompanied by offerings of food and implements for the use of the deceased in the spirit world.' Faith had made a home in man's breast far back on the edge of the Great Ice Age. A skeleton discovered in the Neanderthal not far from Düsseldorf in 1856 was the first discovery of Mousterian man. A prominent ridge extends between the temples, and the capacity of the skull is large. These early men had big brains. Dr. Sollas turns next to the Australian aborigines, who show a considerable advance in the culture of Neanderthal man.

In Upper Palaeolithic times the horse, cave lion, and cave hyena are comparatively abundant. The climate seems to have become milder. The art of working flints has advanced, and man could spare some time from his hunting. Sculpture, painting, and drawing reach a surprising excellence. No illustrations in this book are more attractive than those found on the roof of the cave of Altamira in 1878, by the little daughter of a Spanish nobleman who was waiting impatiently whilst her father was digging for flints. The discovery was received with general incredulity, but later discoveries abundantly confirmed it. It became clear also that the nearest representatives of the Aurignacian age are to be found among the Bushmen of whom Dr. Sollas gives a most interesting account. They were clever thinkers and no mean artists. Besides painting animals they engraved them on the rocks. The figure of an elephant on the march is 'a perfect triumph of realistic art.' The Bushmen were fond of music, and made greater advances in that art than any other tribes of South Africa.

Magdalenian man is compared with the Eskimo, who are perhaps the expelled Palaeolithic hunters. The last of the ancient hunting tribes were the Azilians, so called from the cave of Mas d'Azil, Ariège, where some remarkable painted pebbles were found. They used a harpoon of reindeer horn, and were both hunters and fishermen.

As to the vexed problem of chronology, Prof. Sollas thinks our Neolithic predecessors were beginning to found their pile-dwellings in the lakes six millenniums ago. The last glacial episode lies perhaps 17,000 years back from these times. Magdalenian man probably flourished about 12,000

years ago. That is a modest date compared with 100,000 years sometimes claimed for the Neolithic period. The whole subject, however, is one of enormous complexity, and a scientist like Dr. Sollas has learned to be modest and reserved in his conclusions. We owe much to such patient investigation in these difficult by-paths, and there is a richer harvest yet to come.

JOHN TELFORD.

MYSTICISM AND EVANGELISM

A NOTABLE feature of recent theological literature has been the number of books of varying quality on the apparently unrelated subjects of mysticism and evangelism. In the former case good results are already appearing in the differentiation of the religious attitudes to which a common name has been wont to be given, and in the investment of the word with a precise meaning. The philosophers, too, are taking up the other important matter of evangelism, and among its exponents may now be reckoned the distinguished editor of the best edition of Butler's three sermons on human nature. One wonders whether there is any living relation between Christian mysticism, rightly understood, and evangelism. Are the two entirely unconnected, merely streams of thought and purpose that happen to flow near one another for a time? Or are they really two faces of a medal, or two aspects of a central fact, with an inspiration and secret common to both, expressing itself in the one case in personal experience and in the other in an interpretation of duty?

Much of the difficulty of the question arises from the obscurity attaching to the term mysticism. This, however, has been reduced by the application of philosophical and historical methods of study. To minds of a certain cast the mere mention of the word is an irritant, not neutralized by statements that mystical experience is essentially supernatural, or that mysticism itself is the attempt either to transcend the limits of sense and reason, or to find transcendental knowledge within them. Strictly speaking, it is neither a philosophy nor a theory, but the most practical of the arts and the most effective method of pursuing the indispensable search for reality. Edward Caird saw this when he wrote that 'mysticism is religion in its most concentrated and exclusive form; it is that attitude of mind in which all other relations are swallowed up in the relation of the soul to God.' It would have been better had he written of an attitude of soul, for the mind is not the only and perhaps not the most important of the avenues of access to God. Nor can it be said that the swallowing-up of relations in the conscious relation with God is a characteristic of the highest forms of mysticism. In true mysticism the consciousness of God does not destroy or supersede the interests of life and duty, but merely grades them in orderly subordination to God, thereby investing them with adequate sanctions and restraining them within legitimate limits. Rufus Jones, again, identifies mysticism with 'the type of religion which puts the emphasis on immediate awareness of relation with God, on direct

and intimate consciousness of the Divine Presence,' and proceeds to call it religion itself 'in its most acute, intense, and living stage.' The adjectives may not be well selected, but the sentiment is unimpeachable. For mysticism is clearly the centre and crown of all religions worthy the name. It is found as an accompaniment of the primitive beliefs of the uncivilized. It quickens now and again the dreary paragraphs of Talmudical exegesis. It represents and is the experience of every aspiring soul that is not helplessly entangled in the mesh of a wholly mechanical conception of religion, or drugged by theories of the value of sacramental grace apart from the moral condition of the participant. Mysticism is in reality but another term for religion, not as professed but as intended to be lived, whether religion is resolved into the fear of a god or the sense of dependence upon him. Accordingly Evelyn Underhill in her great book, certainly the best that has yet appeared in English on the subject, defines mysticism generally as 'the art of establishing conscious relation with the Absolute,' and proceeds to indicate its definite and practical character. Metaphysics leads to the discovery and perception of God, whom the heart learns to love; and the right issue is a fellowship culminating in union, the attainment of which is the goal of the human soul.

What is true of mysticism in general cannot be untrue of Christian mysticism, the most highly developed specimen of the type. Not only is the New Testament full of it, but in almost every Epistle it stands at the apex of religious experience, or is made either the means of ascent or the measure and test of perfection. A variety of names are used in its description, according as attention is given to each of the Persons in the Godhead. It is called the indwelling of Christ in the believer or of the believer in Christ, the being moved by or filled with the Holy Spirit, fellowship with the Father, fellowship with the Son. In all cases the essential feature is conscious union with God, which is in every religion the aim and the process of the mystic. 'I live; and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me' defines a real experience, for which in its completeness many have longed, and which in its preliminary stages many have known. Participation in a divine nature (2 Pet. i. 4) becomes so full, identification with Christ so complete, that the disciple is describing his life with equal accuracy, whether he thinks of his own soul or of his Saviour as its ruler and quickener. The two by grace have become one. Nothing could be more characteristically mystical, just as nothing is rooted more deeply in the instincts and longings of the Christian soul. Accordingly, Christian mysticism may be considered as union with Christ in its influences upon experience, as far as mind, heart, and purposes of self-culture are concerned.

On the other hand it must be asked, What is evangelism? As in the previous case, the idea has suffered much at the hands of its friends. It is apt to be taken as descriptive of a single method of Christian service, instead of as denoting a principle in the application of which many methods are appropriate and equally legitimate. In reality it implies an obligation, resting upon every Christian, to bring men and women into contact with Christ, or into closer contact with Him. It is identification with Christ in the interest and the service of men, just as mysticism is identification with

Him in devotion and experience. Just as the one is becoming more widely recognized as an integral part or even as an equivalent of personal religion, so the other is a law of duty, insistent and imperious, admitting neither excuse nor discharge. Between the two stands Jesus Christ, an inspiration in either direction. With Him the sinner, bent upon assured peace with God, enters into a double union. In the one phase the union means sure advance towards perfecting of soul; in the other it becomes a sense of bond-service, whereby the whole life is made an effort to exalt Christ by winning the souls of men or binding them more whole-heartedly to Him. That is evangelism in the proper sense, the counterpart of mysticism, and the function of every saved man.

Were evidence outside the New Testament and the reason of things needful, it could be found in the witness of many of the mystics. One of them styled quietism 'a deceitful repose,' and called upon his readers to denounce and crush it. In the light of history it has continually proved a synonym for laziness and the forgetfulness of God. True mysticism is an impulse to activity, as may be seen in unexpected instances. Even Blake professed a passionate purpose not to cease from mental flight or warlike effort—

Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land.

Teresa taught her disciples not to think that union with God was absorption, deaf to the claims of ordinary duty or of evangelism. On the contrary, she argued that the soul 'turns with greater ardour than before to all that which belongs to the service of God; and when those occupations leave her free again, she remains in the enjoyment of that sweet companionship.' Christ and Christ alone is the abiding source of grace and spiritual power, the Master and Lord of the Christian soul. He invites His people to union with Himself, and becomes to them at once their Leader and their law. As Leader, He guides them into all the mystical and sanctifying joys of His own perfect union with the Father; and as law, in His sovereignty of love He binds upon every one of them the obligations of evangelism, in order that His triumph may be secured.

R. W. Moss.

THE LATE PRINCIPAL FAIRBAIRN

By the death of Dr. Fairbairn British Nonconformity has lost one of its greatest scholars and theologians. Gifted with an unlimited capacity for hard work, a Scots undaunted determination, the mind of a thinker equally at home with history and philosophy, and above all, with a profound faith in Christianity, he nobly merited the national recognition, irrespective of Church and creed, which his personality and achievements won for him. In this respect his career recalls that of his friend and compeer, Dr. Dale, though he played a less public part than the latter in the civic and political life of his generation. He was born near Edinburgh,

and the first forty years of his life belong to Scotland. In the preface to *Christ in Modern Theology* he pays a beautiful tribute to his grandfather. 'His daughter was my mother, and the daughter so loved and revered the father, so remembered his sayings, so understood his mind, so believed the faith that ruled and guided him, that she had no higher thought for her son than to make him such a man as her father had been. And so, invisible as he was, he became the real parent of the spirit and character of the man who now writes this book.'

After graduating at Edinburgh in 1860, Fairbairn entered the ministry of the Evangelical Union Church. A brief pastorate at Fraserburgh was followed by the acceptance of a call to Bathgate: finally in 1872 he became minister of the Evangelical Union Church, St. Paul's Street, Aberdeen. Five years later he was appointed Principal of the Airedale Independent College at Bradford. He had already achieved notice by learned contributions to various periodicals, and now his fame as preacher and theologian began steadily to grow. While an undergraduate at Cambridge, the present writer heard him for the first time in the Emmanuel Congregational Church, Trumpington Street. The memory of that service is vivid to-day. Dr. Fairbairn was not like any other preacher I have listened to. Disdaining the use of notes or manuscript, he poured forth a torrent of eloquent speech, his strong rugged features irradiated the while with the light of his spiritual and intellectual enthusiasm. His gestures were animated, and his discourse blended the qualities of spiritual vision and imagination with the gifts of logical expression and philosophic grasp. It was keenly intellectual preaching, the utterance less of the mystic than of the strong thinker, rejoicing in the strength of his dialectic and intensely possessed by the might of his own faith.

Many doubtless have felt in reading his books that he carried his antithetical style and his love of highly generalized statements too far: yet each of his books—even the earliest, such as *Religion in History and Modern Life*, a series of lectures addressed to the Bradford working men—carries with it the impress of greatness. We look back and confess with gratitude that *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology* and *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*—the latter representing his most mature contribution to Christian thought—have marked epochs in our thinking and in the thinking of the day. In the vast output of theological literature, how few books live! but Fairbairn's have qualities that will serve the intellectual and spiritual needs of many generations. It may be indeed that the Hegelian idealism which underlies his interpretation of Christianity has lost its vogue; but from another standpoint his work is of permanent value in that he was one of the first of British theologians to realize the enormous importance of the study of comparative religion as a means to the proper understanding of the Christian faith.

The possession of these rich and varied gifts enabled him to capture Oxford, when in 1896 he became the first Principal of Mansfield College. To Dale and Fairbairn belongs the credit of carrying the project of a Nonconformist foundation at Oxford into reality; but it is not too much to say that it was Fairbairn who ensured the success of Mansfield. He came

with a reputation for erudition which Oxford could not ignore. Fairbairn's lectures were based on a scientific method untrammelled by dogmatic and ecclesiastical tradition; and in no other Oxford lecture-room was the teaching of religion so courageous, so robust, and so full of the fresh air of modernity. Mansfield under Fairbairn became the home of all the denominations, not only by reason of the Sunday services where Oxford men could hear the greatest preachers of the land, but by virtue of the gracious hospitalities extended to all university men by the Principal and Mrs. Fairbairn. I have heard it said that if Fairbairn left his impress on Oxford, Oxford also in turn left its impress on Fairbairn. There is a social grace in Oxford society to which even the most reserved natures sooner or later succumb, and in this atmosphere, the geniality and bonhomie of Fairbairn developed and made him universally beloved.

I never had the privilege of meeting him till near the close of his Mansfield career. It was manifest to all his friends that while his mental vigour was unabated, his physical powers had begun to yield to the natural processes of age. One of my pleasantest memories is of a certain foursome on the golf links at Radley, in which the characteristic resolution of the veteran scholar enabled him to triumph over physical limitations. In the club-house afterwards we discussed his approaching retirement, and one of his friends—a well-known Don—playfully suggested that he might found a new religion! Beneath the genial paradox lay a wealth of meaning. It was an expression of Oxford's reverence for a master in the realm of religious thought. His influence on the University was notable, because a certain type of Oxford thought laid far greater stress than Fairbairn ever did on the ecclesiastical or institutional side of Christianity. The sacramentarian and external aspects of the Christian religion never appealed to him: while its metaphysic and ethic, the Christological ideas and the spiritual, essential implications of the historic facts of the faith received at his hands a profound and sympathetic interpretation. As an idealist and an inheritor of the spirit of Greek theology, he had no place in his system of thought for a religion of authority. Perhaps he never did full justice to the Latin and Augustinian type of theology, nor to what Dr. Forsyth calls 'the centrality of the Cross,' nor to the depth and warmth of experimental religion: but he is to be judged, like every great theologian, by the work he actually accomplished on the lines marked out for him by his peculiar genius and temperament: and upon this there can be but one verdict. He was in his generation a true *servus servorum Dei*, who consecrated his years of toil, his encyclopaedic learning, and his virile faith to the Church of Christ. And as we think of his strenuous personality and its influence upon his fellows, we cannot but imagine that his rest, like that of Arnold of Rugby, is a spiritual activity 'in the sounding labour-house vast of being.'

R. MARTIN POPE.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D. Vol. IV : Confirmation—Drama. (T. & T. Clark. In cloth, 28s. net.)

A CONSPICUOUS excellence of this great work is the fullness with which a subject is treated, when it is essential for the student to have the opportunity of comparing its manifold aspects as they present themselves either in their historical development or among different peoples. Half of this volume is given to eight subjects, but those subjects require for their adequate treatment more than 120 articles. The longest series of articles is on 'Death and Disposal of the Dead,' upon which twenty scholars write, specialists on their several themes, as e.g. Primitive, Babylonian, Egyptian, Jewish, Muhammadan, &c. In his valuable contribution on 'Early Christian' customs, Prof. Mitchell, of Hartford Theological Seminary, New York, shows that 'Funeral rites were extended so as to include elaborate ceremonials, most of which were drawn more or less unconsciously from the surrounding pagan practices, although the Christians never lost the primitive faith and feeling which distinguished their early funeral customs.' Among the subjects which are treated with similar elaboration are : 'Demons and Spirits,' 'Crimes and Punishments,' 'Cosmogony and Cosmology,' 'Disease and Medicine,' 'Councils and Synods.'

Some of the articles which, for various reasons, have specially appealed to us may be briefly mentioned. Prof. Iverach's treatment of 'Consciousness' is comprehensive and able. With vigour, and at times with rigour, popular theories are opposed. But there is need of his reminder that 'the basis of certainty lies in consciousness. Its affirmations, its intuitions, are the foundations on which we build.' Therefore 'we must,' argues Dr. Iverach, 'exhaust the possibilities of consciousness, as the source of explanation, ere we seek to bring in the subconscious and the unconscious as a positive principle of explanation.' In a luminous article of eight pages on 'Covenant Theology,' Prof. W. Adams Brown goes far towards supplying us with what he regards as 'still a desideratum,' namely 'a good monograph' on the subject. The Rev. W. Major Scott, of Croydon, favourably known by his book on *Aspects of Christian Mysticism*, writes on 'Devotion and Devotional Literature.' The manifold aspects of the devotional life are described with true spiritual insight. The

section on 'Devotional Literature' might have been extended with advantage. Dr. Williston Walker, of Yale, in an admirable sketch of 'Congregationalism,' takes note of 'a centralizing tendency,' and sees in process of development 'a system of superintendency, without judicial or mandatory powers, but with large advisory influence.' Dr. W. T. Whitley, an authority on Baptist history, writes on 'Connexionalism' not unsympathetically, though some of its perils are scarcely as menacing as he thinks. It is acknowledged that 'as a matter of history, every great revival of religion has fashioned its machinery on somewhat connexional lines.' Mr. Benjamin Kidd closes his lucid account of 'Darwinism' with a timely warning against the disregarding of the higher qualities of our social evolution in current naturalistic teaching about Eugenics. There is often an ignoring of 'the entire range of the problems of morality and mind.' The articles by the Rev. James Strachan, M.A., deserve special mention; on 'Creation,' 'Criticism (Old Testament),' 'Conversion,' and 'Divine Right' he writes with sound judgement. Breadth of knowledge and depth of spiritual experience characterize his treatment of 'Conversion.' Good use is made of the researches of psychologists, but they are not regarded as infallible.

Dr. H. B. Workman gives the results of scholarly research, and, as is his wont, directs attention to the main issues involved in the important eras of history represented by 'Constantine' and 'Crusades.' The Rev. R. M. Pope, M.A., writes instructively on 'Contempt' and 'Contentment,' Dr. Geden explains two Vedic terms, 'Darsana' and 'Devayana,' and the Rev. J. H. Bateson gives a succinct account of the 'Buddhist Creed.'

A careful perusal of this volume has deepened our sense of the unique value to the student of this *Encyclopaedia*. Dr. Hastings is once more to be congratulated on his comprehensive plan, on his choice of authors, and on the high standard of excellence reached by most of his contributors.

Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Handwörterbuch in gemeinverständlicher Darstellung. Unter Mitwirkung von Hermann Gunkel und Otto Scheel herausgegeben von F. M. Schiele und L. Zacharnack. Vol. III. *Hesshus—Lyttou*. (Tübingen : J. C. B. Mohr. London : Williams & Norgate. Half-bound, 27s. net.)

The third volume of this ably edited *Encyclopaedia* fully maintains the high standard of excellence reached in the two volumes previously noticed in this Review. Of special interest in this volume are the admirable engravings illustrating the articles on *Catcombs, Church Architecture, &c.*

Among the more important contributions of Gunkel are the articles on *Hesekiah, Job, Jonah, Jahve, Immanuel*. It is an advantage to have succinct statements of his views on the origin and trustworthiness of the Old Testament narratives. The final verdict will probably be that he has over-estimated the legendary element, but it is his merit to have shown

its great historical importance as reflecting ancient nomad life and thought, whereas Wellhausen assigns the legends to the monarchical period, depriving them of historical value. Benzinger writes luminously on such subjects as *Canaan, Israel and Judah*. Gressmann, in his sketch of *Jensen*, gives convincing reasons for rejecting the theory of dependence on Babylonian myths expounded in his writings on the Gilgamesh Epic.

As indicating the range of the Encyclopaedia and the number of specialists whose services have been secured, the titles of a few of the important articles may be mentioned. *Idealism* is by E. W. Mayer, *Causality* by Wendland, *Immanence and Transcendence of God* by Steinmann, *Roman Empire* by Preuschen, *Jesuits* by Köhler, *Highest Good* by Titius, *Homiletics* by Bauer, *Gospel of John* by Bousset, *Islam* by Becker, and *Judaism* by Fiebig.

As is befitting such a theme, the longest article is on *Jesus Christ*. It extends to ninety pages. Prof. Heitmüller of Marburg, co-editor with Bousset of the *Theologische Rundschau*, is responsible for the main sections, and to Prof. Baumgarten of Kiel is assigned the subject of *Jesus Christ in Present-day Thought*. It is impossible to state here at length our reasons for not accepting the critical judgements on which what is known as the 'liberal' estimate of the person of Christ ultimately rests. On insufficient grounds some Synoptic passages are first regarded as 'doubtful,' and are then neglected in estimating the evidence of the Gospels on such subjects as the consciousness of Jesus. It remains, however, to recognise the positive value of both these articles. Heitmüller ably defends against modern attacks the historicity of Jesus. Having shown that evidence furnished by non-Christian writers makes it impossible to erase the figure of Jesus from the pages of history, he shows how high an estimate should be placed on the witness of St. Paul, and he asks those who discount the value of the evidence of a disciple of Christ, 'Who doubts the historicity of Socrates because we are indebted to his admirers Plato and Xenophon for the most important accounts of him? And where do we learn anything about Buddha, except from Buddhistic literature?' It would be impossible to find, within the same space as Baumgarten's article occupies, such clear and detailed sketches of the portrait of Jesus as it is presented by modern schools of thought both within and outside the Christian Church.

An excellent article on *Hymnology* refers to Charles Wesley's hymns as 'sometimes full of repetitions and wearisome on account of their length, yet containing deep, genuine poetry in manifold forms.' Mention should be made of the value of the Encyclopaedia as a 'Who's Who' for handy reference, not only for Christian names famous in history, but also for names of contemporaries. Succinct biographies are given of such men as Hilky, Von Hägel, Kalkhoff, Jatho, Kaftan (*Julius and Theodore*).

The editors need to have the proofs revised by an Englishman. The use of capitals in English titles is eccentric, apostrophes are rare. 'Mr. Rev.' (p. 162), 'foundation' (p. 217), 'intitled' (p. 2054), are specimens of errors one does not expect to find in a work of such high excellence as this.

On p. 299 the titles of two well-known hymns are printed thus: 'I love the Kingdom, God,' and 'Just as I am.'

The Encyclopædia is to be completed in five volumes, and for students it will be an indispensable work of reference. The Editor's skill is conspicuous in the relative length or brevity of the various articles.

The Psychology of the Christian Soul. By George Steven, M.A. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

In these Cunningham Lectures for 1911 Mr. Steven has given us a delightful book. It is a finely balanced, reverent discussion of methods of approaching and interpreting religious experience which are bound to become more and more influential in the equipment of the Christian teacher. Even readers who may be feeling a trifle impatient with hasty and ill-considered applications of psychology to spiritual experience will find here a reassurance not only of the legitimacy but also of the practical value of the psychological method. The ruling conception of the book is that psychological phenomena are symbols of spiritual process; and that spiritual process is God working in the minds of men. The supernatural includes man; his spirit partakes of its qualities; and Christianity is an educative process by which the spiritual nature of man may acquire its complete expression. The distinctive feature of Mr. Steven's treatment is that he regards the Christian religion as primarily creative and educative in human personality; it is redemptive only as the result of failure and sin. Both the educative and redemptive power are found in the personality of Jesus Christ. The distinctly redemptive process, however, is needed more or less by all. In a broader sense the educative is a part of the redemptive process. But as the redemptive is familiar, Mr. Steven elects to deal specially with 'the religion of Jesus Christ as an educative process.' 'Educative process' may seem to many a narrowing of the purpose and power of the manifestation of the divine, but it is claimed as covering the whole process of leading man into the fullness of fellowship with the Father—an eternal process indeed by which God seeks the fellowship of men. Large and reiterated emphasis is placed by Mr. Steven upon the value of the Christian home and Christian education as a part of the redemptive process, which is primarily educative. 'Education for God is the development of the divine within.' But education does not dispense with conversion and the necessity of regeneration: it is the means of these. "'Conversion' is 'reversion,' accomplished by means of an appeal to our earlier life and education—to an education which may be nothing now but a memory lying hid in the subconscious mind, but without which an entreaty to turn to God would be unmeaning' (p. 25). It will be seen that Mr. Steven's method involves a fairly full discussion of the religious place and value of the Subconscious. Nowhere is the sanity and restraint of the author seen to better advantage than in this dis-

cussion. He has no place for the subliminal consciousness of Mr. F. W. H. Myers or of Dr. Sanday—the larger self beyond the possibilities of consciousness. The only subconsciousness admitted as a factor in the problem of the Christian soul is that which is the product of consciousness, the abiding deposit of experience in its myriad varieties and infinitesimal quantities in character, the past of the Self always available and, indeed, inevitable as an activity influencing the expression of the conscious Self of the present and future. In the easy and illuminating progress in which we accompany Mr. Steven towards his goal we have most suggestive studies in the secret of 'The Slavery of Sin,' in 'The Liberating of the Soul through Conversion,' in 'The Capture of the Soul by God,' and also in the difficult psychological problems involved in the experiences of 'The Soul in the Mass-movement of a Revival.' The goal is 'The Soul in the Presence of God.' This last chapter is full of wise and gracious spiritual interpretations—sometimes of equally wise admonitions: 'The presence of God is something we are always tending to make external, as if God had yet to come to us.' We wondered, however, as the writer admonished us against limiting the 'Presence' to Sacraments, whether he had fully kept in mind his own admonition in his discussion of the 'Presence' in the Word. On the psychological side Mr. Steven, who gives ample evidence of his equipment as a psychologist, assigns the supreme place in religious values to 'attention.' 'Attention is the master-key to the psychology of the Christian soul.' He prefers the term 'the slavery of the attention' to 'the slavery of the will' in interpreting the bondage to sin. Many of his statements may not pass unchallenged with some of his readers, but they convey important suggestions, especially to teachers and preachers. 'The continual struggle against sin keeps it active.' 'To pray against certain sins to which we have rendered ourselves liable is to strengthen them; because it is directing attention to them.' 'This is why some men sin in spite of their prayers.' 'The gospel remedy and the psychological is to turn to God.' 'The only effective inhibition of any inward evil is to turn the attention not on the evil we mean to flee, but on the life we mean to attain.' Mr. Steven has many and great gifts for the task he has so successfully essayed. He has the instincts—possibly the training of an educationist; he knows the art of soul analysis, and is throughout intensely alive to the more difficult art of soul winning. Of his literary gifts no reader can be unconscious. We have marked quite a multitude of sentences full of charm and surprise—that last perfection of a writer on well-worn themes. He is courageously loyal to evangelical truth, though he reminds us on more than one page that 'finality is the one heresy.' Several times in reading the volume and yielding ourselves to its stimulating influences we have been reminded of the first reading of *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*. The theme is different, of course, but the service Mr. Steven has rendered for the interpretation of the things of the spirit in the psychological atmosphere of to-day is similar to that which Prof. Drummond rendered for the scientific setting of religious thought nearly a generation ago; moreover, the qualities of style revealed by the two writers are not too far removed for comparison.

Studies of Paul and his Gospel. By A. E. Garvie, M.A., D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s. net.)

The Religious Experience of St. Paul. By Percy Gardner, Litt.D. (Williams & Norgate. 5s. net.)

If proof were needed of the undying attraction of the personality and teaching of Paul, we might point to the studies of the apostle which have already appeared during the last publishing season, while it is not easy to keep pace with the ever-growing volume of Continental literature on the same theme. Dr. Garvie's studies originally appeared in the *Expositor*, and are well worthy of preservation in a complete and permanent form. A valuable feature of his method is the careful and courageous way in which he relates the apostle's teaching to the modern standpoint, never shirking difficulties of interpretation, nor avoiding the issues which have to be faced by a candid mind engaged in differentiating the permanent elements of the apostle's witness from those which are evidently the offspring of his environment and his Rabbinical training.

The book is divided into two parts—the first dealing with the man, the second with the message. Under the first head we limit ourselves to the notice of two points. Dr. Garvie dissents from Sir William Ramsay's emphatic advocacy of the strong hellenization of Pauline thought, and, while recognizing the influence of the Gentile world in confirming and developing tendencies inherent in his gospel, believes that 'none of the distinctive features of his gospel can be traced to a Gentile origin.' Paul is essentially a Jew and Jewish in his cosmology, angelology, demonology, and eschatology. It is a difficult question: but Dr. Garvie seems to us to attach insufficient weight to the effects of Paul's university life, his contact with Greek thought, and the Hellenic influences to which his ancestors had been subjected. Hellenism had profoundly modified the thought and life of Western Asia, and Paul's emancipation from Judaism was due to Christianity, but also to Christianity acting on a hellenized mind. Hence we would be disposed to expand the statement, which seems to us too absolute, that it was Paul's 'experience of Christ and his exposition of the Cross that led him to his *expansion of the Church* to include Gentile as well as Jew.'

Further, we note that Dr. Garvie regards Rom. vii. 7-25 as a transcript of Paul's experience before his conversion: but we sometimes wonder whether the difficulty of referring it as a whole either to the one stage or the other of his spiritual experiences is not due to our failure to recognize that the apostle may be passing, perhaps, unconsciously from the past to the present under the emotional stress of his self-analysis. Even if we hesitate to accept the view which Dr. Garvie, following Dr. Bruce, considers probable, namely that Paul was peculiarly subject to the temptation of sensuality (which may be 'the stake in the flesh'), we have ample evidence of his deliberate asceticism—a feature of his character which points to the fact of a ceaseless struggle, probably at times so acute as to evoke the cry of anguish, none the less bitter because he is so sure

of his loyalty to Christ, 'Who shall deliver me out of the body of this death?'

We cannot dwell at length on Dr. Garvie's exposition of the Pauline gospel: but we may single out as of special value the chapter on 'The righteousness of God,' which closes with a series of propositions summarizing the essential features of a doctrine of objective atonement. Such terms as *substitution* and *satisfaction* are admirably interpreted. Dr. Garvie here and elsewhere in the book expounds the accepted positions of Christian theology in terms which are calculated to meet the objections of modern thought. 'The work of the Spirit' is a theme which requires careful treatment owing to the apostle's apparent identification of the spiritual Christ with the Holy Spirit, and Dr. Garvie presents a lucid statement of Paul's doctrine of the spirit as 'an objective divine reality.' We are grateful for the insight which has enabled the author to give so powerful a contribution to Christian thought.

The outstanding feature of Dr. Percy Gardner's treatise is its freshness, or, to use a favourite term of the author's, its 'modernity.' He has attempted, as he says, to read St. Paul's epistles as if they had come before him for the first time: and he has succeeded in conveying to his own work something of the spirit which he eulogizes in Matthew Arnold's essay of forty years ago, 'still,' he remarks, 'the best short account of the Pauline theology known to me . . . so greatly does insight surpass learning.' Dr. Gardner, however, brings to the study of St. Paul an equipment of learning and research to which Matthew Arnold, with all his admirable gifts of style and intuition, could lay no claim; and though some of his conclusions may startle the orthodox reader, the author's reverence for Christianity and its institutions, his sense of the greatness and spiritual power of St. Paul and his sympathy with the character of the great apostle's inspiration are unmistakable.

In an introductory chapter Dr. Gardner contends that the epistles are our best authorities for St. Paul's views: even the speeches of the Acts are sources which we have to use with care, because Luke is a writer of great dramatic skill, probably follows the accepted custom of ancient historians in putting speeches in the mouths of their heroes and, what is more important, differs entirely from St. Paul in his naïve delight in the miraculous and his love of the picturesque and catastrophic. Luke was undoubtedly a brilliant man of letters—perhaps the most brilliant from the literary standpoint of all the New Testament writers—but we are inclined to think that Dr. Gardner under-estimates the habit of historical accuracy, which is at least as marked as the other qualities; nor can we agree, for example, respecting the speech at Athens that 'it is scarcely possible to imagine the Paul of the epistles taking so academic and philosophic a line.' As a matter of fact, no one insists more strongly than Dr. Gardner on the Hellenic influences of St. Paul's training and teaching, even though Greek philosophy is regarded by him as reaching St. Paul in a transfigured form through the teaching of Jewish rabbis. Moreover, the crucial point of the present volume is the author's treatment of the Hellenic mysteries in their relation to St. Paul's thought: and here we reach a

subject which has assumed considerable importance in modern criticism. In a recent number of the *Hibbert Journal* M. Loisy accepts, though with reservations, Reitzenstein's theory that St. Paul had obviously utilized his knowledge of pagan cults in his view of the Lord's Supper as the Christian mystery *par excellence*. Dr. Gardner, on the other hand, holds that the Christian mystery was not a sacrament, nor the Messiahship of Jesus Christ, nor the inclusion of the Gentiles in the benefits of the Christian salvation. It was 'a sacred but secret belief in the existence of a spiritual bond holding together a society in union with a spiritual lord with whom the society had communion, and from whom they received in the present life safety from sin and defilement, and in the world to come life everlasting.' Thus, the Christianity of St. Paul is impressed by 'the most noteworthy characteristic of the mystic cults of the Hellenic world.' Whatever may be our conclusions on this subject, we cannot but agree as to the value of Dr. Gardner's able and lucid treatment of the evidence at his disposal: and he leaves us in no doubt as to the immense superiority of the Christian cultus over all the symbolisms of the heathen mysteries, which in their attempt to fulfil the vague aspiration for communion between the human and the divine may have prepared the way for faith in Jesus Christ.

Through Evolution to the Living God. By the Rev. J. R. Cohu. (Parker & Co. 8s. 6d. net.)

This is a book for thinkers, and they will find it worthy of their most careful attention. The rector of Aston Clinton has had to wrestle hard and long with unbelief. He says it has been the work of years 'to recover a faith which science had shattered, and science itself has helped not a little to lead him through evolution to evolution's God.' The verified facts of science have come to stay, but science no longer objects to the argument from design. Her leaders are becoming more and more teleological. A creative self-directing consciousness is present in all that has life, and this clearly points to a psychic, not a material, First Cause. Mr. Cohu shows how this view of evolution widens, revolutionizes, our ordinary conceptions of the Creation, or the Fall, or the Mystery of Evil, 'and exalts our conception of God's relation to us and of our value in His eyes, almost to the level of Christianity.' We do not share some of the writer's views on evolution, but the work will do much to help earnest and sincere seekers after truth.

Before the Foundations. Anon. (Skeffingtons. 5s. net.)

Intellectual revolt against the domination of physics and chemistry in the sphere of thought is a feature of our day. The insistence of the universal mechanism of scientific law seems to be provoking reaction in the human mind. The synthetic faculties are asserting themselves, and numerous attempts are being made to answer such perennial questions

as : What is the moving cause of the universe ? and what is the meaning and destiny of human life ? This book is one sign of this note of the times. The author is a layman. He is a devout and thorough student of Scripture from the point of view of the divine purpose, is an 'old-fashioned' theologian, and is also well acquainted with recent studies in astronomy, biology, and philosophy. He accepts without question the geocentric theory of the earth, and assumes that the Bible was intended to solve intellectual difficulties. On such bases he builds up a cosmology which he elaborates in clear and often eloquent English. His main aim is to represent the work of Christ as the pivot of evolution, and related to all orders of spiritual intelligence, for the extirpation of evil. We cannot accept some of his premisses and interpretations, but we can sincerely recommend the book as a calm, cultured, and thrilling example of psycho-theology, which will be read with delight by all who cling to the old methods of thinking in natural philosophy, and with appreciation by every intelligent man into whose hands it may fall.

Christian Ethics and Modern Thought. By C. F. D'Arcy, D.D., Bishop of Down. (Longmans. 1s. net.)

This is a valuable addition to 'The Anglican Church Handbooks.' It shows how Christianity draws into itself all that is good in other ethical systems and fully corresponds to the needs and circumstances of the modern world. The bishop begins with the Kingdom of God as set forth in the Old Testament and in the Gospels; then he comes to the Individual and his infinite value in the teaching of our Lord and of Christian ethics generally. The social aspect of the Christian ideal is well brought out, and there are good chapters on 'Conscience,' on 'Moral Institutions,' and on 'Religion and Ethics.' The book will be of great service to young students.

It was wise of the publishers to reprint, even after a quarter of a century, Dr. Dallinger's Fernley Lecture on *The Creator and what we may know of the Method of Creation*. (C. H. Kelly, 6d. net.) In reading the lecture again we are struck with its applicability to the generation succeeding that to which it was originally delivered. Young men of to-day will find with difficulty a better guide than Dr. Dallinger when they are feeling their way to a satisfactory Theism in the light of current doctrines of evolution. To be able to buy such a treatise, well printed and neatly got up, for sixpence is a great boon. A brief memorial notice brings before the reader in well-chosen words the shy scholar, the brilliant scientist, and the truly Christian minister and man. The booklet deserves to have a second lease of life and to circulate widely among young and old.

The First Christian Century. By Sir W. M. Ramsay. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2s. 6d. net.)

In this work a series of articles is included, embodying critical notes on Dr. Moffatt's *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*. The

learning and ability of Dr. Moffatt's book are recognized, but exception is taken to some of his conclusions. It is especially against the attempts at an 'imaginative reconstruction of history' that Sir W. M. Ramsay's criticisms are directed.

The Feast of the Covenant. By the Rev. David Smith, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 8s. 6d.)

In this daintily bound volume there are ten brief expositions, each of which would furnish suitable reading for young communicants. In simple and chaste language Dr. Smith writes on 'The Blood of the Covenant,' 'The Salt of the Covenant,' 'Terms of Admission to the Feast,' &c.

Emblems of the Holy Spirit. By F. E. Marsh. (Morgan & Scott, 8s. 6d. net.) Such emblems as the dove, the oil, the dew are fully explained with apt illustrations and quotations. There is a great store of matter in this book for teachers to draw upon and for devout meditation. The wealth of the Holy Spirit's grace comes home with new force as we study these pages.

Christ and Israel (Morgan & Scott, 8s. 6d. net) contains ten lectures and addresses on the Jews by the late Adolph Saphir, D.D. It is a book that gets to the heart of the subject and inspires fresh zeal and hope for the gathering in of the race to Christ. Dr. Saphir believes in the return of the Jews to Palestine, and he puts his case very clearly, though we do not find it convincing.

The Christ Life. By Rev. A. B. Simpson, D.D. (Morgan & Scott, 1s. 6d. net.) Six rich devotional chapters on Christ the Life, In Christ, Christ in us, and kindred themes. There is much to help and guide an earnest seeker after Christ.

Christ Come and Coming. By W. Griffiths, M.A. (Stock, 2s. 6d. net.) Mr. Griffiths holds that Christ's second coming was at the fall of Jerusalem, and that He then came to stay and to establish His authority and rule in the earth. We do not wonder that a second and enlarged edition of this suggestive book has been called for.

Jesus Christ has Come. By I. E. Page. (Kelly, 1s. net.) These visions of to-day arrest attention and bring home the truth that Christ is ever revealing Himself to loving and obedient hearts. We have read the book with great interest and believe it will be an inspiration to many.

The Story of my Reincarnation. By Zivola. (Century Press, 6s.) This book quite bewilders us. Nothing could be more hopelessly unreal or unpractical.

COMMENTARIES AND SERMONS

The Old Testament in Greek. Edited by A. E. Brooke and Norman McLean. Part III of Vol. I, Numbers and Deuteronomy. (Cambridge University Press. 15s. net.)

THE *Larger Cambridge Septuagint*, with what may fairly be called a full apparatus of various readings, has now advanced to the end of the Pentateuch, and when the next part comes we shall be able to bind up the first volume of this monumental work. We have before expressed our appreciation of the self-denying labours of these excellent scholars, who have been content to bury themselves for a score of years among the minutiae of manuscripts and versions, in order that future centuries of students may have the materials for the textual criticism of the Greek Old Testament. Prof. Swete's three handy volumes, which every reader of the LXX has in ordinary use, give us with admirable accuracy the readings of the uncial MSS. But the cursives and the versions cannot be ignored, and the University Press has undertaken further to provide the apparatus for ascertaining what material lies in the most important authorities of these classes. Messrs. Brooke and McLean have been fortunately able to use the Washington codex of Deuteronomy and Joshua, one of the precious Biblical MSS. which American wealth has recently carried off, an easy victor over the more limited resources of our own British Museum. The New Testament portion is likely to provide some sensations, but Deuteronomy shows much that is interesting; and a fifth century MS. has naturally much importance. It is earnestly to be hoped that the world of Biblical students will support the Cambridge Press in this valuable but unremunerative enterprise, and encourage the self-sacrificing scholars who have toiled so hard for the benefit of our own and future generations.

Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah, and Joel.
A critical and exegetical commentary by J. M. Powis Smith, Ph.D., W. Hayes Ward, D.D., LL.D., and Julius A. Bewer, Ph.D. (T. & T. Clark. 12s. 6d.)

In the original plan of the *International Critical Commentary*, the Minor Prophets were assigned to the late Dr. William R. Harper. The volume on 'Amos and Hosea' was published during his lifetime, and he was at work upon this volume immediately before his death. His 'friend and associate,' Dr. J. M. Powis Smith, is responsible for the commentary on Micah, Zephaniah, and Nahum, Dr. Hayes Ward has written on Habakkuk, and Dr. Julius A. Bewer on Obadiah and Joel.

The division of labour has, doubtless, resulted in the more speedy publication of this volume, but it has involved some drawbacks. For example, there seems to be no reason why twice as much space should be allotted to Micah, Zephaniah, and Nahum as is given to Habakkuk, Obadiah, and Joel. The notes on Habakkuk are especially meagre and are almost exclusively critical.

Dr. J. M. Powis Smith contributes admirable introductions which supply all that is needful to fill in the background of each prophecy; his summaries of the messages are of great value. In passages where the Massoretic text needs to be amended, scholarly use is made by all three writers of the Septuagint and other versions. With great skill the metre is marked and often becomes an aid to determining the text. This volume, as a whole, reaches the high level of scholarship set by the earlier commentaries in this series. Every student who reads it carefully will find that welcome light is cast on many obscure passages.

Jeremiah and Lamentations, Vol. II. By A. S. Peake, D.D.
(T. C. & E. C. Jack. 2s. 6d. net.)

Only the commentary on Daniel is needed to complete the 'Century' series of commentaries. One of the many excellences of the series is its evenness of style and ability. Collaborate authorship has become a science in our day. Dr. Peake's Jeremiah is equal to the best of other volumes. Jeremiah and his book have had long to wait for the justice due to them, but it has come at last. While Dr. Peake reproduces the best matter in the works of his predecessors, notably Cornill and Duhm, he does it in an independent way, often differing from the latter especially. His treatment of the new teaching of Chap. XXXI is a good specimen of the entire work; the exposition of the new covenant and the new (it would be called then, advanced) doctrine of individual responsibility is admirable. If the newer criticism is present, it is not conspicuous and it is reasonable. The Book of Lamentations, which is responsible for the traditional opinions about Jeremiah, is said not to be his work. We can only congratulate editors, publishers, and students on the near completion of a memorable work.

The Old Testament: Its Contents, Truth, and Worth. By Joseph Agar Beet, D.D. (Kelly. 2s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Beet has here put in compact form the conclusions reached by modern scholarship as to the contents and origin of the Old Testament, with a concise statement as to the reasons for the change of opinion on various questions. He is a master in the art of repetition, and knows how to stamp his facts on the memory. Above all, he has the grace of lucidity. There is no trace of vagueness in the book. The author has made up his own mind and helps his readers to make up theirs. 'The writers of the New Testament agree to accept, with complete confidence, the narratives of the Old Testament as historical fact'; and accept 'as from God words therein attributed to Him.' After describing the various texts Dr. Beet passes

to a special study of the separate books, calling attention to the indications of compilation that may be found in the Pentateuch. Here the student needs to keep his Revised Version at his side to follow every passage. It will be an excellent training for those that work through each chapter in this careful way. The six closing chapters form an impressive study of The Historical Truth of the Old Testament; Its Religious and Moral Teaching; The Old Testament and Modern Science; The Abiding Worth; The Inspiration and Authority of the Old Testament, and The Apocrypha. Dr. Beet is absolutely candid. He has no reserves, and the reader feels as he follows the argument that none is needed. The marvellous vision of the past during which God worked out His purposes of mercy spreads before us as we read, and leads us on to Christ and the great Salvation which He brought to the whole world. Dr. Beet has lavished his labour on this volume, and he has never done a more useful piece of work.

A Short Introduction to the Old Testament. By the Rev. F. E. Spencer, M.A. (Longmans & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Spencer has set himself to make use of the fresh and recent labours of applied archaeology to throw light on the Old Testament. His first two chapters give a compact account of some phases of higher criticism, and of the light thrown on the Scriptures by modern research. Then Mr. Spencer turns to the study of the Pentateuch and the prophetic writings. His conclusions are strongly in favour of the conservative school. As to the final ode he says, 'It is exceedingly abhorrent to my sense of the justice due to the honesty which pervades the Hebrew literary tradition to believe that the very definite and solemn attestations which both precede (Deut. xxxi. 18-30) and follow it (xxxiii. 44-47) are the invention of a falsarius.' The book is well written, and is well worthy of study.

The Epistle to the Romans. By the Rev. H. G. Grey, M.A. (Scott, 8s. 6d. net.) This volume of *The Readers' Commentary* is just what a Bible student needs. It has a workmanlike Introduction, and its notes are clear and full but also carefully condensed. It is a Commentary for which many readers will be grateful. The Principal of Wycliffe Hall is to be congratulated on such a piece of sound and helpful work.

Galatians has been edited for the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges* by A. Lukyn Williams, B.D. (Cambridge University Press, 1s. 6d. net.) He is unable to accept Sir William Ramsay's view that the letter was sent to South Galatia, and states his reasons clearly. The notes on difficult passages are specially helpful. It is a little commentary of much value.

The Way Everlasting. Sermons by James Denney, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

There is a stateliness in Dr. Denney's style which befits the great themes he expounds. There is also a freshness in his treatment of familiar passages which enables his readers to see old truths in a new light. The originality is not so much in the substance of the discourses as in the choice of the

point of view or of the avenue of approach. Amongst the sermons which have made the deepest impression on our mind are those entitled respectively, 'Knowledge, not Mystery, the Basis of Religion,' 'Degrees of Reality in Revelation and Religion,' 'Wrong Roads to the Kingdom,' and 'Walking in the Light.' But the volume as a whole will repay, as it requires, careful reading.

The Enterprise of Life. By the Rev. J. R. P. Sclater, M.A. (Hodder & Stoughton. 5s. net.)

This volume contains fifty-two addresses delivered in the New North Church, Edinburgh, to 'audiences composed, for the most part, of those who stand at the beginning of the enterprise.' They are admirably fitted to arrest and hold the attention of thoughtful students. The style is direct and forceful; brief but telling literary allusions open up pleasant vistas for the mind. Mr. Sclater's book deserves, for its freshness and insight into truth and life, a place of honour amongst the sermon literature of the year.

The Mysteries of Grace. By the Rev. John Thomas, M.A. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

This volume of sermons is an evidence that the great themes of the gospel have lost naught of their attractive power. Nearly half of the subjects are christological, from 'The Glory of the Incarnation' to 'The Ascended Lord.' The remaining sermons deal with various phases of Christian experience and doctrine, as e.g. 'The Indwelling Christ,' 'The Function of Prayer,' and 'The Resurrection Body of the Believer.' Each discourse is broad based upon the teaching of Scripture; the preacher often glances at modern thought, but his chief aim is to give a positive statement of evangelical truth.

The Sermon on the Mount and Practical Politics. By A. E. Fletcher. (Griffiths. 2s. 6d. net.)

The former editor of the *Daily Chronicle* dedicates this book to the memory of his son, a promising journalist who died at the age of twenty-four. He shows how the principles of the Sermon on the Mount would transform the world, and urges that all should work 'in the direction of their realization, and thus make the present better for ourselves than the past was for our fathers, the future brighter for our children than the present can be for us.' Mr. Fletcher is a Socialist who does not believe in taking interest and is distressed by our naval and military expenditure. There is much disputable matter in the book, but it is the work of a man really in earnest, and it is well worth reading despite its extreme views. Mr. Fletcher denounces Archbishop Magee's dictum about the Sermon on the Mount, but he admits himself that our Lord 'often spoke in the language of hyperbole.'

Death and the Hereafter. Sermons preached by Harry Drew, Rector of Hawarden, 1904-1910. (H. Frowde. 2s. 6d. net.)

These sermons have been edited by Mr. Joyce, the Warden of St. Deiniol's Library, who pays a loving tribute to Mr. Drew's 'singularly winning and attractive personality.' The sermons come from a heart ruled by the love of God, and they get straight home by their reality and simple earnestness. The daily formation of character is well brought out in the sermon on 'The Valley of Decision,' and the four sermons on Death are the counsels of one who saw the happy side of that release from care and sorrow, and was himself living in readiness for the boundless life beyond. The story of Augustine forms the subject for a useful and instructive discourse. But the chief interest lies in the three memorial sermons for Archbishop Benson and Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone. Mr. Drew allowed his congregation to profit by his intimate relations with the great statesman. 'He did not parade his religion. But he never concealed it. He never used conventional phrases about sacred subjects nor unnecessarily dragged religion into ordinary talk. But it was always there. He never forgot it, and if he were challenged, out it all came in a moment.' English men and women will greatly prize these beautiful tributes to Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone.

The Sacrament of Repentance. By the Ven. James H. F. Peile. (Longmans & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

The Archdeacon of Warwick seeks 'to set forth the Christian Life, with all its activities of worship and service, as being the outward and visible sign of an inward change of heart, and of the entire surrender of the human will to Divine Love and Wisdom.' He feels that the sense of sin and the need for repentance would, if widely and deeply felt, lead on to the right solution of many of our moral and social problems. The fifty-first Psalm is expounded as the Psalm of Repentance. The first act of turning to God is to be followed by 'daily repentance, the putting away of those little sins which are not unimportant, but yet spring rather from weakness than wilfulness,' then outward act is to become the expression of the spiritual life, testing and approving its reality. It is a beautiful little devotional companion for Lent.

The Road. A Study of John Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress.' By John Kelman, D.D. (Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. 8s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Kelman is an enthusiastic student of Bunyan, and this volume of studies leads us from the beginning of the pilgrimage on to Vanity Fair. Another volume will finish the Commentary, and a third will be given to various bibliographical and literary subjects connected with Bunyan and his work. Dr. Kelman throws much light on the chief stages of the *Progress* by references to prose and poetry, and sends us back to Bunyan with fresh zest. The Wicket Gate is said to have been suggested by the old church door at Elstow, and of this a beautiful photograph is given.

There are other excellent illustrations, and the studies have a charm of their own which makes them delightful to read and think about.

Thoughts at Sunrise, being Some Meditations on Morning Mysteries. By Edward J. Brailsford. (Kelly, 1s. 6d. net.) These Meditations are steeped in morning dew and lit up with morning sunshine. They deal with character and conduct, and set the reader thinking about the high things of life. Mr. Brailsford sees how much a due observance of the great Christian festivals might do to disperse the weariness and disappointment that one traces on the faces of many who use them as mere holidays. He pleads for the self-denial which makes time for early communion with Nature and for morning prayer. He talks to us about morning praise and God's angels who rouse us from slumber at great moments in our personal experience. All is so fresh and so stimulating that we can scarcely think of any clouds that such a message will not scatter. The book can be slipped into a little pocket, and it will brighten life for every one who gets into its company.

Dr. Hastings' two new volumes on *The Great Tests of the Bible* (T. & T. Clark, 10s. per vol., subscription price 6s. net) are Deuteronomy and Esther, and Romans (completion). There is everything here to help a preacher. He is guided to books that bear on his special subject, and will find a wealth of expository matters and illustrations from history and poetry that will enrich his own sermons. There is nothing stereotyped or formal, but fresh and stimulating passages that he can use at his discretion. Its appeal is chiefly to the preacher, but the work has great attractions also for the devotional reader of the Bible.

Life's Christ Places. By Joseph Agnew. (T. & T. Clark, 8s. 6d. net.) The successive scenes in Christ's life are felicitously described and the lessons which they teach for the lives of His disciples are well brought out. Mr. Agnew reverently acknowledges the transcendent uniqueness of our Lord, but he sees that in many ways 'the Christ and His own are one,' and he uses this to light up the Christian's pathway. It is a fresh and suggestive book.

The Cambridge Press send us *The Holy Bible, Revised Version*, now for the first time divided into verses, with marks to indicate the reviser's paragraphs. It is a 16mo volume, Brevier type, and measures 7 x 5 inches. The prices are 2s. 6d. net in cloth, 4s. net in French, limp, round covers, red under gilt edges. It makes a very handy and attractive volume.

Christ's Message of the Kingdom (T. & T. Clark, 1s. 6d. net) is a fifteen weeks' course of daily study for private students and Bible circles. It is a novel plan, and it is worked out in a way that gives new meaning to our Lord's teaching. We can strongly recommend the book.

A Course of Meditations for Holy Week. (S.P.C.K.) These meditations were found among Bishop King's pamphlets, and were probably notes taken down from Dr. Liddon's addresses. They are brief aids to devotion for which many will be grateful.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M. Sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. Enlarged from original MSS., with notes from unpublished Diaries, Annotations, Maps and Illustrations. Edited by Nehemiah Curnock, assisted by Experts. Vol. III. (C. H. Kelly. 10s. 6d. net.)

EACH volume as it appears deepens the impression that this is fitly named the 'Standard Edition' of *Wesley's Journal*. It has already thrown a flood of light on his early life, and has shown him more human and more full of all kindly sensibilities than most Englishmen had dreamed. In this part of his Journal he enters on his wider parish by the memorable visit to the north of England in 1742. By the aid of two illustrations the scene of his churchyard services at Epworth is brought before us, and we seem to catch the spirit of that memorable week's mission. Mr. Curnock says, 'In the present volume Wesley appears as preacher, writer, controversialist, educator. He preaches, often every day of the week, morning, noon and night, wherever a crowd can gather or his voice can be heard. His printers are never idle, nor are his literary foes.' He is now fully launched on his work as the Evangelist of England, and his *Journal* begins to be 'the most amazing record of human exertion ever penned by man.' A quotation is given from the fine chapter on 'The Age of Walpole and the Pelhams' in *The Cambridge Modern History*. Mr. Temperly's verdict as to the 'universality of influence and range of achievement' of Wesley and 'the religious revival to which he gave his name and his life' does not appear exaggerated as we study this volume. Among its outstanding incidents are the 'passing' of Wesley's mother shortly after her son's visit to Epworth, which was the harvest of her own and her husband's painful and protracted seed-time. The pitiful story of the wreck of Wesley's hopes as to a marriage with Grace Murray is here also. Three full-page facsimiles of the record from the British Museum MS. and a very full note put the whole matter in its true setting and significance. Another note of peculiar interest describes Wesley's marriage to Mrs. Vazeille. Good use is here made of Charles Wesley's *Journal*. The notes to this volume are of necessity briefer than those in Volumes I and II, but they supply not only the information that an intelligent reader asks for, but indicate sources to which a student can turn for ampler detail. The printing and get-up of the work leave nothing to desire. The type is clear and stands out well on the rough paper; the volume is light and easy to handle though it contains 560 pages. The illustrations are a real commentary to the text. Besides those mentioned we are shown the scenes of the most memorable events of the period; and can study lists of 'Bands' and 'Penitents' in the London Society in 1745. Two pages of a letter to Wesley from Miss

Anne Granville, Mrs. Delany's sister, are given, with other matters of special interest. The 'Standard Edition' is now half finished, and it is evident that every public library will need to place it on its shelves. It will be a source of growing delight to every one who can secure a copy for himself, and he will understand what Edward FitzGerald meant when he spoke of the *Journal* as 'one of the most interesting books in the language; well worth reading and having, not only as an outline of Wealey's own singular character, but of the conditions of England, Ireland and Scotland in the eighteenth century.'

A History of Creeds and Confessions of Faith in Christendom and beyond. With historical tables. By William A. Curtis, D.Lit. (T. & T. Clark. 10s. 6d. net.)

Prof. Curtis wrote the article on 'Confession' in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, and has now expanded it into this volume of more than 500 pages. The book is in itself an encyclopaedia of all the creeds and confessions, prefaced by a chapter on creeds and confessions in general. They imply that the period of ignorance and doubt is passed, and that conviction has at last been reached. 'Every religion, however crude or primitive, has enshrined a creed, and in some fashion has given voice to a confession of the faith by which it lived.' The earliest confessions were avowals of faith in a Person. This leads Prof. Curtis to his survey first beyond the pale of Judaism and Christianity, then in Hebrew religion, in the New Testament and in the successive ages of Christendom. A general account of more than a hundred and fifty confessional documents is given. In the closing chapters the significance and rationale of creeds and confessions are discussed, with the problems presented by their retention and revision, and the ethics of subscription. Dr. Curtis's closing pages discuss the ideal Creed, which would rally our shattered ranks and heal the hurt of Christ's Church. His heart goes out increasingly to the forms of the New Testament and to the simplicities of the Apostolic Age, where the Christian spirit still finds its greenest pastures and its stillest waters. Grave as are some of the points of difference between the churches, it will be difficult to refuse admission to the kingdom of heaven to any who can unreservedly profess 'Thou art the Christ, Son of the Living God,' or 'Thou knowest that I love Thee.' The book claims a place in every preacher's library, and will be studied with growing interest and appreciation.

Primitive Christianity: its Writings and Teachings in their Historical Connexions. By Otto Pfeiderer, D.D. Vol. IV. (Williams & Norgate. 10s. 6d. net.)

With the publication of this volume Dr. Pfeiderer's important work is completed. It deals with 'Doctrinal and Hortatory Writings of the Church,' including the Johannine writings, Catholic writings, and early Apologetic writings. Dr. Pfeiderer holds that the historical background of the Fourth Gospel is 'constructed, not so much from reminiscences of the life of Jesus, as from experiences in the life of the second century.' But, in

our judgement, the historicity of some of the narratives is arbitrarily denied; it is a prejudice against the miraculous that leads to the assumption of allegorising. There is, however, much instruction to be gained from the investigations of this able critic, if his bias against the supernatural be taken into account. The literature of the post-Apostolic age has been studied at first-hand, and on many questions Dr. Pfeiderer casts light. For example, the attitudes of the Apologists to ethnic religions and to Judaism is described at length. The conclusion reached is that 'the Christian Church had a positive absolute end in life, such as was foreign to the whole of the ancient world.' The 'optimistic idealism' of the early Christians is fully appreciated, but its impulse and energy are accounted for by 'its faith in God the Father and love to the brethren,' without any mention of the constraining power of the love of Christ.

Evangelical Christianity: Its History and Witness. Edited by W. B. Selbie, M.A., D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

These lectures were delivered at Mansfield College, and many will find guidance and help from them in their study of church organization. Dr. Bartlet's Introductory Lecture on 'The Protestant Idea of Church and Ministry as rooted in Early Christianity' begins with Christ's teaching in Matt. xvi. New Testament ministry was at first charismatic, but in time prophetic or inspired spontaneity tended to play a smaller part in ordinary Church worship. His review leads to the conclusion that the traditional claim put forward for 'the historic episcopate' is truly astounding in the presence of like powers flowing through the workers of other communions. Dr. A. J. Carlyle states the case for the Church of England from the Evangelical side. He thinks the revived and growing sense of the supreme significance of the religious experience in the human soul 'will bring Christian men in this country together, as indeed it is doing already.' To him the Methodist and Evangelical revival 'marks the beginnings of a movement whose greater effects we are only just beginning to see.' Dr. Oman's lecture on 'the Presbyterian Churches' will repay careful reading, and Dr. Powicke puts the view of 'The Congregational Churches' forcibly. He says 'Methodism more than once has restored their soul, kindled afresh their sense of a living spirit, brought them back to faith in the inner witness of experience.' Dr. N. H. Marshall holds that 'the centre of gravity of the Baptists' conception of the gospel and the Church was not, and is not, baptism, but conversion.' After their age of persecution the Baptist Churches were in danger of heresy, but 'won through this time of testing with the help of that great spiritual revival associated with the Wealeys. No sooner had this quickening swept through the land than the Baptists saw in a new blaze of glory their own peculiar faith.' They recognized the duty of the Church to carry the gospel to all the world and became 'the pioneers in this missionary movement.' We think here, also, they owed much to Methodism, and especially to Dr. Coke's example. Mr. Grubb's account of 'The Society of Friends' is admirable. It is critical as well as historical. The lamentable shrinkage of the Society from the

opening of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century he attributes to the almost entire failure to recognize the necessity of religious teaching. We should add the neglect of the Bible and the notion of birth-right membership. Prof. Peake's lecture on 'The Methodist Churches' is very clear and useful. He has enjoyed the expert counsel of Dr. Simon, and writes with much fairness as to the movements which gave rise to the Primitive Methodist and Bible Christian Churches. The lecture may be strongly commended to members of other Churches who wish to have a compact view of Methodist doctrine and discipline. That is the special value of this book. The various Evangelical Churches may see each other as they are seen by their own adherents, and many a prejudice and misunderstanding will vanish through a candid perusal of these pages.

The Abbot's House at Westminster. By J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Dean of Wells. (Cambridge University Press. 5s. net.)

This is the fourth of the 'Notes and Documents relating to Westminster Abbey.' No English monastery has retained so much of its ancient buildings intact. When the monks left, the Refectory and the Infirmary Chapel were stripped of their lead and were soon cleared away, the kitchen and Misericorde survived only a little longer. Almost everything else lent itself to practical uses. The Dean had set himself to show how the monastic buildings lay, and has drawn a plan for which future investigators will owe him special thanks. The Abbot's House has largely escaped the ravages of time, and the documents here transcribed not only help us to see the builders and their work, but bring the story down to the days of Dean Atterbury and Dean Wilcocks. Abbot Litlington, who died in 1386, built anew from the foundations the whole of the Abbot's place next the church, the western and southern sides of the cloister and other buildings. His stately mansion seems to have remained unaltered for the next century. John Islip, abbot from 1500 to 1582, built a set of chambers two stories high on the north side of the churchyard. These operations are traced in the illustrative documents and notes. Richard II asks some unnamed correspondent to give the Abbot six oaks from his wood for the beams of the new hall. The Abbot had his private chapel, which was probably an upper chamber between the south-west tower and the first buttress of the nave, with a wooden oriel looking into the church. An immense amount of research is represented by this volume, for which every student will feel himself under a new debt to Dean Robinson.

The Seymour Family. History and Romance. By A. Audrey Locke. (Constable & Co. 6s. net.)

The Cavendish Family. By Francis Bickley. (Constable & Co. 6s. net.)

These are volumes that light up both the highways and byways of English history. They are well illustrated. From the first Queen Jane Seymour

looks down upon us in her stately dress, while the second has portraits of the famous Whig Queen, Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, and Spencer Compton, the late Duke. Both books are brightly written, full of domestic and social details which throw light on the life of the last five centuries. These men and women played leading parts in English history, and we seem to get into more intimate touch with events as we turn the pages which describe their loves and ambitions. The story of Jane Seymour is not altogether pleasant. The birth of her son anchored the affection of Henry, though there were ominous signs that they had begun to rove before that auspicious event. The later history is of special interest in connexion with Hertford House and the famous Wallace Collection. The Cavendish family owed much to its marriages. Bess of Hardwick makes a profound impression on a reader of these pages. 'She had the virtue, commoner in her day than in ours, of knowing what she wanted; and she had the skill to get it. Beautiful and witty as she undoubtedly was, she must have lacked many graces; but she was a great financier and a great general, and the foundress of a great house.' A nobler woman was Christian Bruce, who married Bess of Hardwick's second son and skilfully nursed the fortunes of the house when she was left a widow at the age of thirty. The judges of England decided many a suit in her favour and called her 'a mirror of a woman.' Georgiana and her memorable victory for Fox in the Westminster election is one of the striking figures of her century, and Mr. Bickley makes the whole exciting contest live again. The men of the house are not less skilfully painted, down to the seventh and eighth dukes. In these chapters we pick up many links in political history that have dropped out of sight, and understand how much England owes to men who served her with such fearless and enlightened patriotism. We can promise all who read these books no small delight, and a sensible increase of knowledge as to our political and social history.

Tennyson and his Friends. Edited by Hallam, Lord Tennyson. (Macmillan & Co. 10s. net.)

This is a volume that lovers of Tennyson will be eager to set by the side of the *Memoir*. Some of it is already familiar to students. Dr. John Brown's sketch of Arthur Henry Hallam is reprinted from his *Horae Subsecivae*, other papers have appeared in books and reviews, but it is a pleasure to find these scattered treasures gathered together into a single volume. It is a book of memories. The poet seems to be enshrined in it through the loving enthusiasm of friends and worshippers, young and old. We see what they thought of him and his poetry; we are admitted into a happy intimacy which increases our respect and affection for the fine old poet. Nothing could be more delightful than Mr. Arthur Coleridge's 'Fragmentary Notes of Tennyson's Talk.' The poet told him of an American curate who felt constrained to read 'The Charge of the Light Brigade' one Sunday instead of his sermon. An old Balalaeva man was in the congregation and was thus led to give up a bad, reckless life. It was

a complete reformation. Tennyson said, 'My poem was never meant to convey any spiritual lesson, but the very curious fact of the chance soldier and the parson's sudden resolution has often set me thinking.' Mr. Wood's sketch of Tennyson's friendship with her father, Dean Bradley, is very beautiful, and so is Mrs. Louisa E. Ward's account of the long intimacy between the poet and her father, Sir John Simeon. Mr. Wilfred Ward writes about the strange attachment between the Laureate and W. G. Ward, who was 'almost barbarously indifferent to poetry.' The Master of Trinity and Mrs. Butler were Tennyson enthusiasts, and their Recollections show him both as man and scholar in a very attractive light. The tutor of the Tennyson boys, Mr. H. G. Dakyns, allows us to see how charming the master was in his own home, and Sir James Knowles tells the story of the building of Aldworth and the way that he waked his guest to watch the sun rise. Bishop Boyd-Carpenter touches on religious questions. Tennyson said to him: 'It is hard to believe in God; but it is harder not to believe. I believe in God, not from what I see in Nature, but from what I find in Man.' Tennyson's poems on his friends are included in the volume. It is no small stroke of good fortune which adds such treasure to the Tennyson poetry and the great *Memoir*.

Albrecht Dürer: His Life and a selection of his Works, with explanatory comments. By Dr. Friedrich Nüchter. Translated from the German by Lucy D. Williams. With fifty-three plates and one coloured print. (Macmillan & Co. 6s. net.)

Sir Martin Conway says in his Introduction that Dürer 'comes down to us in the intellectual company of such artists as Leonardo da Vinci—men of great minds, great intelligences, men interested in all the world and all the forces active therein.' He made a deep impression on those with whom he came in contact, and had a passionate curiosity which led him to study everything about him. Dr. Nüchter gives some interesting passages from Dürer's diary which describe his parents and his travels over Italy and Germany. His mother brought up her eighteen children with great care. Her chief anxiety was lest her boys should run into sin, and as Albrecht went in or out her saying always was, 'Go in the name of Christ.' The artist's training is described in a very pleasant way, and Dr. Nüchter's comments on the works add much to the zest with which one studies them. The artist told Melanchthon that pictures just finished satisfied him, but when he came to look at them afterwards he felt ashamed. Those on which he had bestowed the greatest care displeased him so much at the end of three years that he could scarcely look at them without great pain. His Passion pictures show how deeply the crucifixion of Jesus stirred his heart. He 'always considered the portrayal of the Saviour the noblest subject which could engage the painter's art.' The reproductions in this volume are of singular beauty, and the work will be opened with constant delight by every lover of this devout and nobly-gifted artist.

Notes on the Art of Rembrandt. By C. J. Holmes, M.A.
With forty-five plates. (Chatto & Windus. 7s. 6d. net.)

The Director of the National Portrait Gallery chose Rembrandt as the subject for his Slade Lectures at Oxford, and a study of the superb prints in the British Museum seemed to reveal to him the development of the master's powers from youth to old age. Rembrandt at an early age parted company with the traditions of the Dutch painters, and began that process of self-training which led to his assured mastery of his art. Almost all of his etchings, which Mr. Holmes particularly admires, were executed after Rembrandt's forty-fifth year. He was a student to the end of his life. 'The Night Watch' was his undoing. That masterpiece, with its figures surrounded by shadows, displeased both sitters and critics, and contributed to the ruin and bankruptcy of a few years later. 'So long as he conformed outwardly to the pictorial fashion of Holland he had been esteemed as one of the greatest of Dutch artists; no sooner did he rebel against it than he fell instantly from favour, and was relegated to an obscurity from which only the reputation he gained elsewhere in the course of two hundred and fifty years has slowly redeemed him.' Rembrandt sacrificed the customary adornments to reveal the soul. His art is concerned with the deeper traits of human character. Mr. Holmes thinks that, had he never lived, 'the association of God with toil-stained, inglorious man would have lost the single interpreter whom our age of reason does not in its heart disavow.' The way in which he built up his knowledge of the human figure and the mastery of design makes an illuminating study, not merely for artists, but for all lovers of art. The comparison between Rembrandt and Van Dyck, the great society painter of his time, and Titian the supreme colourist, is masterly. Rembrandt as a chiaroscuroist has no rival, but Mr. Holmes thinks that the world of colour 'has already yielded such random jewels of delight as to make us feel that it may be there at the last that the art of mankind will unearth its crowning treasure.' We strongly advise every lover of pictures to read this fascinating volume.

The Life of George Borrow. By Herbert Jenkins. (John Murray. 10s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Knapp had not access to Borrow's correspondence with the Bible Society when he wrote his valuable biography, but he stirred up the authorities to make the prolonged search which led to the discovery of the famous letters. Mr. Jenkins has been able to avail himself of this material, and has produced a biography which every Borrowian will hail with delight. There is not a dull paragraph in it, and we are grateful for the fine photogravure portrait of Borrow and twelve other illustrations. It is a wonderful story. Borrow's youth gave little promise of such service as he was to render to the Bible Society. He was long in finding his sphere, and his oft-repeated threat of suicide showed how bitter his experiences were. The seven years, 1825-33, are the 'Veiled Period' of Borrow's life, and he was always singularly reticent as to this time of mystery and misfortune. Mr.

Jenkins is able to gather some vague notion of his wanderings from a hint here and there, but the veil scarcely lifts. It was Francis Cunningham, vicar of Lowestoft and husband of Richenda Gurney, who introduced Borrow to the Bible Society 'as one who has read the Bible in thirteen languages.' He was delighted with the result, and some years later described Borrow at local Bible meetings 'as one of the most extraordinary and interesting individuals of the present day.' Borrow showed himself very amenable to guidance from head quarters, and did notable service to the Society in Russia, and still more in Spain. We now know that *The Bible in Spain* is a true record of a wonderful mission. Borrow thought of seeking ordination, and showed much zeal in his propaganda. Unfortunately he did not approve of the impetuous methods of Lieutenant Graydon of the Royal Navy, a volunteer worker in Spain, who had been associated with Dr. Rule at Gibraltar in 1885. Graydon was regarded at Earl Street as 'the ideal reformer, rushing precipitately towards martyrdom, exposing Anti-Christ as he ran.' Borrow, on the contrary, did not hesitate to describe him as the evil genius of the Society's cause in Spain. This inevitably led to some misunderstanding between Borrow and the Bible House, and his career as its agent now came to a close. His marriage with Mrs. Clarke gave him a happy home, and his *Bible in Spain* had extraordinary success. Mr. Jenkins does not fail to bring out the eccentricities of the man. His unpardonable rudeness made him enemies by the dozen, but there was a sweet side to his nature, and he was greatly beloved by his own fireside and among his friends. In this biography the whole man is revealed, and the picture is one of the most arresting in the portrait-gallery of the nineteenth century. On p. 469 Fen Ponds should be Pen Ponds.

Letters of George Borrow to the British and Foreign Bible Society. Edited by T. H. Darlow. (Hodder & Stoughton. 7s. 6d. net.)

These letters could not be found when Dr. Knapp was preparing his *Life of Borrow*, but a later search by the Rev. Gordon Watt led to their discovery in the crypt of the Bible House. Mr. Watt began to edit them, and after his death Mr. Darlow was asked by the Bible Society to finish the work. He has done it in a way to earn the gratitude of all who are interested in the most astonishing correspondent that any Missionary Society ever possessed. About one-third of this volume was utilized by Borrow in preparing his *Bible in Spain*. His letters were lent him by the Society for that purpose, and perhaps 'no other publication has done so much to make the Bible Society known among multitudes of persons who have no particular sympathy with its object.' *The Bible in Spain* has been regarded by some critics as a piece of picturesque imagination, but its truth to life is made abundantly clear by these letters and reports. We see also what a capable man of business Borrow was, and how much his heart was in his mission. The letters describe his work in St. Petersburg, and his wanderings through the Peninsula, where he was thrown into prison and had many stirring adventures. He was absolutely fearless, and expressed

his willingness 'to visit every part of Spain, and to risk my life a thousand times in laying God's Word before the people.' The relations between the Society and its famous agent do honour to both, and this book will be a lasting memorial of a notable mission. There are some thrilling incidents in the letters, and the facsimile letter shows how clearly he wrote. Mr. Darlow has printed the documents in *extenso*, and supplied valuable notes.

Off the Beaten Track in Sussex. Sketches Literary and Artistic. By Arthur Stanley Cooke. With 160 illustrations by Sussex artists. (Hove : Cambridge. 7s. 6d. net.)

Sussex is one of the most attractive counties in England, with bolder scenery than Kent or even Surrey, and with the glorious downs which are its peculiar heritage. Mr. Cooke leads us into many quiet corners and helps us to feel their charm. He has much to say of Bosham, where artists are tempted to linger for months, and those with antiquarian tastes delight to study the church, which is almost an epitome of English history. Saxon 'long and short work' may be seen in the tower arch, and the Saxon walls are pierced with handsome early English arches. There are six piscine, and the font is a fine example of late Norman. Mr. Cooke does justice to the Roman Villa at Bignor, which covered 650 feet by 850. In some half-dozen of its rooms coloured mosaic pavements were found, more or less complete. There is little doubt that this was the residence of the *propraetor*. Open fireplaces and hearths are found here in addition to the classic hypocaust and furnace. Mr. Cooke keeps to the rural scenes, and describes a charming ramble over the Downs from Brighton to Lewes, with a glimpse of the Saxon church at Ovingdean. The illustrations are beautifully executed, and well chosen to bring out picturesque scenes of the county. The bridges and churches are specially well done, and there are a few windmills that attract us. The book is arranged in two parts, giving the routes west and east of Brighton. There is not much that misses Mr. Cooke's notice, and he tells his story with an easy mastery of his resources which makes this a very pleasant volume for a leisure hour. Every lover of rural England will be grateful for such a guide.

Chambers's Biographical Dictionary. The Great of all Times and Nations. Edited by David Patrick, LL.D. and F. H. Groome. (W. & R. Chambers. 10s. 6d.)

More than ten thousand brief biographies are packed into this volume. It contains as much matter as three volumes of the *Dictionary of National Biography* and gives useful references to books where fuller information may be found. One useful feature is the pronunciation of difficult names. The living as well as the dead are included, and the work is a marvel of condensation and of exact information. The column on John Wesley is admirable. The brief biographies of Edward VII and George V are well done. The Index of Pseudonyms will be of great service. This is certainly a Dictionary that every one ought to have in constant use.

GENERAL

A Critical Exposition of Bergson's Philosophy. By J. M'Kellar Stewart, Ph.D. (Macmillan & Co. 5s. net.)

THE interest in Bergson just now has already prompted one critical exposition of his philosophy in English, and Dr. Stewart here furnishes another. We think he was well advised to do so, and doubt whether a student could find a better guide in an attempt to place and estimate the French philosopher of the hour than the volume before us. Bergson is, of course, his own best interpreter. All French writers are lucid, he is pellucid and brilliant into the bargain. But the very qualities which make Bergson's treatises pleasant to read, especially his power of eloquent illustration, may prevent a reader from being quite sure of his exact philosophical position, and many who have understood the outlines of his doctrine will be unable to mark his place in the history of philosophy.

Dr. M'Kellar Stewart, as a friendly critic, helps in both these directions. In an introduction he describes what Bergson's 'intuitive method' means, and how it stands related to other methods of inquiry. The body of the book is divided into two parts, expository and critical, the former dealing with the intuition of 'pure duration in the life of the self,' and of the 'Cosmical *Élan*,' the latter pointing out what the writer considers to be the assumptions, or confusions, or limitations of Bergson's views in detail. The volume closes with a useful 'Estimate of the Value of the Intuitive Method.'

There can be no doubt, we think, as to the timeliness and stimulative effect of Bergson's teaching. He expresses the spirit of his age in the protest he makes against a mechanical, or an abstractly intellectual, explanation of reality. His 'Vitalism' or 'Activism' does good service in reminding us that 'conceptions' do not adequately represent, or account for, life. He shows clearly enough how physico-chemical knowledge of life needs to be supplemented by 'a second kind of knowledge which would retain what physics allow to escape,' how necessary it is to 'transport oneself by an effort of sympathy to the interior of that which becomes,' in order to follow the flux of existence in its movement, and to understand the life of the spirit.

But he does not make clear the nature of the intuitions thus gained by 'sympathy,' and especially their relation to the intelligence. The difference would seem, according to Bergson, to be one, not of degree, but of kind, and this involves an inexplicable dualism. Dr. M'Kellar Stewart puts his finger very acutely upon this and one or two other weak points of the Bergsonian philosophy. He gives also, as we think, a fairer account of Bergson's relation to teleology than Mr. Balfour did in a recent criticism. It is not purpose as such that Bergson would exclude from evolution, but the teleological element, as of a scheme cut and dried, mere mechanism inverted.

It is impossible, however, in a brief notice to discuss deep questions of this kind. Our task is the pleasant one of saying that we have found Dr. Stewart's *Critical Exposition* to answer well to its title, both the exposition and criticism being clear, sound and well-sustained. The book is just what the average student of Bergson desiderates.

Charles Darwin and Other English Thinkers. By S. Parkes Cadman, D.D. (New York: The Pilgrim Press. \$1.25 net.)

Dr. Cadman of Brooklyn is known and appreciated in this country as an eloquent preacher and a very successful American pastor. He was trained in English and American Methodism, and now has one of the largest and most influential Congregational churches in the United States. As far as we know, he has not hitherto published his sermons or addresses, but a hearty welcome will be given to the series of lectures here issued, originally delivered in Brooklyn before the Institute of Arts and Sciences in 1910. There are seven lectures in all, dealing with five leading thinkers of the nineteenth century—Darwin, Huxley, Mill, Martineau and M. Arnold. The latter two engage the author's attention more deeply, and to each of them two lectures are allowed, but the space given in every case is well used, and a fairly proportioned picture drawn upon the size of canvas employed.

The main object of the lecturer we take to have been to present a sympathetic exposition of the thoughts of leading writers in science and literature, in order to make a bridge between them and believers in evangelical Christianity. Beyond all question, Darwin and Huxley and Mill, M. Arnold and Martineau, have deeply influenced the thought of the later nineteenth and opening twentieth centuries. How are their leading ideas related to the fundamental views of the world and life which characterize intelligent Christianity to-day? Is there an unbridgeable gulf between them? Dr. Cadman, as a student of literature as well as a Christian pastor, holds that there is not, and his lectures show the harmony underlying some important obvious differences.

This main object is not, however, obtruded upon the reader. Dr. Cadman speaks as an interpreter of certain leading English thinkers, and he is not in the first instance didactic. But he expounds his themes with so much intelligent sympathy that hearers and readers are likely to carry away the general impression above described. The lectures themselves are excellent. Clear in style, strong in grasp, kindly in spirit, they present in brief compass the leading characteristics of the eminent men portrayed. Readers will not expect a minute examination into Darwin's exact position in the history of evolutionary theory, or a discussion of the precise doctrinal significance of Martineau's theism, but they will find what is for most readers much more useful, a clear, genial, trustworthy description of the man and his position in the world of thought. When the lectures were delivered, they must have been very interesting to listen to, but the style is so well sustained that it makes the book pleasant also to read.

Dr. Cadman wisely eschews the 'purple patches' sometimes supposed to be characteristic of American orators, but if eloquence consists in saying good things well, so as to make people listen, he thoroughly deserves the high reputation for eloquence which he has gained on both sides of the water.

The Future of England. By the Hon. George Peel.
(Macmillan & Co. 6s. net.)

Mr. Peel has set himself to give an account of the inward forces determining the future of England, and to indicate the result. He thinks that the greatness of this country cannot be ascribed to her wealth, her religion or her armaments, but is due to her organization of modern freedom and modern industry. 'She claimed for the individual such security against his kindred, man, and such power over his parent, Nature, as he had never yet known.' After two stimulating chapters on the Rise and the Principles of England, Mr. Peel discusses 'The Present Issue.' Our industrial system, apart from certain curable weaknesses, he holds to be capable of satisfying the people. With certain amendments it will reach the highest excellence, and have a long and goodly future. That is certainly a hopeful note to strike amid our labour conflicts, and it seems to be justified. Mr. Peel then proceeds to consider our industrial, domestic, international and Oriental future. In the industrial world our most practical men are busy creating a structure of mutual understanding, of conciliation, of arbitration, and of industrial practice wherein we shall one day excel the world. Success here will liberate 'a commercial energy calculated to confound our rivals and to amaze the world.' The most urgent domestic problem we have to face is the weakness of the family, but here also the nation is bestirring itself and better days are at hand. As to the international future, England cannot hold aloof from Europe. We are trying to lay the foundations of a true federation of Christendom, and 'providing overseas conduits and safety-valves for the superheated passions of the Occident; large spaces, too, where the ichor of Western animosities may evaporate under a torrid sun.' If Europe clings to force as a beatitude, 'England will turn away for ever to those young nations of hers that are becoming ancient, and to those old nations of the East that are becoming young.' 'Our Oriental future' is discussed in a way that will appeal to every student of missions. Up to 1881 our Government treated Christianity worse than they treated the vilest of creeds. Mr. Peel thinks that 'at no date within the range of present consideration, will Christianity win India as a whole.' That strikes us as a somewhat gloomy conclusion, but Mr. Peel holds that India must be led to co-operate with England and to 'ascend into the higher plains of imperial statesmanship, and into the healthful air of freedom, where she and ourselves can grow great together in a never-ending partnership.'

Three great evils darken and oppress civilization. Labour is at odds with life, national animosities disgrace Christendom, and there is a wide estrangement between the white, the black, the brown and the yellow

ances. The Future of England is really to lead the world in combating and conquering these evils, which must be remedied if society is not to go down before them. This is a stimulating and encouraging book.

Problems of Boy Life. Edited by J. H. Whitehouse, M.P.
(King & Son. 10s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Percival dwells, in a brief Introduction to this volume, on the way in which the public conscience has been stirred to the dangers involved in the overcrowded and squalid life of the working multitudes in our great cities. Nothing needs more attention than boy labour. 'Blind-alley occupations' have no educative influence, and the boy leaves them on the threshold of manhood worse off than on the day he left school. 'He is physically, morally and mentally, at a lower level. He has lost the little learning that he had. He has been subject to no discipline. He is thrown on the industrial scrap-heap deteriorated in every way. The problem is here discussed by those who have been brought into close touch with working lads. More than 200,000 boys pass out of the Elementary Schools every year, and Mr. Gibb gives many significant details as to the employments on which they enter. Reform is to be sought by cutting off the easy supply of boys ready to engage upon any casual work. The programme of the Elementary School is criticized as too ambitious and too wide. It needs to be brought into close touch with practical life. The boys should be kept at school till they are fourteen, and their first steps into the working world should be guided and controlled. Their work in factories is carefully surveyed, and some valuable reforms are indicated. There are chapters on The Boy Criminal, The Station Lounger, Street Trading by Children, lessons are drawn from Dr. Kerschensteiner's work at Munich as Director of Education, and many other aspects of the problem are discussed with knowledge and sympathy. Each chapter is full of suggestion. Mr. Paton's 'Cross-Fertilization in Schools' is a warning against in-breeding, and a plea for that larger outlook which comes from intermixture of different social classes. The book is timely, and no one can fail to be impressed by the facts here brought out. It ought to bear good fruit in many ways.

In Patria. An Exposition of Dante's Paradiso. By John S. Carroll, M.A., D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 10s. 6d. net.)

By the completion of this book Dr. Carroll has put the top-stone on a really great achievement. It has cost him many years of loving and patient study, but the result is a work of real distinction and power. It is full of illumination and delight. By it he has ranged himself among the foremost Dantists of our time, he has made a permanent contribution to the interpretation of a great and difficult part of the *Divine Comedy*, and has put into the hand of every student of the poem a sure lamp to guide him

through its many perplexities and difficulties. Many will offer silent gratitude for a book so inspiring, so full of guidance, so sure and safe. The book is just what it professes to be—an exposition: not simply another translation with notes, but a continuous exposition of the poet's thought, with interpretations, of striking and suggestive clearness, of the symbols, allusions, difficulties of the poem. Dr. Carroll, too, has a profound knowledge of the theology which is latent everywhere in the *Paradiso*, more so, of course, than in any other part of the poem, and this he interprets with great clearness and sympathy. This is just one of those few books which bring out the real inwardness of a great piece of literature, and lay bare its farthest secret; and it does it in such a way as that it is made intelligible not simply to the student, but to any reader who reads with patience and thought and care. The author's two previous studies have placed every lover of Dante under a great debt of obligation to him, this third will greatly deepen the obligation, and win for the beautiful work of his hero an ascendancy and power which must always be for refinement, guidance, and welfare.

Christ on Parnassus. Lectures on Art, Ethic, and Theology.
By Peter Taylor Forsyth, M.A., D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 10s. 6d. net.)

We have never found Dr. Forsyth easy reading, and this book is in no way exceptional in this matter. It represents profound thought upon a great theme, and it has to be read when the mind is alert, and even then to be carefully pondered, if it is to yield its suggestive and revealing meaning. The writer, as every student knows, is a profound believer in the sovereign ascendancy of the Christian Spirit, that it is to lay its hand upon every aspect of man's manifold life, to mould it into its own character and to lift it into its own beauty and power. To vindicate this faith he has taken 'a great social product,'—art, and traced, in a series of very fascinating lectures, the subtle relations which everywhere exist between it and religion. In this Dr. Forsyth is not breaking up new ground—five-and-twenty years ago the present writer studied one of the finest collection of modern pictures ever made in England, under his illuminating guidance—but is expounding matters to which he has given constant and deep thought and sensitive appreciation and sympathy. The first part of the book is largely indebted to Hegel's *Aesthetik*—'the finest of all his works': the later part is more independent. Quite obviously the book covers a large field of study and interest, and has to do with matters which are not only interesting, but which are vital to the Christian Religion; but everywhere there is apparent a mind of wide and sure grasp, with ample knowledge and real sympathy, with a capacity to see real significances and to interpret them. The book will repay the most careful study, it will light up places that to very many have been shadowed, and will enlarge and enrich those interests which do so much to increase the joy of all thoughtful men.

***One of the Multitude.* By George Acorn. With Introduction by Arthur C. Benson. (Heinemann. 6s.)**

This is the story of a London lad, brought up in one room in a low street and a stranger to anything like family affection, who has raised himself to a creditable position as a skilled cabinet-maker, made a happy home, and over and above all is conscious of the abiding presence of God. Mr. Benson assures us in his Introduction that 'the book is a piece of the authentic stuff of life.' To him it is 'wonderful and infinitely encouraging that a boy brought up in these conditions, or rather struggling up like a flower in a tangle of weeds, can yet preserve and maintain a real and deep innocence and purity of heart.' The boy was often awakened in the dead of night by his parents who were 'fighting without quarter or mercy.' He never remembered the time when the pawnshop was not the usual resort for cash. A love of reading and a humble little chapel were his salvation. He got visions of better things, and began to climb the ladder. Despite many a set-back he kept climbing, and when at last he mastered his trade and ventured to get a lodging for himself, he shook off the incubus of his home and found new joy in living. He made friends with a girl of kindred spirit who attended the same chapel, and home is now to him the dearest spot on earth. The story is told in a way that enlists a reader's sympathy, and helps him to realize what a fight this youth had to rise above his surroundings. It is a marvel how he did it, and we are grateful to him for taking us into his confidence.

***The Bargain Book.* By Charles Edward Jerningham and Lewis Bettany. (Chatto & Windus. 7s. 6d. net.)**

This handsome volume, with nine plates and nine tabular charts, is a storehouse of good things. The whole range of the subject is covered by chapters on collecting, bargains, the ignorance of dealers and collectors, finds, thefts in the art world, tricks of dealers and collectors, &c. We are glad to notice not a few instances of scrupulous honour in dealing with ignorant clients, but there is much that shows how wary the owner of curios has to be if he would not be robbed of his treasures. We were inclined to think that 'the well-known sportsman' was exaggerating when he said that guests in his house asked what he would take for some picture or suite of furniture; but the later pages supply abundant confirmation of the letter. It is not easy to do justice to the surprises of this volume. The Phillpotts Porch in Truro Cathedral was built out of the proceeds of Romney's Lady Hamilton as 'The Comic Muse.' The Canon bought it for £80, sold it for £8,000, and gave half the money to build the porch which bears his name. Another clergyman was offered a Hopner for £10, but told his friend 'I am an honest man, and I am not going to rob you. Take my advice, sell the picture at auction.' He did so, and it was bought for £14,000. A Jacobite portrait glass was recently found in a Norfolk cottage by the landlord, who advised the owner not to sell it till he could get the market price, which was not less than £100. Treasures

are still to be found, and the Caledonian market, with its 'pitches,' has become quite a fashionable resort on Fridays. The curio-hunter is full of resource. One London dealer bought a house to secure a pair of Louis Seize vases which he had perceived on the drawing-room chimney-piece, and the vases not only paid for the house, but left a handsome margin. A leisure hour can be happily spent over this enthralling volume.

Ten more volumes have been added to *The Home University Library*. (Williams & Norgate. 1s. net.) Each has been specially written for the series by a recognized expert, and will bear the closest examination. Mr. Warde Fowler's *Rome* is a masterpiece. The whole story down to the reign of Marcus Aurelius is here, yet it is alive and illuminating. Prof. Pollard's *History of England* fastens skilfully on salient features such as 'The Expansion of England, The Industrial Revolution, English Democracy,' and helps us to see the whole movement of our history. *Peoples and Problems of India*, by Sir T. W. Holderness, describes the country, the people, the religions and the economic life in a way that will help every one to understand the vast work England has to do there. *Canada*, by A. G. Bradley, is the best little book we know on all matters connected with the Dominion. *Landmarks in French Literature*, by G. L. Strachey, is a handbook that we have all wanted. It lights up the whole course of French literature from the Middle Ages to our own time. *The School*, by Prof. J. J. Findlay, is 'An Introduction to the Study of Education.' It brings out the possibilities of a teacher's work, and shows how school should combine 'all worthy elements in the commonwealth for the sake of those who will maintain its life in days to come.' The Hon. Bertrand Russell's *Problems of Philosophy* is both clear and interesting. *Anthropology*, by R. R. Marett, discusses the antiquity of man, race, environment, language and kindred topics in a very instructive fashion. Mr. Dickson, President of the Royal Meteorological Society, writes on *Climate and Weather*, a popular subject, well handled. *Architecture*, by W. R. Lethaby, the architect to the Chapter of Westminster Abbey, describes the origins of the art, the various schools and its present opportunities. This is a book that every one should read, and they will be well repaid for doing so.

The Scope of Formal Logic. By A. T. Shearman, M.A., D.Lit., University of London Press. (Hodder & Stoughton, 1911. 5s. net.)

This volume by a distinguished expert in Logical Doctrine is one of the increasing number of signs that the critical spirit and method are not disposed to spare the most venerable and exact of the sciences. Logic has now its critics and reformers, who have presented such an extended treatment of the subject that they have almost created a new discipline. It is to the work of these logicians that Dr. Shearman, in his present discussion, gives special consideration. The three writers of the new school, whose work is most fully considered, are Frege, Peano, and Russell, who

'have contributed by far the greater share to the new doctrines.' Dr. Shearman's criticism is mostly towards a justification of the views of the newer group of logicians, which have already made a remarkable impression upon the philosophical world. But a great service of his book is that it sets forth the essential features of the new results in a series of expositions and illustrations, which seek to remove the difficulty, felt by interested students, arising from earlier obscurities of statement or insufficient illustration of the new doctrines. It is scarcely necessary to say that the book is for advanced students and teachers of Logic. Dr. Shearman's position as Examiner in the London University, and as a collaborator in the International edition of the Works of Leibnitz, as well as the place won by his former work on *The Development of Symbolic Logic*, entitle him to speak with authority on the philosophical and mathematical subjects he has made his own. Some of our readers will be pleased to recognize in Dr. Shearman a distinguished 'son of the manse'; and also a local preacher in his father's church.

Lectures on Poetry. By J. W. Mackail. (Longmans, Green, & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

Prof. Mackail has made his five years' tenure of the Chair of Poetry at Oxford memorable by three volumes which contain all the lectures there delivered except a few of more transitory interest. Every lover of poetry is thus permitted to share in the delight of these lectures. In this volume the professor passes in review the most famous definitions of poetry and gives us his own. He regards it as 'formally and technically patterned language.' The essence of pattern is repeat, and where there is no repeat there is technically no poetry. 'Just as the technical art of poetry consists in making patterns out of language, so the vital function of poetry consists in making patterns out of life.' This it 'does by virtue of imagination, by the potency of the shaping spirit.' Imagination is central and most essential. That is really the framework of these lectures. One study after another shows that poetry must be in continual progress, like life, of which it is an interpretation. Gray described its progress 'from Greece to Italy, and from Italy to England,' and these lectures really light up that triumphant march from Virgil, who was 'the voice of Rome and of the whole Italian race,' who recognized in him not only their poet but their prophet and their interpreter. Nothing could be more illuminating than the study of the *Æneid* given here. It will surprise many to find that the next lectures are on Arabian poetry, but Prof. Mackail shows how it 'infused new blood, new forms, a new imaginative interpretation of life, into both the earlier French and the later and more centrally classic Italian poetry.' These lectures are of very special interest. Those devoted to the Divine Comedy and to Shakespeare's Sonnets and Romances move in more familiar places, but always with revealing words from which a student will find new guidance. 'The Poetry of Oxford' brings us to singers of our own generation. Dr. Mackail says 'Oxford has opened not only her gates, but her eyes; she is realizing the world. And no poetry

in future will be the poetry of Oxford in any full sense which does not take account of more than Oxford poetry has hitherto taken account of; which does not take account of those other lives whose destiny is included with ours, those without whom the readers could not read, nor the artists live.' 'Keats' is the subject of the most beautiful lecture in the volume—a full-hearted tribute to one who still points and urges poetry forward to an horizon still unreachd. These lectures add new charm to many of our favourite books of poetry, and suggest trains of thought and courses of study which will well repay careful working out. Prof. Mackail has added new dignity to the Chair of Poetry and made us all his debtors by the three masterpieces which will form the abiding memorial of his professorship.

Flashes from the Orient. Book Four—Winter. By John Hazlehurst. (Hazell, Watson and Viney. 1s. 6d. net.) There is a sonnet here for every winter's day, beginning with November 22. Mr. Hazlehurst loves birds, trees, and flowers, and can write a good sonnet on 'Joy.' He sees the beauty in a coster's barrow, and seems to find nothing human outside his province. The little book is one to muse over. It will make the reader use his eyes and mind.

Wind Flowers. A Book of Lyrics. By William Force Stead. (Stock. 2s. 6d. net.)

This is true poetry, full of thought put into words that have a music of their own. 'The Dead Men of Ollerton' is a plea for light on the future—

O dead men, rise and speak :
Say ye have seen but a streak
Of the sunrise of the Lord.

'Sweet Wild April' is full of spring flowers and bird-song, and the sonnet 'On the *Lusitania*: Westward Bound' lifts the veil and shows the place that humble emigrants fill in the making of the United States. Mr. Stead's pages will appeal to all lovers of verse.

Messrs. Smith, Elder & Co. have issued an Author's complete edition of Stanley Weyman's novels in twenty volumes. They are small crown octavo volumes with gilt top (2s. net in dark red cloth, 8s. net in leather), uniform with the attractive set of Mr. Merriman's novels in fourteen volumes. The stories of French life have had great popularity, and they well deserve it. *A Gentleman of France* is unrivalled for sword play and adventure, whilst *Count Hannibal* makes the whole tragedy of the massacre of St. Bartholomew live before us. But the English stories have a quiet charm which makes them pleasant company. *Chippinge*, with its description of the riots in Bristol in the days of the Reform Bill, is a great favourite; *The New Rector*, with his difficulties in a country town, is an interesting story; *Sophia* is a vivid picture of the old days of intrigue and clandestine marriages; *The Castle Inn* is a story of the days of Earl Chatham, and the great statesman is one of the chief figures of the book. There is a great

deal of quiet enjoyment and not a little excitement to be got out of the stories. Mr. Weyman is a true artist with an eye for a situation, and every book shows with what skill and knowledge of the period he undertakes each successive task. Such an edition is a boon to all lovers of pure and good fiction.

The Healer. By Robert Herrick. (Macmillan & Co. 6s.). The story opens with a girl's accident and a clever surgeon's triumph of healing. Dr. Holden marries his patient and carries her off from her suburban home to the wilderness where he is known as 'The Healer.' Love reconciles her at first to her strange way of living, then the old world begins to pull her back, and in the end husband and wife leave each other to take their own road. She brings up her two girls; he fights disease in the city slums as he had fought it among half-breeds and settlers in the wilderness. We see two ideals of life in conflict, and there is much to be said for the woman's clinging to ways in which she had been brought up. She showed rare pluck in her first years of married life, but she had not strength to bear the load to the end. Nor do we wonder. Holden had the true healer's passion, 'The will to give all,' and though he swerved for a while from the path, he taught others to tread it. This is a story that appeals to thinkers. It is powerful and sometimes absorbing.

Hieronymus Rides, by Anna Coleman Ladd (Macmillan, 6s.), is the story of a knight and jester at the Court of Maximilian in the fifteenth century. The boy is really an illegitimate son of the Emperor Frederick IV and half brother to the King of the Romans. His boyhood spent with his great-grandfather, the alchemist, is not the least enthralling part of his story. His adventures in fighting the Turks and the Moors, his love affairs, his skill as a minstrel and jester, and the use which he makes of the imperial power during one glorious and fatal day make up such a story as one seldom reads. There is much force and beauty in the style, and the whole story has an old-world flavour which is very attractive.

Mr. Unwin publishes a new edition of *Life in an Indian Village* by T. Ramakrishna, B.A. (2s. 6d. net). It is an excellent account of a typical village, with its leading personages and its humbler folk. Those who wish to understand daily life in India should read this interesting little book.

The Unvarying East. By the Rev. E. J. Hardy, M.A.
With 24 Illustrations. (T. F. Unwin. 7s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Hardy has travelled much in the East, and he gives the results of his observations on its agriculture, business, customs, climate and all phases of life and manners in his usual breezy style. He writes as one who realizes that 'the acquisition of knowledge of Eastern ways gives us, if not a Fifth Gospel, certainly a setting of the four we have, in newer and more clearly cut type.' The way in which the subject is set out is helpful, and the whole book is vivacious. It is not very deep, but it is stimulating, and will give many a useful hint to Bible students.

A tenth edition of *The Forest Trees of Britain* (S.P.C.K. 6s. net) by the Rev. C. A. Johns has been edited by G. S. Boulger. It has sixteen coloured plates and numerous other illustrations, and each tree is described in a way that tempts to personal observation and study. Thirty-eight pages are given to the oak, and the descriptions of other trees, though briefer, are adequate and always tell us what we want to know. It is a book for which the S.P.C.K. deserves the gratitude of every nature-lover.

Many of us would find life more perplexing if *Who's Who* (Black, 10s. net) ceased to guide us through the maze. It is now an English institution, with 24,000 brief biographies that cover 3864 pages. There is nothing like it, and much experience and constant care have made it a trustworthy and most valuable guide. *The Writers' and Artists' Year-Book* (1s. net) gives names and addresses of publishers in England and America, and is full of information that is indispensable. *Who's Who Year-Book* gives many particulars about churches, clubs, learned societies and motor-car signs. It is a companion that one is always glad to have at one's elbow. *The Englishwoman's Year-Book and Directory*, 1912, is divided into two parts: Education, Professions and Social Life; and Philanthropic and Social Work. The importance of such a guide was never more manifest than it is to-day.

Nisbet's Church Directory and Almanack, 1912. (Nisbet & Co. 2s. net.)

We always find this Directory useful. The alterations and additions number many thousands, and there is a Diary and General Information Section, besides the Alphabetical Directory of bishops and clergy of the United Kingdom, colonies, and foreign parts, and the list of benefices. There is no other publication of the kind anything like so cheap as this, and we do not wonder at the growth of its popularity with each annual issue since it first appeared twelve years ago.

The Methodist Who's Who, 1912. (C. H. Kelly. 8s. 6d. net.)

We welcome this enlarged and revised edition of this increasingly popular work of reference. It contains brief biographical sketches of ministers, ladies, and laymen prominently connected with all the branches of Methodism throughout the British Empire and the United States, and is indispensable as a home, ecclesiastical, and business manual. It will also serve as a bond of union between the scattered members of the world-wide Methodist household. In its present form the volume 'makes a wider appeal to members of other Churches and to all who wish to know something about Methodist men of the time.' They will find here much information that cannot elsewhere be gained. It is well edited, and up to date.

Bacon's Pocket World Atlas. By G. W. Bacon, F.R.G.S.
(Bacon & Co. 2s. 6d.)

Here are sixty-five maps with a South Polar chart, a full gazetteer, and general description of the countries of the world for half-a-crown. Everything is in the most compact and handy form, and brought quite up to date. We have used an earlier edition and have always found it thoroughly reliable; the new edition marks a distinct advance. It is a little World Atlas, as perfect as skill and care can make it.

The John Bylands Library: Catalogue of an Exhibition of Mediaeval Manuscripts and Jewelled Book Covers. (Manchester University Press. 6d. net.) Mr. Guppy and his colleagues prepared this Exhibition to signalize the visit of the Historical Association, and have arranged that it shall remain open throughout the year. The library now has 7,000 MSS., in addition to 170,000 printed books. Nearly 6,000 rolls, tablets, and codices formerly belonged to the Earl of Crawford. The Introduction is full of instructive matter, and brief descriptions of the chief treasures of the library and ten full-page illustrations give this Catalogue permanent interest. Those who cannot hope to visit Manchester would learn much from a quiet perusal of these pages. The library is itself becoming a great university, and its spirited librarian loses no opportunity of increasing its usefulness.

Mending Men. *The Adult School Press.* By Edward Smith, J.P. (Religious Tract Society. 1s. net.) These letters, written by a man brought under the influence of the Adult School Movement, cannot fail to make an impression. They show how fruitful for good it has been.

Mr. Murray has included in his Shilling Library Gordon Cumming's *Lion Hunter of South Africa*, an astonishing story of a sportsman's feats; Sir M. E. Grant Duff's *Notes from a Diary, 1851-1872*, which is full of colour and incident; *Aesop's Fables*, with more than a hundred illustrations by Tenniel and Wolf—a very attractive reprint; and *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, by Miss Bird. It is a great gain to have this cheap edition of one of the classics of travel.

Names and Addresses of Circuit Stewards in Great Britain, 1912. (Methodist Publishing House. 6d. net.) These lists are compiled with great care and neatly printed in this useful booklet. It is one of the hand-books that a Methodist official cannot do without.

The Male Choir, by Ira D. Sankey and George C. Stebbins (Morgan & Scott, 6d. net.), is a cheap edition that should widely extend the usefulness of this most useful hymn and tune-book.

Waves and Ripples in Water, Air, and Aether. By J. A. Fleming, D.Sc. (S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d. net.) This is a second and revised issue of Prof. Fleming's Christmas lectures at the Royal Institution. They were delivered ten years ago, but the subject is always fresh. The treatment here is a happy combination of the scientific and the popular.

Personality, by Dr. Momerie (Allenson, 6d.), is a welcome reprint of a notable work which cannot be too widely known and studied.

Matriculation Directory, January 1912 (1s. net.). A very useful little handbook issued by the University Correspondence College.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Hibbert Journal (January).—Sir Oliver Lodge pursues the Balfour-Bergson controversy in interesting fashion, concluding with this sentence : ‘ For my own part I am impressed with two things—first, with the reality and activity of powerful, but not almighty helpers, to whom we owe guidance and management and reasonable control; and next, with the fearful majesty of still higher aspects of the universe, infinitely beyond our utmost possibility of thought.’ Prof. J. A. Thomson continues his inquiry *Is there one Science of Nature?* rejecting the idea that physical concepts of matter and energy exhaust the reality of nature. Prof. Ladd states and criticizes F. W. Myers’s question *Is the Universe Friendly?* Bishop D’Arcy returns to the friendly controversy with Prof. Sanday concerning personality and space. He holds that the old puzzle of body and mind will never be solved by confusing the fundamental distinction between things in space and things not in space. A very instructive article on a recondite but interesting subject is that by Dr. Abelson on *Mysticism in Rabbinical Literature*. We must not omit to mention a new feature which promises to be of great use to students—*A Survey of Recent Philosophical and Theological Literature*, by Prof. Dawes Hicks. This number contains a useful instalment on philosophy.

Journal of Theological Studies (January).—An able article of forty pages, worth more than the price of the whole number, is that on *The Value of Mysticism*, by Rev. O. C. Quick. The subject has been greatly overwritten of recent years, but we do not remember to have seen any better handling of the question ‘ What is the actual worth of mystical teaching in relation to faith and practice?’ Rejecting the two extreme alternatives that the experience of the mystic is finally normative and the anti-mystical position which would reject special Divine manifestations as eccentricities or delusions, the writer suggests that the theology of the Incarnation of the Cross makes possible a mode of reconciliation between these extremes. His conclusion cannot, however, be summarized without doing injustice to it. Prof. H. J. White, a colleague of the late Bishop of Salisbury in his work on the Vulgate, pays a high and deserved tribute to his memory. Among the notes and studies, Dr. E. C. Selwyn shows at length that the baptismal, or what he call the ‘ sub-baptismal ’ interpretation of the Odes of Solomon finds a parallel in the earlier use of Isa. lx foll. in the Christian Church. Some of the symbolical references here detected seem to us to be forced. Father Conolly, in an able examination of the Odes of Solomon, joins Rendel Harris in the view that they are entirely Christian, as against Harnack, who holds them to be Jewish, with Christian interpolations.

Holborn Review (January).—The contents of this number are judiciously varied. A good subject is *The Psychology of a Camp-meeting*, and it is

intelligently handled by A. Victor Murray. Religious phenomena deserve to be studied and analysed, and the sneer refuted that when they are understood they disappear. Rev. Ernest Beet writes on one period of the mediæval Papacy, a subject of which he is evidently making a prolonged and careful study. In another article Arnold Bennett is described as a new master in English fiction and as an annalist of the Five Towns likely to prove especially interesting to Primitive Methodist readers of light literature. Excellent articles of different types are those on *The Alleged Rabbinitism of St Paul*, *Evangelistic Song*, and *Recent Theology and Apologetics*, the last by Prof. Humphries. Prof. Peake's customary survey of theological literature still remains an important asset of the Review.

The Expositor (January and February).—The two opening articles in the first number for 1912 are worthy of their place—Princ. G. Adam Smith's on *The Natural Strength of the Psalms*, and Sir Alfred Dale's on *The Bible*. Both writers treat familiar subjects in distinguished and impressive fashion. Two articles by Sir W. Ramsay on *The Teaching of Paul in Terms of the Present Day* go to correct some current theories of St. Paul's teaching put forward by scholars possessed of more learning than sound religious judgement. Prof. Margoliouth and Dr. C. F. Burney both write on the new Aramaic Papyri from Elephantine, the latter in refutation of some of Prof. Sayce's arguments as to their bearing on Old Testament Criticism. Prof. Wensinck of Utrecht and Dr. Rendel Harris contribute to the discussion concerning the Odes of Solomon by an examination of the writings of Ephrem. Canon Driver continues his critical examination of the Book of Judges. Two strictly expository articles—more after the type that used to appear years ago in this magazine, a type beloved of many—are Prof. James Robertson's on *The 'Dawn' in Hebrew* and Prof. Anderson Scott's examination of the phrase *As truth is in Jesus*. The latter is an ancient crux, that we have pondered many a time without complete satisfaction, and we question whether the rendering 'as is actual fact in the case of Jesus,' upheld by Prof. Scott, furnishes the true solution. 2 Cor. vii. 14 is in his favour as an illustration of this use of ἀληθεία, but we see more objections to his view than can be briefly stated.

The Expository Times (January and February).—The editor's notes touch on such diverse topics as the practical application of the Sermon on the Mount; How much must a man believe to be called a Christian? a sermon on the text 'He closed the book'; and Prof. Royce's account of the really vital elements in Christianity. The kind of treatment to which these great themes are subjected—suggestive, not systematic—is probably just such as the many ministerial readers of this periodical desire. The chief articles in the two numbers are *Spiritual Power*, by H. A. Watson; *Archæology of Genesis*, by Prof. Sayce; *Dr. Schweitzer on the Interpretation of St. Paul*, by Prof. Montgomery; and Dr. Kelman's continued exposition of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. But there is provided an abundance of other useful matter, including the *Great Text Commentary* and multitudinous 'contributions and comments' on Biblical subjects.

In the *Quarterly* for January there are several articles of general interest, notably *The Elizabethan Reformation*, by Prof. J. P. Witney; *The Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, by Dr. A. W. Ward; *The Philosophy of Bergson*, by Mr. Sydney Waterlow; and *New Light on George Sand*. The anonymous writer of the last-named paper describes the great French novelist as 'A fiery and generous heart spent in the service of idealism. . . . She had pity upon mankind. The pain of the world stung her; she could not away with the misery and crime that abounded. The defect and shame were felt to be solidary; she had no care to conceive her own welfare apart from that of all. . . . It was she, and not Balzac, who stirred the problems of Ibsen and Tolstoy in advance, urging the freedom of woman to be noble, and the social reparation that springs from the sense of fraternity. . . . She lived by admiration, and looked for the triumph of the good, the fair, the true.'

Perhaps the most important article in the *Edinburgh Review* (January and March) is the one on *The Sovereignty of the Air*, and the most delightful is that on *Chatham and the Country Life of his Day*. Neither can easily be summarized, but both are more than ordinarily worth the reading. Other articles of note are *Auguste Rodin and his French Critics*, and *The Wessex Drama*, founded on a fine French book on Thomas Hardy, by M. Hedgecock, and the new pocket edition of Mr. Hardy's novels.

There is not much of special interest in the current *Dublin Review* (January-March), unless it be Father Benson's curious paper on *Phantasms of the Dead*, and Father Gannon's on *The Religion of Thackeray*, in which this learned Jesuit arrives at the conclusion that 'He felt, as few other English writers have felt, that hunger of the heart which leads the saints to God. But his mind was of that sceptical kind which perceives the negatives of life with painful clearness. That Thackeray was attracted by much in the Church of Rome is clear and demonstrable; but it is equally certain that many things repelled him, and that he could always find abundant reasons for not admitting her claims.'

The Church Quarterly (January).—Dr. Illingworth writes a beautiful little paper on *Harry Drew of Hawarden*. '“He was a monument of God's grace,” said his bishop, and no reader of this memoir can fail to be uplifted and enkindled by his stainless, energetic, disciplined, beautiful soul.' The article on *Richard Crashaw and Mary Collet* is of peculiar interest, and gives a long letter written by the poet in 1648 which has recently been discovered.

The Nineteenth Century for January has a depreciatory article on Maeterlinck, by the Abbé Ernest Dimnet, in which he says that the great Belgian essayist and dramatist has been 'enormously overrated.' He thinks that his popularity has been attained by the same means as those by which second-rate novelists and dramatists reach their vogue with the masses of unthinking people, and that, if his teachings were as clear as they are obscure they would not be accepted by three in ten of his professed admirers. 'He is most distinctly a literary man of no superior degree,' a

dictum that will hardly be endorsed by readers of *Wisdom and Destiny*, to say nothing of *The Blue Bird*, or *Mary Magdalene*. Assent will more readily be given to the writer's declaration that 'there never is literary excellence where there is no moral or intellectual superiority to begin with.' This, of course, is a truism, and begs the question as to Maeterlinck's qualities. But the following sentence, which sums up the Abbé's indictment, may be pondered with profit: 'A moral philosophy in which God is only a name, from which the notion of immortality and that of self-sacrifice is absent, and through which the anarchism inherent in the search for happiness at all costs is on the contrary omnipresent, only appeals to the unhappy few.'

In the *Corahill* for January, Sir Algernon West draws a charming picture of his life-long friend, the late Lord James of Hereford, and thus dilates upon his skilful and delightful generosity: 'While James was still a young and a comparatively poor man he had made in his profession about £1,500 or £2,000; hearing of the death of a school-fellow, who had left his widow in a state of destitution, he at once made over to her the whole of his savings. On another occasion he unexpectedly came into a considerable sum, and said to Sir Frances Mowatt: 'I am going to give myself a treat—I shall distribute it all in lots of £100 and £200 each upon some poor fellows who I know will be the happier for it. . . . Munificence in every direction, presents of large sums of money to those who had lost theirs, and infinite delight in assisting the poor, characterized his life. He felt an intense pleasure in doing these things, and did them well and delicately. If the doing of a kindness involved a little harmless intrigue his pleasure was the greater.' The February number has an interesting paper by Canon Rawnsley, in which he records his *Memoirs of the Tennysons at Somersby*. These are not personal memoirs, of course, but reminiscences of the Tennysons gathered by the learned canon from the older residents of the locality. Everybody, he says, remembered 'th'owd doctor,' who was 'the greatest scholard hereabout, the clivverest man i' these parts; a great tall man with a foot thirteen inches long, quite a furrin-looking gentleman, brown i' the eyes, brown i' the head, brown i' the skin; fond o' tobacco, and as for his sermons i' chuch they were ower good and ower short. But a kindly man wi'owt a bit o' pride in him, and though th'owd doctor mud be high-larnt, he wud nivver hurt a hair of any man's head. But he was all for study, and maade the boys stay in a deal mornin's and night. . . .' Sir Henry W. Lucy continues his *Sixty Years in the Wilderness*, and has many piquant things to say respecting Sir Charles Dilke and Prof. Blackie. There is a beautiful little paper on *Lance Falconer*.

In *Blackwood* for January, Mr. Bernard Holland, replying to criticisms of his *Life of the Duke of Devonshire*, adds some particulars of the duke's more private life. The account of his marriage is specially interesting. 'On the 16th of August, 1892,' he writes, 'I went to Devonshire House as usual in the morning. The duke soon appeared, looking unusually well-dressed, with a white waistcoat, and gave me some instructions about work. An hour later or so he came in again, gave me more instructions, and said

he was going down to Bolton Abbey. He added : " I suppose you have heard of the domestic event ? " I said indifferently, " Yes," thinking of quite another matter. He looked rather surprised, said no more, and went away. Soon afterwards Lascelles told me that, in the interval between these two visits, the duke had been married at the Down-street church to the Duchess of Manchester. I had heard nothing previously. I suppose it was the brevity and uninterested tone of my answer which surprised him when I said " Yes." I wrote to apologize, and heard afterwards that the misunderstanding had amused the duke when he read my explanation.' *A Lost Letter in Ancient Rome* is one of those delightful satires for which Blackwood, almost from the beginning, has had a world-wide reputation. Readers of the February number will greatly enjoy its cryptic references to contemporary celebrities, and the least acute need not mistake the portrait of Mr. Balfour.

' Well, yes ! in Brutus I record
A champion equal to my sword ;
Praised, envied, blamed, abused, admired
Of course (but most when he retired),
None could match Brutus in debate ;
His style was worthy of the State,
The Patriot Party's helm and shield—
But Brutus now has left the field.'

It should be said that the Letter is supposed to be from Cicero to Atticus ; that Mr. Asquith receives amusing treatment under the name of Ponsonby ; and that Lord Rosebery is made to portray himself, perhaps too faithfully, as the writer of the letter. Another good article in this excellent number is the one by Dr. Mahaffy on *What is Nationality ?*

The *English Review*, now published at a shilling, keeps up its quality. In the February number Mr. John Masefield has a poem of fifty pages called *The Widow in the Bye Street*. This is followed by a third instalment of Mr. Frederic Harrison's causerie, *Among my Books*, in which he writes of Dante, Boccaccio, *Don Quixote*, the French Fabliaux, and the *Pilgrim's Progress*. Then there are stories by Mr. John Galsworthy and Mr. George Moore, and an article of considerable importance on *The Breakdown of Turkey*, by Dr. Dillon, who thinks that ' it is hardly too much to say that the entire Turkish race is degenerating visibly ; its life-sap is drying up. . . . The main causes of the decay lie tolerably near the surface. Leaving on one side fatalism and the sluggishness it engenders, I would account for the enfeeblement of the race, which was once marvellously robust and healthy, by misgovernment and military service. Misrule unfitted them for the struggle for life by making them dependent on Christian labour for their livelihood, and on the State for their privileged condition, while military service decimated the people. The Turks, in their twofold capacity as the conquering race and as Moslems, have looked upon the profession of arms as their own special vocation, and disqualified Christians from following it ; and having lived by the sword, they are now perishing by the sword.

Within the memory of the present generation Turkey has always been at war. There has been no respite : now the struggle was with a foreign Power, now with a section of her own subjects.'

The Quarterly statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund for January is one of special interest. P. J. Baldensperger says that in Jerusalem disputes among the natives are generally harmless : ' a few curses and more or less insults, where the worst are of course such as concern the women. But they have rarely a tragic termination, whereas in Jaffa the knife is more easily drawn, and the seamen are known for their courage and their spirit of vengeance.' Murders are almost unknown in Jerusalem. The men are of a quiet disposition, rarely carry arms, and are seldom seen out of the gates or suburbs after sunset. The moral tone is low. ' Vices of all kinds are universal, and there is hardly any distinction between the inhabitants of the towns and of the country.' In Jerusalem the natives are decently clothed. The turban is considered holy, and is carefully removed when the wearer wishes to lie down. The Mohammedan of Jerusalem wears a turban of fine white linen. It is never disarranged, and cannot easily tumble off. Feet and shoes are both regarded as vile. ' Prayers are never said by a man with his shoes on, and it is a sign of great disrespect to talk about the head and turban or beard without an interruption for the shoes.' It is rather amusing to read that ' those who pray regularly are also as a rule very clean as regards both their clothes and body.' Beards are much venerated, and in Jerusalem they are the longest. On Friday most Moslems go to the mosque, where sermons are repeated from eleven to twelve. The whole number is full of things that a Bible reader is glad to know.

The Child (December).—Dr. Kelynack has a keen eye for good material, and everything affecting the physical and moral health of a child is welcomed to this magazine. *Milk Problems* and *Infantile Mortality and Home Visitation* are discussed by experts in a very instructive way. Dr. Riviere writes on *Punishment in Childhood*. He says ' the cutting off of meals and use of the dark-room are to be strongly deprecated. Meals should never be interfered with either directly or by prolonging detention into meal-times. The dark-room is a cruel and dangerous form of correction for children ; to use as a means of punishment those superstitious fears which readily torture the mind, and undermine the health of childhood is a truly barbarous remedy.'

The Moslem World (January).—This quarterly has special importance in view of the awakened interest in the evangelization of Moslem lands, and we hope that it will be well supported. The brief but valuable article on *Islam in Nyasaland* shows that Mohammedanism has spread because there has been nothing to keep it from spreading. The Christian Church has not done what it might to stem the invasion. The Symposium on *The Nearest Way to the Moslem Heart* will repay careful study, and there is much else of interest in this varied number.

AMERICAN

American Journal of Theology (January).—Prof. E. C. Moore of Harvard contrasts the modern liberal movement in Christianity with that of the eighteenth century. He pleads that the liberals of to-day are more constructive than their predecessors, but his argument is hampered by the underlying impossibility of defining 'liberalism.' We agree, however, with his last sentence, that if the liberals of to-day cannot learn from the errors of a century ago, the more shame to them. A characteristic American topic is that of the second article, which proposes to increase the efficiency of Churches in practical and business matters by the application of 'scientific' methods. Prof. Adams Brown's essay on *The Place of Christianity in Modern Theology* is distinctly valuable. Defenders of the faith are not allowed to-day to take the position Dr. Fairbairn took twenty years ago in his well-known book published under that title. Dr. Adams Brown shows why; and without taking a purely apologetic attitude, he meets very successfully certain challenges thrown down against orthodoxy on philosophical, historical, and critical grounds. His reasoning is frank, candid, and cogent. *The Movement and Mission of American Christianity* is discussed by Prof. D. S. Schaff, who is more competent than most to write upon it. But does 'American Christianity' as yet possess a distinctive unity of its own? *The Restoration of Immersion in 1640-1700* raises the question whether the mode of immersion employed by Baptists to-day is the same as that adopted by John the Baptist and Jesus Himself. The critical notes and notices, as is usual in this Review, are particularly good of their kind.

The Princeton Review (January) contains three articles—*The Hymn of the First Chapter of Luke*, by J. Gresham Machen; *The Development of the English Hymn*, by Louis J. Benson; and *The 'Dutch States-Bybel' of 1687*, by Henry E. Dosker, together with ample reviews of recent literature.

The Methodist Review (New York: January and February) contains an appreciation of Bishop Goodsell by Dr. R. J. Cooke; *The Mission of Methodism to the Latin Races*, by Bishop Burt; *Maeterlinck the Mystic*, by Prof. Oscar Kuhns; *Doctrinal Requirements for Membership in the M. E. Church*, by Dr. Flint—an argument against a too stringent doctrinal subscription; and *The New Orthodoxy*, by L. H. Hough. The last-named writer contends that the older orthodoxy was inadequate in its view of the Bible and religious authority, that Modernism is inadequate in its conception of Sin, the Cross, and the Person of Christ, but that what he calls the new orthodoxy may remedy these deficiencies and 'face the future unafraid.'

The Methodist Review (Nashville) (January).—The editor, Dr. Gross Alexander, writes on *The Social Teaching of the Old Testament*; Prof. Adams Brown, of New York, on *Modern Theology and the Preaching of the Gospel*, an article in which the writer seeks to show that modern theology brings no new gospel with it, but the old gospel set in so fresh a light as to make it new. Chancellor Burwash gives an instalment of a discussion on *Wesley's*

Relation to Theological Standards. Miss Belle Bennett writes on *The Liberation of Woman*, and Mrs. Gross Alexander on *George Eliot and Mrs. Browning*. The paper read by Dr. Maldwyn Hughes of this country at the Occumenical Conference in Toronto, entitled *Christianity and Recent Philosophical Tendencies*, is here republished. It is good, but necessarily so short as to be inconclusive. It deals with Pragmatism, Bergson, and Eucken in less than a couple of pages.

The Review and Expositor (Louisville) for January contains *Paul as Interpreter of Christ*, by A. T. Robertson; *The Thousand Year Reign*, by J. A. Faulkner; *Constantine in Relation to Christianity*, by J. H. Barber; and an examination of our Lord's use of the phrase *These Little Ones* by Dr. Eaches. The writer holds that the expression means not children, but disciples—a view which probably commends itself readily to readers of the Baptist persuasion.

Bibliotheca Sacra.—In the January number the first article on *The Philosophy and Theology of Old Testament Critics* is by Prof. Knudson. In the writer's opinion un-Christian philosophical and theological views have not directly influenced the main conclusions of historical critics of the Old Testament, but those views or presuppositions have frequently determined their estimate of the religious contents of the Old Testament. 'God is not present everywhere, among all peoples, in the same sense and to the same degree. He came nearer to Israel than to other nations. . . . From this point of view the work of Old Testament criticism must be revised and carried on.' The alternatives presented in the title *Social or Individual Regeneration?* are not so mutually exclusive as might appear from some sentences in the article. It is possible to hold that civilization needs to be based upon Christianity and yet to deny that the gospel bids a man regard 'his soul-concern as his sole concern.' Some good points are made by Principal Lerch as he discusses *Nietzsche Madness*. Nietzsche's antagonism to Christianity is traced sometimes to misunderstanding and sometimes to ignorance of the spirit of its ethical teaching. 'Nietzsche despises it because its kingdom is not of this world. He does not seem to be aware that though it has the forward look, the earth is its habitation, and seat of its activity. . . . Nietzsche was far more of a recluse than Christ.' Writing on *The Ministry of Pain*, Dr. Merrins of Wuchang shows that pain is the price paid for the fullness and security of physical life. 'There is ample ground for holding that the ministry of physical pain has been most beneficial, and that as the race advances in wisdom and in kindness, it will at last almost cease to be a problem.'

Harvard Theological Review.—More than half of the January number (90 pages) is occupied by a review of *The International Critical Commentary on Genesis, Chronicles, and the Psalms*. The article is, however, much more than a review, it is an exceedingly able outline of the history of Old Testament criticism in the last hundred years. It is written by Prof. Kemper Fullerton, of Oberlin Theological Seminary. Much attention is given to the theories of Wellhausen, Winckler, and Gunkel. The conclusion reached

concerning Genesis is that 'there is more basis for the traditional view of the religion of Israel than has been commonly admitted by critical scholars of the past generation. But to urge this as an earnest of ultimate complete vindication for the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and of rehabilitation of the dogmatic conception of the Old Testament is to pervert the results of scientific investigation.' Dr. Kuno Francke writes on *Mediæval German Mysticism*, and describes Master Eckhart, Heinrich Suso, and Johannes Tauler, regarding them as 'three of the most pronounced personalities produced by the mystic longing for the merging of personality in the Divine.' Prof. Schaub of Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, contributes an article on *The Consciousness of Sin*, arguing that it is 'not a pathological state that signifies moral degeneration.' On the contrary, it is 'significant of progress in the spiritual life of man and of development in the history of religions.'

FOREIGN

In the *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* (January-March) there is another of those learned articles which M. Lemonnyer is contributing, on *The Worship of Strange Gods in Israel*—this time on Asherah. There is also a valuable paper on *Judgements of Value and the Positive Conception of Morality*, by M. Gillet, O.P. But the chief interest of this number is to be found in the two extended Bulletins—the one relating to Philosophy, and the other to Biblical Theology. All important recent literature in these two departments of study is passed in review, and questions like the theory of knowledge, pragmatism, &c., are treated at length. There is an excellent critical appreciation of Dr. Percy Gardner's *Religious Experience of St. Paul*, and of Prof. Scott's Canadian book on *The Kingdom and the Messiah*. The notices of recent French and German works on Old Testament Theology are of special interest and worth.

An important study of Bergson, by M. Edouard le Roy, begins in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for February 1, under the title of *Une Philosophie Nouvelle*. This first instalment deals only with Bergson's method, but it opens with this general remark: 'His work marks a date that will be noted in history; it opens a phase of metaphysical thought; it lays down a principle of development to which it is impossible to assign a limit; and, without exaggeration it may be said that the revolution it is effecting is as important as that of Kant or Socrates.'

Analecta Bollandiana. Tomus xxi. Fasc. i.—This quarterly is itself a monument to the learning and zeal of the Society of Bollandists. It begins with a note on the Georgian version of the Autobiography of Denys the Areopagite found in the convent of Iberia. The manuscript is described, with notes on passages of special interest. The Greek text of a panegyric of *S. Theophane le Chronographe* is given, with an introduction, catalogues of learned works, notices of recent hagiographical works, and other matter of peculiar interest to those who love these by-ways of ecclesiastical history.

Religion und Geisteskultur.—The January number contains an interesting sketch of *Jacob Behmen : a Prophet of German Evangelical Inwardness*. Its author is Pfarrer Hermann Maas, who quotes, as the text of Behmen's writings, his saying : 'The philosopher's stone, the precious, costly stone, by whose aid all things in heaven and earth are discovered, is hidden in man. He who finds it in himself has power to bless the world and to experience the highest joy in the anguish of death.' Maas shows that Behmen starts from the inward consciousness of sin and the inward experience of regeneration. 'In the new birth he finds the philosopher's stone.' But Behmen is an evangelical and not a catholic mystic, because he inculcates no monkish flight from life, but teaches that 'life and the emotions are the firewood without which the flame of divine life can in no wise manifest itself.' Without judging Behmen as severely as did Wesley, we are unable to join in the approval of Behmen's sharp separation between Jesus as an historical personality and Christ as an inner fact of faith. Maas writes as an enthusiastic admirer of Behmen, and his study is most instructive even to those whose appreciation is more discriminating. 'Behmen was a reaction of the universal spirit of Christianity against the one-sidedness in dogmatics which was the result of the one-sided use of reason.' Lic. Karl Dunkmann faces the question of paramount importance : *How can Christianity be both an historical and an absolute religion?* After an able criticism of modern views held to be defective, Dunkmann finds the distinctive feature of the Christian religion to be that 'man is a recipient'; he is exhorted 'to trust the word of God, that is to say, the promise of the forgiveness of sins in Christ.' The absolute element in the Christian religion is not culture; it is not any self-accomplished deed, nor any kind of self-redemption. The absolute and the historical are not at variance. Whilst we ought not to be slaves of history, we ought not to regard history as a burden. Dr. Max Wiener contributes to this number an erudite article on *The Logic of Religious Metaphysics*, Dr. Lehman endeavours to define *The Position of the History of Religion in the Philosophy of Religion*. It is held to be the task of the philosophic theologian not only to pursue his investigations into theories of knowledge and morals, as well as to study the psychology of religion, but also to inquire systematically into the history of religions and especially into the origin of religious ideas. As religions are better known, and the historic method is applied to theology, the necessity of those preparatory investigations which belong to the philosophy of religion ought to be emphasized.

Theologische Rundschau.—*The Relation of Faith to the Person of Jesus* is discussed by Dr. Beth in the January number. The writers specially in view are Bousset, Wobbermin, and Troeltsch. Amongst the positions defended are the following : Ideas cannot in and by themselves alone be made the criteria for judging religion and religious personalities; uncertainties in the Gospel narratives do not justify the sounding of the signal for retreat from the historic Jesus to the Christ of faith as portrayed by the early Church; it comes perilously near to surrendering to those who deny the historicity of Jesus if He be described as 'the permanent and operative symbol of our faith.' Troeltsch holds that one of the clearest results of

the historical study of religion is that the essence of religion consists neither in dogma nor ideas, but in worship and communion. By communion, however, is meant 'living fellowship with God, and indeed the fellowship of the community with God.' Beth rightly replies that living fellowship can obtain only between the individual and God; the community holds religious fellowship through its individual representative. 'Prayer and edifying fellowship are, in a spiritual religion, functions which have value only so far as they are individual activities. For such communion the individual must have his own particular qualifications and to it he must himself be drawn, whether that communion does or does not take place in an assembly for worship. Indeed, were it otherwise, were religion in itself predominantly a function of the community, what could be said of the religion of Jesus, our Exemplar?' The basal error in many 'liberal' interpretations of Christianity is the idea that a religion can subsist without any remembrance of its personal founder. It is true that a religion is living only in so far as it develops; indeed the evolution of a religion is the evidence of its life. But it is also true that if the evolution is to proceed on right lines, its original form must be borne in mind. Christianity's capacity for evolution is conditioned by the lines firmly drawn at its origin. At the beginning it was not a religion of ideas; its founder was a person.

Theologische Literaturzeitung.—In No. 2, Niebergall reviews a book entitled *Christianity on its Sick-Bed*. It contains 'the thoughts of a physician about religion and the revival of the Church.' Niebergall's effective criticism is that if the physician-author be treated as a patient according to his own method, the diagnosis would be 'Intellectualism, pantheistic and feverish,' and the prescription would be 'an intelligent understanding of religion, the Christian religion, and the faith of a Christian.' No 3 contains an interesting report of the proceedings at the annual meeting of the American Society of Biblical Literature, recently held in New York. Prof. Hyvernat of the Washington Roman Catholic University announced that Mr. Pierpont Morgan had bought about fifty Coptic manuscripts found by Arabs amongst the ruins of a small convent in the south-west Fayum. The manuscripts show the nature and variety of the contents of a convent library in Christian Egypt. The oldest manuscript is dated A.D. 825 and is older than any known Coptic manuscript. Prof. Hyvernat is of opinion that all other known Coptic manuscripts are not of half the value of the Morgan collection; so that New York is likely to become 'the centre of Coptic studies.' The publication of the manuscripts, edited by Prof. Hyvernat, a distinguished Coptic scholar, will be awaited with interest. Prof. Montgomery, of the University of Pennsylvania, read a paper dealing with *The Quotations from the New Testament in the Odes of Solomon*. In verses regarded by Harnack and Spitta as Jewish he finds citations from the New Testament. Moreover, the citations from the Old Testament are chiefly from the Psalms and the theological portions of the Wisdom literature, that is to say from those books with which the early Church was most familiar. Prof. Montgomery supports the view that the Odes are the product of Christian thought.