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THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

APRIL 1913

CHRISTIAN FAITH AND MODERN THOUGHT

Foundations : A Statement of Christian Belief in Terms of Modern Thought. By Seven Oxford Men. (Macmillan & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

Our Growing Creed : or Evangelical Faith as Developed and Reaffirmed by Current Thought. By W. D. MACLAREN, M.A. (T. & T. Clark. 10s. 6d.)

WHAT is the relation between the Christian faith of to-day and the best ascertained results of science, philosophy, and criticism ? The question is not only wide, but in itself difficult, and sure to provoke very different answers. So difficult in some aspects that it is largely taken for granted that no such critical period for Christianity has ever been known as that through which we are now passing. Such a judgement is, perhaps, natural, but it ignores history. The religion of the Lord Jesus Christ has passed through many crises, not only of severe oppression and persecution, but of keen intellectual conflict. In the second century, when the tide of Gnosticism almost undermined its foundations; in the third century, when Clement of Alexandria and Origen showed amidst Hellenic surroundings the meaning of Christian 'wisdom in a mystery'; in the fourth century—that great formative period when constructive thought arose out of sharpest conflict and the

golden ore was 'battered with the shocks of doom to shape and use'; in the Middle Ages, when Aquinas, whom men think of now as the mere hide-bound scholastic, proved himself the great 'Modernist'; in the sixteenth century, when European Christianity was rent by convulsions which ended not in death, but in more abundant life,—all through the ages Christian faith has widened and deepened, partly in spite of current thought, more largely by aid of it, but never without closest relation to it. The world-repelling, the world-conquering, and the world-assimilating elements have all been necessary in the shaping of the Church. Similarly, resistance to the spirit of the age and absorption of its vital and permanent elements have both been essential factors in the shaping of Christian truth and in accomplishing the purpose of the Spirit of the Ages.

The term 'Modernism' has been adopted in our generation to describe a certain attitude of Christian believers to modern thought. Modernism, we are told, is at work in all the churches. It were desirable, therefore, to understand what Modernism is, how far it is operative, and whither it would lead us. As it appeared in the Roman Catholic Church, it was denounced in 1907 by the Pope in his Encyclical *Pascendi Gregis* as a kind of synthesis of almost all conceivable errors and heresies, false in its ground-work, its methods, and its conclusions, a doctrinal pestilence which must be stamped out among the faithful with the utmost rigour. Leading Modernists mildly replied that they put forward no definite synthesis, but were 'groping their way laboriously and with much hesitation from assured results of criticism to some sort of apologetic' for the faith. A new name, they said, was not necessary to designate their position, which was that of true Christians and Catholics who were trying to 'live in harmony with the spirit of their day.' The brilliant leader of Modernism in this country, Father Tyrrell, contended that the name, rightly understood, implied 'an acknowledgement on the part of religion

of the rights of modern thought; of the need of effecting a synthesis, not between the old and the new indiscriminately, but between what after due criticism is found to be valid in the old and the new.' Tyrrell opposed Modernism to Mediaevalism. The latter is, in fact, 'only the synthesis effected between Christian faith and the culture of the Middle Ages, which erroneously supposes itself to be of apostolic antiquity . . . and, therefore, makes the mediaeval expression of Catholicism its primitive and final expression.' The Modernist of Tyrrell's type does not seek to make the modern a final synthesis, but 'denies the possibility of such finality, and holds that the task is unending, just because the process of culture is unending.'

It was not surprising that the Modernism of Tyrrell and Loisy was unsparingly condemned by the Curia in Rome and crushed by all the weight of Church authority; the marvel was that any other result should ever have been expected. How far the spirit of Modernism still smoulders in the breast of clergy or laity in the Church of Rome, and what probability there is that the volcanic fires and explosive forces now driven underground will later on be manifested with increased energy, we are not qualified to judge. We are concerned rather with similar phenomena appearing in Anglican and Protestant churches, but taking a different shape and meeting a different fate, as is natural in communities in which the spirit of free inquiry is comparatively unfettered. A measure of doctrinal restlessness is manifest everywhere. The changes produced in modern habitudes of thought by well-known causes—in science and philosophy, in political and social life—have affected very deeply both the beliefs and the life of all Christian churches. The need of a right understanding of these changes and of right action in relation to them is everywhere recognized, but the character and direction of such action are by no means so clear. That a re-examination of traditional creeds is needed, and has long been quietly proceeding, most would be prepared

to admit. But there the agreement ends. While some are loudly heralding a new Renaissance, a 'Rediscovery of Christianity,' a 'Reconstruction' of its theology, others desire no more than a Reaffirmation of the ancient faith, with perhaps a restatement of some minor articles. Some are afraid of reformation, others exult in the prospect of revolution. A recent rationalist writer, discoursing on the 'decay of dogma,' revels in the prospect that shortly 'religion will consist of a firm belief in a Supreme Power, a vague and trustful hope of man's immortality, and a graceful acknowledgement that Kung-fu-tse, Buddha, Zarathustra, Christ and Mohammed were especial manifestations of the divine wisdom.' A period of marked transition will always be to some the joyful dawn of a new era, to others a mournful sign of the end of all that they have cherished and revered in religion. At the rebuilding of the house of God in the time of Ezra, 'many wept with a loud voice and many shouted aloud for joy, so that the people could not discern the noise of the shout of joy from the noise of the weeping of the people.' It is impossible to deny the existence of the phenomena thus generally indicated, and it is folly to attempt to ignore them. But the task of understanding their significance, of explaining them and aiding in the successful steering of the vessel of faith amidst the cross currents and whirling eddies of opinion is as difficult as it is imperative.

Helpers of a sort are not lacking. Sometimes they appear singly, sometimes in groups. Manifestoes are issued, which set forth the views of a group, a school, or a rising generation of thinkers of a special type. Landmarks are set up which make it possible to trace the course and the speed of certain currents in the stream. It gives food for reflection to remember that it is only half a century since *Essays and Reviews* was published and represented as the work of *Septem contra Christum*. Some twenty years ago it was followed by *Lux Mundi*, representing a group of Oxford High Churchmen, whilst *Contentio Veritatis*, as a

Broad Church manifesto, the *Cambridge Theological and Biblical Essays*, identified with no school, but manifesting some of the best qualities of all, belong to the opening years of the present century. No one who understands the signs of the times will underestimate the importance in this connexion of the publication of certain Dictionaries of the Bible and of Religion which, with no partisan or polemical aims, have presented to the public a consensus of scholarly opinion on great questions of Biblical theology and religious knowledge and have done much to mould contemporary Christian thought in this and other English-speaking countries. The result as a whole may perhaps be described without fear of challenge as the rise of a gradual revolution in the minds of educated men on certain central themes of Christian faith, which is still going on and the end of which is not yet.

It is the object of the present article to draw attention to some features of this change as illustrated in two of the latest contributions to the discussion, and it may be convenient at this point to indicate the standpoint from which the outlook is taken. The present writer regards what is called the unrest of the present generation as in the main an encouraging sign of progress. The world is being transformed. Events in China, Japan, India, Persia, and Turkey exhibit the unchanging East in remarkable phases of transition, which are unquestionably travail-pangs of new birth, not mere throes of disease and death. Similar birth-pains are being felt in the realm of religion. Christian faith in the best sense was never more vigorous than it is now, and the proofs that it works by love are in some respects more numerous than ever. There is no need for any faltering or failure on the part of Christian hope. The watchman in uttering the oracle of Dumah in answer to the question, 'What of the night?' said, 'The morning cometh and also the night'; the prophet of to-day might rather say, 'The night cometh and also the morning.' If some believers are

moving in twilight, it is of the dawn, not of the growing dusk. The faith that overcomes the world is as potent as ever, but under changing conditions of warfare it has not fully girt on its new armour, or taken up its fresh positions of defence and attack with complete confidence and certainty.

Hence the need of care. The mere 'optimist' is never to be trusted. Simply to shout that 'All's right with the world,' and 'The best is yet to be' will not serve to guide the army at a critical point in the campaign. If the old truth is not to be maintained in precisely the same form simply because it is old, new teaching is not to be hastily caught up because it is new and inscribed in crude and garish colours upon a banner of yesterday. The light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ is shining forth with new lustre. The sun has climbed higher in the sky, its rays fall from new angles, lighting up corners hitherto dark and making some parts of the pilgrim way to wear a new aspect. God has more light yet to shine forth out of His Holy Word and out of the revelation of Himself given in the heavens above us, the earth beneath us, and the busy world of history within and around us. But weak eyes are dazzled by increase of light, and additional power is needed to enable Christians to see clearly in the new access of sunshine and to discriminate finely and accurately between true and false, both in the new doctrine and the old. Hence it would appear that confidently but not rashly, steadily but not hastily, reverently but not timidly, must the ceaseless work of those who are valiant for the truth in the midst of change be pursued, and the onward march of the army of faith, the soldiers of Christ, the knights of the Holy Ghost, must proceed.

Two volumes are named at the head of this article which indicate some features of the present situation. The former has aroused considerable interest and has been received for the most part with marked favour. The 'Seven Oxford Men' who undertake to 'state Christian belief in terms of

modern thought' hold that the need for religion is greater than ever, that the demand for it, even amidst materialistic surroundings, deepens and grows, but that the world 'cannot accept a religion if its theology is out of harmony with science, philosophy, and scholarship.' Christianity is 'a real religion with a real message for the present and the future,' but a 'careful re-examination, and if need be a restatement, of the foundations of belief in the light of the knowledge and thought of the day' is necessary. The attempt is modestly made. The writers admit the atrocious charge of being young. They believe that men of the younger generation can make experiments and offer suggestions which cannot come from those of recognized authority in the Church. In the preface they propose to offer not a solution, but 'a contribution towards the solution of some problems,' and in the Epilogue they confess to a sense of failure; 'they are convinced that it was right to try, that they have done their best and that they have not succeeded' in expressing the inexpressible. Criticism is in a measure disarmed by the modesty of the claims made by the essayists, but it is the modesty of knowledge, not of ignorance; and as we shall see, they show no lack of ability in handling the themes they have selected as most important.

The first essay, by Rev. N. S. Talbot, sketches the 'Modern Situation' with insight, frankness, and moral earnestness, rising at times to eloquence. Rev. Richard Brook undertakes to deal with 'The Bible,' the power and influence of which he ascribes to the fact that it is a record of religious experiences appealing to men of religious experience. The Bible is the highest of all the books that profess to do this, and inspiration is that element in the Scriptures which empowers its words to 'find' all who themselves are seeking for religious knowledge and guidance. Inspiration according to Mr. Brook might indeed be defined in the words of Heine, 'He who has lost his God may find Him again in this volume, and he who has never known Him will there be

met by the breath of the Divine Word.' Inspiration, we may remark in passing, does indeed imply, and for some purposes it is unnecessary to go beyond, this great characteristic of the Bible as pointed out by Coleridge and others. But if the Bible is no more than this, Christian faith may find it difficult to justify some of the positions which it holds to be most precious and important.

The next four essays deal with the Person and Work of Christ. It is right that the great central portion of the book, that which gives character to the rest, should be occupied with Him who is the central object of Christian faith and the ground of all true Christian hope. Rev. B. H. Streeter writes upon 'The Historic Christ'; Rev. A. E. Rawlinson, assisted by Prebendary Parsona, on 'The Interpretation of Christ in the New Testament,' Rev. W. Temple on 'The Divinity of Christ,' while Mr. W. H. Moberly, apparently the only layman among the Seven, discusses at length the important subject of the Atonement. Mr. Temple also deals with the subject of the Church, Mr. Rawlinson with 'The Principle of Authority,' and the last and longest chapter on 'God and the Absolute' is by Mr. Moberly. It is well that full space should be devoted to this last subject. It is as much philosophical as religious, but it greatly needs competent re-handling in days when the very foundations of religion are so little taken for granted that the most elementary truths are exposed to the most searching criticism. We could have wished for a treatment of it less fully identified with the views of one philosophical school. But before examining in detail the positions taken up by the essayists on these truly fundamental topics, let it be said that the present reviewer does not sympathize with certain disparaging notices which the book has received in quarters from which better things might have been expected. Its tone and spirit are admirable, the ability of the writers can hardly be questioned. At some points their 're-statement' is fairly successful, at others it is less adequate

and convincing; but where the exposition is in the reader's judgement not fully satisfactory it will usually be found to suggest or provoke thought and to contain some elements of truth which have previously received too scant recognition. As will be seen, we cannot by any means subscribe to all the opinions of the Seven, nor do they expect their readers to do so. But we think that gratitude is due to those who have made an effort to correlate the facts of Christian faith with the results of modern historic, scientific, and philosophical research. It is by this means that they hope to commend Christian truth afresh to many in the present generation whose faith has failed for lack of some such presentation of a living and operative creed. The value of such a volume, partly direct and partly indirect, cannot easily be estimated.

The plan of the volume entitled *Our Growing Creed* is entirely different. It is written throughout by an Australian Presbyterian minister, Rev. W. D. Maclaren, though the author's work has been supplemented, so far as the history of doctrine is concerned, by the able pen of Prof. D. S. Adam of Ormond College, Melbourne. Mr. Maclaren starts with what is generally known as the evangelical creed, which was at the beginning of the nineteenth century 'the current exposition of Christian faith'; widely, if not universally, received in Protestant churches. Pressed on one side by Romanism, on the other by Unitarianism, says the author, it no longer holds its own; and where it is held, it is too often professed in mere traditional fashion, without living experience to interpret it or spiritual force to commend it. Consequently, it needs to be 'reaffirmed' in the light of the best knowledge of the day. The fresh factors of thought in our time which ought to be taken into the account are described by the author as 'The Fatherhood School,' 'The Evolution Doctrine,' 'The Spirit of Collectivism,' and 'Historical Criticism'—hardly a happy way of arranging and describing the factors in question. The

familiar outline of current Christian doctrine is then followed with some closeness, beginning with the doctrines of God, Man, and Immortality, passing on to the Incarnation and Christology, then to the blessings of Redemption—Justification, Regeneration, and Sanctification—and ending with Eschatology. In each case an 'analytical comparison' is instituted, the particular doctrine in question being viewed in the light of modern ideas concerning Divine Fatherhood, Evolution, and the Collectivist spirit. The process needed for an adequate revision of the doctrines of the past in terms of the present is declared to be one not of excision, but of greater precision—'not in cancelling the great affirmations, but in cutting off unqualified and unguarded statements which have gathered round them, or unwarrantable inferences drawn from combining them with other assumptions.' The last section of the book, entitled 'God's Paternal, Biological, and Collectivist Gospel,' exhibits the evangelical creed reaffirmed so as to gather up the modern elements of thought represented by the three adjectives in the title, and it is claimed that 'the very forces which threatened to dissolve Christian faith in the modern mind, yield rightly to its lawful dominance, become plastic to its modification and are incorporated among its agents.' The doctrinal position described by the phrase, the 'jealous retention of a scrutinized past,' is declared in the closing pages to be justified by its results.

Mr. Maclaren's method is careful and comprehensive, though his main plan is open to some serious objections. It entails frequent repetitions, and the reader is only too likely to lose his way in spite of careful analysis, introductions, and summaries. Mr. Maclaren's systematic outline enables him to deal with some questions which the writers of *Foundations* hardly touch. His style is somewhat heavy, and the book is less attractive and less easy to read than the Oxford volume, but it contains useful material, and it will, in parts at least, commend itself to a reader who will patiently follow

the argument and try to do it justice. The two books here placed in juxtaposition, while they have little in common except one broadly defined aim, do nevertheless in method and in treatment explain and supplement one another. Both deserve attention, especially on the part of ministers, in days when there is danger lest even professed Christian teachers should be charged with understanding 'neither what they say, nor whereof they affirm.'

It is impossible to consider in detail the many issues that are raised even in the one volume styled *Foundations*. But the position taken up may be tested at various crucial points, and it may be well to state beforehand what points are to be considered crucial in such an undertaking. We expect fairly clear answers to questions like these. Is there such a thing as authority in religion, and if so, where in the Christian religion is its source and seat, and before what tribunal are debated points to be decided? May the documents of the New Testament be accepted as substantially trustworthy records on the great theme of Christian origins, and how far are they normative for Christian faith and conduct? Do the writers accept, or explain away, miracles and evidences of the supernatural? Is the Lord Jesus Christ regarded as the central object of faith and is the doctrine of the Incarnation essentially accepted as fundamental, in whatever phraseology it may be expressed? Similar questions suggest themselves at various points along the line of doctrine, and we need not multiply specimens of them. One closing question, however, must not be omitted—Is Christianity regarded as a final faith, itself the absolute religion, or is it resolved into one remarkable, but not ultimate stage in the long history of religions, so that those who do in a real sense believe in Jesus the Christ may also without inconsistency 'look for another'?

The reason for pressing home what might seem to be such unnecessary questions as these is that a prevailing school of critics are propounding principles which, while they seem

to honour the Christian faith, would if accepted really undermine its foundations. The *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* is indeed not so much a school as a method, pervading several theological schools in Germany and other countries, and claiming to be the only 'scientific' method for investigating religious and theological questions. Its representatives are men of such eminent scholarship and some of their principles are so reasonable that the real drift of their teaching may not be apprehended by all. The term 'religious-historical' in English hardly renders the German, but the leading ideas of the school may be summed up in a few sentences.¹ Christianity is only one of many religions in the world, and in examining and comparing them the idea of a supernatural revelation must be entirely discarded. All the great monotheistic religions claim to possess such a revelation, and to none of them can it be conceded. All 'scientific' study of the Christian religion implies the surrender of the idea of truth supernaturally revealed in the Bible and an 'exclusive use of the universally valid instruments of psychology and history.' Christianity must take its place in the ceaseless evolution of historical religions and recognize the similar claims made by other great religions. Christianity may indeed claim supremacy for our own culture and civilization. It need fear no comparison, shrink from no challenge, on this comparatively restricted ground. But it was the creature of an age, it must be interpreted in the light of the forces that produced it and the long and various history that has followed. It cannot be set forth as a complete and perfect conception of religion. Indeed 'the very thought of setting forth any one historical religion as complete and final, capable of supplanting all others, seems to us to be open to serious criticism and doubt.'

¹ In order to avoid all danger of misrepresentation the statement that follows is drawn from an authoritative utterance in the *American Journal of Theology* for Jan. 1918 by Prof. Troeltsch, the Systematic Theologian of the movement. A good account will also be found in Dr. Garvie's article 'Christianity' in *Hastings' Dictionary of Religion*, vol. iii, p. 580.

It is on these lines that many leaders of current thought seek to 'modernize' Christianity. This is not the place to discuss their views, but it is necessary to point out how vital are the issues thus raised, and to urge that what is at stake is the very existence of Christianity as a religion. The historical method is a good servant but a bad master. Some of the presuppositions implied by the school in question are indefensible. Scholars may pursue investigation on these lines, but what is left when they have revised or reconstructed Christianity, is not a religion, but the slender residuum of an intellectual creed, artificially formed in the studies and academies of the twentieth century. The name 'Liberal' Christianity is the usual designation of the creed thus formed. Now if Liberal Christianity meant, as it ought to mean, a clear, well-reasoned, historically-based comprehension of the Christian faith, together with sympathetic insight into all that is living and real in other religions and an earnest determination to bring the Christian religion to bear upon all aspects of actual life to-day, it would claim respectful attention and widespread adhesion. But the 'Liberal' Christianity of the last few decades largely consists of criticism and negative propositions. The nucleus of positive belief is too often not a faith at all. Those who profess it have accomplished nothing, nor has their creed the living energy necessary to accomplish anything, in the religious regeneration of the world. Home Missions, Foreign Missions, evangelization in all its forms, are outside their programme and are despised as pietistic. In the spheres of philanthropy, social reform, and political life some of them have been distinguished, and they deserve the honour they have gained. But such work is not distinctively religious; it is being made indeed a substitute for the real religion which the more than questionable critical methods of such 'liberals' have destroyed in those who have accepted them.

It is desirable therefore to ask in relation to all serious

and responsible attempts to reshape or reconstruct the Christian creed how the builders stand related to certain fundamental principles of faith, and in this instance we may take as illustrations the four essays in *Foundations* which refer to the Person and Work of Christ. Mr. Streeter's essay on 'The Historic Christ' is marked by the knowledge and ability which might be expected from his contribution to *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, edited by Prof. Sanday. He comes to wise conclusions on the now burning question of the eschatological teaching of our Lord. He does justice to Schweitzer as a brilliant leader of the so-called eschatological school, but he does not follow him in his sweeping one-sided conclusions. He points out that there is no inconsistency between the sayings of Christ which represent salvation, or the kingdom of God, as ethical, spiritual, and present here and now, and those which describe it as only to be consummated in another life and a new world-order. He considers that our Lord combined the earlier prophetic with what was best in the later apocalyptic view of the future; that His eschatological teaching is 'a simpler, wider, and greater thing than ordinary Jewish Apocalyptic'; but that to water down or explain away the apocalyptical element in that teaching is a mistake, and that later ages have much to learn from it. Christ and His first disciples 'found themselves standing, as it were, at the bedside of a dying world,' and for them the immediate cloud of lesser interests rolled away and 'ultimate values and eternal issues stood out before them stark and clear, as never before or since in the history of our race.' We heartily agree in what Mr. Streeter says concerning the importance of 'other-worldliness,' as Jesus taught it. But he seems to admit, as we certainly cannot, that our Lord was mistaken in His view of the immediate future. Such an admission is not the mere detail that it is sometimes represented. Those who grant with a light heart that Christ Himself was in error on a cardinal point affecting the kingdom of

God and the salvation of men, through some 'foreshortening' of His vision, are imperilling His authority as a teacher more than they appear to recognize.

On the subject of the Fourth Gospel Mr. Streeter's tone is dubious. More than one meaning can be read into the statement that 'the mystical and theological interest of its author dominates, if it does not swallow up, the biographical.' Mr. Streeter somewhat hesitatingly admits some historical elements in the Gospel, but declines to specify them, or to use any in order to depict 'the historic Christ.' Messrs. Rawlinson and Parsons in a later essay deal with the subject at greater length, but they too emphasize the religious value of this Gospel at the expense of its value as history, saying for example that 'it is really the Church who in the person of Christ is saying to the Jews, Ye search the Scriptures—and these are they which bear witness of *Him*.' Without dogmatizing on questions of authorship and minute historical accuracy, we hold that the substantial trustworthiness of the Fourth Gospel forms a cardinal, not a secondary issue. Very much in Christian faith depends upon the answer to the question as put by the plain man—Are the narratives in this and the other Gospels substantially true, or is the account, e. g. of the raising of Lazarus an allegorical story composed by a writer of the second century for doctrinal purposes? This question concerning the substantial trustworthiness of the evangelists is not categorically answered by Mr. Streeter; but his remarks on pp. 83–85, where he quotes the phrase that 'a good story loses nothing in the telling,' while they may shut out the element of conscious and deliberate misrepresentation from the Synoptists, go far to undermine their value as historians.

This is especially the case in relation to miracles. Here we come upon another crucial point of faith on which a clear note ought to be sounded. We cannot but be seriously dissatisfied with Mr. Streeter's treatment of the subject of the Resurrection. Not only does he urge concerning Christ's

appearances that 'many of the details in the stories as we have them may have been insensibly read into the facts actually observed from the popular presuppositions in the light of which they were interpreted'; not only does he minimize the evidence of the empty tomb, contending that 'with a little ingenuity' an explanation of the fact on natural grounds might be devised; not only does he condemn both the 'Traditional' and the 'Subjective Vision' theories of the Resurrection as 'materialistic'; but he appears to give up the fact of Christ's resurrection altogether as a convincing 'sign' for believers to-day, and he would have them fall back upon another sign, impossible nineteen hundred years ago, 'the vindication in history of the claims Christ made' (pp. 140-1). We may be doing injustice to Mr. Streeter, but he seems to occupy on the subject of miracles much the same position as that taken up by Mr. Thomson of Magdalen College, and to regard them as remarkable but natural events under an overruling Providence, such as are occurring every day. A decision on this point is more important for faith than the writer seems prepared to acknowledge.

Many readers will regard the essay on the Divinity of Christ as the one by which this volume should mainly stand or fall. Mr. Temple's name is perhaps the best known of the Seven in the theological world outside Oxford, and this essay does not belie his reputation. It is reverent in tone, sufficiently learned in its treatment, and constructive in its aim. It seeks to establish a real doctrine of God-in-Christ on a somewhat new basis, not to explain away a cardinal article of the Christian faith. Whether the writer fully succeeds in this aim, is another question. One leading thought is insisted on twice in his essay which, as it occurs also in two other essays, is probably one that the writers have talked over together and agree to hold as important. Mr. Streeter has said (p. 79) that while it is a natural instinct 'to read into our conception of the Historic Christ the *a priori* and possibly

misleading ideas we happen to have formed of the Divine,' we ought to begin at the other end and judge of God through Christ. Mr. Temple says (p. 214), 'To ask whether Christ is divine is to suggest that Christ is an enigma while Deity is a simple and familiar conception. The truth is the exact opposite of this.' Elsewhere (p. 258) he points out 'the mistake of regarding Christ as the problem, instead of regarding Him as the solution of the problem. . . . The wise question is not, Is Christ divine, but What is God like? And the answer to that is, Christ.' Surely there is a fallacy here. Jesus did not expect His disciples to take it for granted that God was like Himself, but asked them, Who say ye that I am? Christ, the Son of Man, is a problem to men who are prepared to admit that never was man before or since wholly like this Man, and they are right in asking, Is He more than man? If so, how much more, and why? Mr. Temple says, 'We use terms—Divinity and Humanity—whose meaning is only revealed in Christ to account for the fact of Christ.' True, we so use them because they have a well-known connotation in language and make it possible to discuss the position and significance of Jesus, called the Christ, in the history of the race. It is not difficult to understand why the essayist desires to avoid this issue, and we would deprecate, as he does, the attaching of mere conventional meanings to the words God and man. But because they cannot be defined completely it does not follow that they cannot be understood at all, and to avoid the issue as Mr. Temple does is not to light up the subject, but to confuse the ideas of those who desire intelligently to answer the plain question, What think ye of Christ?

Similarly, Mr. Temple protests against our being brought into bondage by outworn phrases of Greek philosophy. He describes what he calls 'the inevitable failure of Substance-theology.' The Greek Fathers were compelled, he says, to dwell on the doctrine of 'substance' in defining the Incarna-

tion, but this method 'inevitably ignores the will and with it the moral problem.' Greek theology did indeed describe Redemption as from death rather than from sin, as the gift of immortality rather than of holiness, whereas Western theology dealt pre-eminently with the problems of free-will, sin, and grace. But Tertullian and Cyprian were narrow in comparison with Origen and Athanasius in their conceptions of the Person and Work of Christ taken as a whole, and both East and West were more or less fettered by limitations of vocabulary and the associations which gathered round such words as *oûla* *ουλα* and *hypostasis* on the one hand and *substantia* and *persona* on the other. Mr. Temple does not avoid all difficulty by substituting a 'Will-theology' for a 'Substance-theology.' What, he asks, is 'the relation of the Will—that is, the entire active Personality of Christ to the Father?' And he replies that no final answer can be given to the question till philosophy has provided a final account of personality, human and divine. What is this but to say that what the Greek Fathers called *oûla*—essence, rather than substance—both of man and of God, is not, and cannot be, fully known?

More satisfactory is the positive exposition found later: 'Christ is the perfect expression of the Divine in terms of human life. There are not two Gods, but in Christ we see God. Christ is identically God; the whole content of His being—His thought, feeling, and purpose—is also that of God. This is the only "substance" of a spiritual being, for it is all there is of him at all. . . . The human affections of Christ are God's affections; His suffering is God's, His love is God's, His glory is God's' (pp. 248-9). Most true; and while 'substance' in English to-day has other associations and may easily bear another meaning, the Greek Fathers meant almost exactly what Mr. Temple says so emphatically and so well. 'What we are forced to by the work of Christ in the world is not the belief that He is the

Absolute God in all the fullness of Being—for “the Father is greater than I”—but the belief that in all which directly concerns the spiritual relation of man to God, Christ is identically one with the Father in the content of His being—“I and the Father are one.”’

Doubtless many difficulties remain. No sane man undertakes to ‘explain’ the mystery of the Incarnation. Archbishop Temple is quoted as having said that the best kind of dogmatics consists in ‘distinct refusals to define.’ The words standing by themselves might easily be misunderstood. His son rightly adds, ‘coupled with repeated efforts to restate and understand as far as may be.’ All progress in theology is made up of such repeated efforts on the part of spiritually-minded men to restate on the one hand, while on the other they acknowledge that the poverty of human language prevents the possibility of ultimate definition in the deep things of God. As Augustine put it, *Tres Personae—non ut illud diceretur, sed ne taceretur.*

Mr. Moberly’s essay on the Atonement contains much with which we heartily agree. His method is to state first the liberal or modernist view, then the conservative or evangelical, afterwards giving his own *Tertium Quid*, which seeks to combine what is true in either. The discussion of the nature of sin and the conditions of justification is carried on with the knowledge and skill of a well-read theologian. Mr. Moberly not only does justice to the ‘liberal’ view, but also—what is much harder in these days—to the evangelical view of ‘original sin’ and the meaning and need of forgiveness. To our thinking the most useful parts of this volume are those that are occupied in precisely this kind of work—the translating into modern language, and showing the real meaning and deep reasonableness of evangelical teaching which, when couched in the technical phraseology of traditional theology, sounds to some modern ears either meaningless or positively repellent.

We pass by much that appears to us excellent in Mr.

Moberly's exposition to criticize one main feature in his conception of Christ's atonement for sin. He rejects various theories and explanations in order to concentrate attention upon 'vicarious penitence' as the innermost meaning of the work of Christ for our salvation. The idea was worked out in detail by the late Dr. R. C. Moberly in his *Atonement and Personality*, and he in turn was doubtless largely influenced by M'Leod Campbell's well-known book on the subject. Mr. W. H. Moberly's own putting of the case is full of interest, and he meets very fully and frankly a number of objections that have been raised against his views. Much is to be learned from the analysis here presented of sin, of repentance and of forgiveness, characterized as it is by skill and insight; and it can hardly be questioned that both M'Leod Campbell and R. C. Moberly in their books on the Atonement, rendered valuable service by drawing attention to one aspect of a profound and many-sided doctrine. But the fundamental objection to their view has never been met—vicarious penitence is impossible. Love for the sinner combined with hatred of his sin is possible. Intense sympathy with those needing salvation is possible, and Bushnell made salvation by sympathy the theme of his earlier exposition of the Atonement. In a later book, *Forgiveness and Law*, he was candid enough to admit that he had left out an essential part of the problem. Sympathy does not suffice for salvation. The utterance of 'a human Amen to the divine condemnation of Sin,' or vicarious confession—which was Campbell's theory—does not of itself suffice. And, strictly interpreted, 'vicarious penitence' lacks psychological reality more than some previous theories that have been rejected because of their apparently fictitious character. Mr. Moberly's illustration drawn from the story of Peggotty and Em'ly—touching as it is and true to the best in human nature—does not carry us far enough. If vicarious penitence is impossible, says Mr. Moberly, then atonement is impossible. Surely that does not follow. A

theologian who refuses to accept in Christ's Atonement any feature that is not perfectly paralleled in human psychology, must incur failure. The unique relation of Christ to God as eternal Son and to man as Incarnate Saviour makes His work on behalf of man towards God to be unique. Thus while human phraseology is employed and human analogies used in bringing home to the hearts of men the meaning of the Cross of Christ—the blending of uttermost condemnation of sin and uttermost love to sinners—the doctrine cannot be wholly presented in terms of human psychology.

We agree so fully with a large part of Mr. Moberly's essay that we must quote one further sentence in which he sets forth the significance of the Cross. 'The spectacle of Jesus bearing the sins of His persecutors, and by so bearing them, initiating their overthrow, is the guarantee that God is bearing the sins of the world; that sin exists only to be caught up and transmuted in the love of God; and that such a heart-subduing, world-conquering sacrifice is an eternal 'moment' in the Divine Life, an essential part of the activity whereby God is God' (p. 815). Strictly speaking, sin cannot be 'transmuted,' and the love of God manifested in the Cross is a holy, sin-condemning love in a sense that the essayist fails to expound. But the exposition of the Atonement contained in the essay as a whole is full of true and deep Christian feeling, and it contains glimpses of truth from various angles, which will make it suggestive and helpful to many modern minds.

The rest of the volume must be passed over with slight comment. Mention ought to have been made of Mr. Rawlinson's essay on the principle of Authority in Religion, a subject of paramount importance, recently treated with characteristic ability and force by Dr. Forsyth. We regret also that space fails for the discussion of the last essay on 'God and the Absolute.' Mr. Moberly has used the hundred pages allotted to him well, yet he has touched only on one aspect of a great theme. The standpoint of Absolute

Idealism which he occupies is not the only one from which the idea of God may be, and ought to be, studied. Dr. John Caird and Prof. John Watson have laid down lines which Mr. Moberly follows, not slavishly but in his own fashion. Dr. James Ward's Gifford Lectures on 'The Realm of Ends' show that many aspects of so vast a subject as Christian Theism cannot be satisfactorily handled from the standpoint of Absolutism. But Mr. Moberly's examination of the age-long problem of thought whether the God of philosophy, which implies unity and universality, can be identified with the God of religion, which implies personality—whether these two converging lines can ever meet, 'whether the convergence will continue till the two conceptions are fused, or whether there is some essential difference between the two which must always prevent identification,'—is full of fascination alike for the philosopher and the theologian.

To return to the point from which we started. It can be no matter of surprise, and should awaken no apprehension, that the Church of Christ in our day is called to pass through keen intellectual as well as moral conflict. The shaping, preserving, and enriching of an ancient and sacred creed in the midst of an embarrassing wealth of new knowledge must cost pain and effort, as truly as the enduring of trial and persecution, and the conquering of strong temptation. Some Christians may have but a small share in this intellectual testing of faith, but those who think, and especially those who are called to teach, have no easy task before them in the coming years. The Church of Rome claims to possess and impart immunity from this conflict. In doctrine, as in all else, it professes to be *Semper Eadem*. But the 'infallibility' of the Roman Catholic Church is only preserved by waiting quietly two hundred years before acknowledging its error in condemning Galileo, instead of manfully facing the truth at the time. Neither by means of an infallible Pope, nor by an infallible Church, nor by an infallible Book intended to save men the trouble of thinking, does the

Divine Spirit guide and bring home the wayfaring children of men.

But He guides if the Church is faithful. In the realm of truth as in the moral sphere, victory is granted to faith. Argument is not the last resort. It is necessary; it is one of the weapons by means of which faith militant becomes triumphant. But in days of highly developed literary and historical criticism, of rapidly advancing physical science and the approach of a new spirit in philosophy, with urgent cries sounding in the ears that no gospel can suffice for the needs of mankind which does not promise immediate social reform or revolution, Christian faith must be strong indeed if it is to hold its own and conquer new intellectual and moral kingdoms for its Master. It is the *faith* of the believer that needs to be strengthened, the old truths need to be revitalized rather than reconstructed. The language in which they are expressed must be that of to-day, and the work of the translator is never easy. But 'great is the glory, for the strife is hard.' Faith is to grow not only in the conflict, but by means of it. Part of its work is to transform knowledge into wisdom. Knowledge abounds, wisdom is rare. Knowledge at its best—and how noble is that best!—is still 'earthly, of the mind, but Wisdom heavenly, of the soul.' The Christian thinkers of to-day have the lofty task set before them of showing afresh that now as in the first century, 'in Christ are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden.' And, in the pursuit of Truth, as well as in the accomplishment of Duty, it will be found that—

He that ever following her commands,
On with toil of heart and knees and hands,
Through the long gorge to the far light has won
His path upward, and prevailed,
Shall find the toppling crags of Duty scaled
Are close upon the shining table-lands
To which our God Himself is moon and sun.

W. T. DAVISON.

ROBERT SCHUMANN

BY the sheer force of tragedy, or by the tempest that is in them, some men are carried from the exterior view of the world, through various stages of doubt and passion to the inner and mystical view. To such a generation belonged Watts the painter and Tchaikovsky the musician. Others there are who, though meeting many hazards and enduring much pain, have from youth an even and continuous intercourse with the mysteries, who make few fierce plunges, but whose souls always respond to symbols, and whose work is lit by a perpetual radiance. From Fra Angelico to Mantegna certain of the early Italian painters were of this group; and to this order, though expressing himself in another art and in other times, belonged Robert Schumann.

The key of his music is a wild flying note carried like a snowflake through the stifling heats of grief. One gathers always the suggestion that life and rapture start into being in the union of the incongruous. The spiritual is eternally unexpected. Has God thundered from Sinai? He is to become a Child laughing in a stable. Have we seen the Child with the Doctors? We are soon to behold Him making wine for a wedding. It was in the most mystical of periods and in the most spiritual of buildings that the stone was chipped into grinning gargoyles. The mystic dwells with sorrow and renunciation, but he is crowned with hilarity; and the soul cannot be understood by those who have never seen her laugh with mischief. The mystic is always half-urchin, and we shall not comprehend Robert Schumann unless in one vision we can unite frolic and brooding, childlike romp and heartbreak.

The work of Schumann, and that of the circle for which he stood, was a protest against finality, against the pompous,

against the decline into gravity. It is urgent that we keep moving. The fruit we have gathered is already withering. The grain we flung aside has sprung up and blossomed. Have we completed our conception of Beauty, of Heaven, of Love? It is certain then that Truth lies elsewhere.

'My whole life has been a twenty years' war between prose and poetry, between law and music,' wrote Schumann to his mother in the year 1880. His father, a man of intellect and literary perception temperamentally akin to his son, died in 1826 when Robert was in his fifteenth year, too early in his career to influence him finally in the choice of a profession. His mother, parochial in mind, had borne a son whom she did not understand; and though there is a pathos in this which is not always recognized, her influence upon his life was chiefly that of unilluminated opposition.

Robert was sent away to study law; but that whimsical star which follows the genius in spite of the troubles of his youth, shone an oblique ray into the practical arrangements made for his future. For at this most unlikely point in his history the rod blossomed, the cloud which had seemed so dismally to obscure the way became a pillar of fire. The lawyer under whom Robert studied proved to be an ardent musician, and developed in his charge precisely those imaginings whose growth he had been expected to arrest. Thus, playfully, in an august world did Destiny vindicate herself. Nevertheless Robert had felt the blunt shock of his mother's misunderstanding, and for the first time he had touched one of the deep undercurrents of the world's pain; he had seen the spiritual distance which may separate those of the same kin. And it was at this stage that there drew down upon him the melancholy which, growing, finally crushed his life.

Events cluster about a boy of eighteen, with an amazing glitter. Nature and fortune conspire together to bewilder and charm him. Within the few years which encircle twenty, he is shown the world from a pinnacle; the world

in symbol. He discovers himself to be the possessor of many gifts which urge him to give them life and carry them forward into the future. His imagination has suddenly exploded, and he is surrounded with golden fires. Friendships and pale shadowy loves leap into flame, and in the same breath become spent and lost. And perchance in later years he shall return to the ashes, and shall find, smouldering, little stars which he would fain revive.

From among Schumann's adventures in friendship about this time one must detach two personalities, Frederick Wieck and his daughter Clara, who, as his life ran its course, assumed an importance pre-eminent. Wieck was one of the most successful teachers of music of his day. And of this, Clara stood in evidence. She was nine years old when Schumann commenced to study with her father, and was already possessed of a remarkable technique. During the two years between the ages of eighteen and twenty, Schumann endeavoured to combine the study of music with that of law. But this, to an intellect as vigorous as his, was anathema. His personality would not divide, it refused to be satisfied by the graceful drift of the dilettante. It must receive all or nothing; and there came a day when this ultimatum had to be met. He therefore begged his mother to inquire of Wieck, who had now taught him for two years, as to his capacity. One must defend blind convention or a lack of humanity to justify her answer to his appeal, for her refusal was not, as is so often the case, the forced result of inconsiderable means, but that of inconsiderable imagination.

The decision now rested entirely with himself, and in what torment of fire and frost he made it, some idea may be gathered when we recollect what he met in this clear hour of crisis. To follow his ideal would appear to his mother, whom he loved, but who had hitherto realized nothing of his trend, an act quite unaccountably perverse; it would also commence for him a new future which he

would enter with no greater sense of security than that granted by an inward light. It is possible that he suffered doubt after his choice for art was made; but fortunately there have always been wise men, who, bearing their frankincense and gold, have dared to venture into the unknown with no greater lamp than a star.

The profounder changes in man are often, and indeed usually, effected long before they become apparent to his ordinary consciousness. Love, when she has decided upon a high romance, begins secretly, and brings in her melting-pots in silence. She will permit no eye to witness her early labours. The silver whips of summer lightning shall lash the horizon to divert the attention of her subjects, curtains of enchantment shall be hung about them, but on no account must the glare of her braziers be seen. Schumann, in order to study more effectively, had now become a member of the household of Frederick Wieck. We who are permitted to see unrolled the complete scroll of his life, may marvel at his persistent blindness during the early years of his acquaintance with Clara, and at his engagement to marry Ernestine von Fricken. He had felt the new forces of life rippling over his soul, but had failed to divine their origin. New continents began to be lifted glittering out of strange seas, but Love was not yet quite prepared for him; and with characteristic mischief deflected his attention for a time toward Ernestine.

This, one of her masterpieces in life, was to be no hurried labour; no mere rainbow across a gulf; but a design of bold construction and masterly outline; an immortal work; and no element of life must be omitted. And she forged a future made of the labours and raptures of body and soul in which misunderstanding and pain were welded to the mystical radiance of genius, and hopeless gloom was upheld by the splendour of sacrifice. 'We shall lead a life of poetry and blossom,' wrote Schumann to Clara in 1836, 'and we will play and compose together like angels, and bring

gladness to mankind.' And, though among the blossom gleamed a sword, this was one of those prophecies, rare among men, which received fulfilment. Yet in the meantime, with fantastic unreality, does Robert confide to Clara his passion for Ernestine.

But in the spiritual world it is that which is apparently fragile which is immortal; that which is hidden, and has numberless times been passed by, in which lies our strength. Passion the Magnificent must end his parade before Love discloses herself. And thus it was, after a brief and turbulent regard for Ernestine, Schumann passing one evening down the stairs of Wieck's house, and turning suddenly out of the shadow, saw Clara. No word was spoken. But in that moment both knew what manner of circumstance it was that had befallen them. And the light in her hand set gold about their heads, and flung all darkness far behind. The intellectualist is usually sensitive without being sympathetic. To such a nature bring disappointment or opposition, and to his refinement is added tyranny. Frederick Wieck, labouring bitterly against the memory of an unhappy marriage, and thwarted in his earlier hope to become an artist of the first rank, had now concentrated upon his daughter the energy of a pride retarded too long. For her success he schemed. For her happiness also he strove so long as it remained the ally of his ambition. Until Schumann announced his desire to marry Clara, Wieck was a man to be pitied. Afterwards he became a man to be feared. For Clara to marry meant that which was intolerable to him; and, if ambition is to be given the precedence of affection, that which was unjust to him. It meant that her genius would be associated with a name other than his. From an attempt to dissuade he leapt by sharp degrees to fury and from fury to threats. His daughter, putting delay upon delay to regain his affection, found her reluctant spirit forced at length into opposition. The Courts of Justice were sought for permission to marry,

with the result that Clara and Robert soon forgot their grievous pain of insult and repulse in the joy of new hope and new life. The year 1840 saw the commencement of a marriage, the record of which has become one of the world's most beautiful possessions.

Psychology can do no more than hint at the spiritual processes which are set in motion when love finds its consummation. Life is liberated, and on many planes. But what miracle of falling blossom has ever surpassed the shower of imagination which fell about Robert during the first year of his married life? He had until this time composed pianoforte music only, but now came his year of song, his year of immortality. Like clouds, two souls had united, and there fell a silver rain. Over one hundred and thirty songs were given to the world in these twelve short months.

There were three occasions in the youth of Schumann when influence external to his own genius had a direct action upon his career, and each had its essential place in the development of his personality. The first was when he passed into the office of the lawyer and found music. The second, when through injury to his hand the career of the *virtuoso* became closed to him, composition alone remaining. The third culminated in his marriage, when his spirit, having been given the direction, was granted flight. Clara had broken the seals which only a woman's hand may find, and a soul had swept upward which she alone, of all those who had known him, had seen hidden; and the greater life of Robert Schumann had begun.

The world may discuss its properties and its excursions, but the romanticist is abstracted; he cannot see the wall for the flower which it surrounds, and his mind becomes luminous as he passes. And this is his secret, that he always remains a lover. Whichever way he may look it is always over the crystal battlement of his love; and the laws of his art are no more than a lattice of laths over which his roses may tumble. He seeks always to develop imagination at the

expense of intellect. He would sift from his mystical idea all that is not born of intuition. He would attain the golden snows of the summits without climbing the slopes at the base. Brave, passionate, uncalculated flights have been made in this realm of romanticism, and the region is strewn with iridescent ruin, with broken wings. The heights are well guarded, and those who storm them often return speechless. Not with the despair which is dark, but with that which is black, fire-ravaged. Maybe Beauty among her rocks weeps sometimes at the blood with which she is bespattered; but certain it is that her toll of the bright intellect of modern genius has been appallingly large.

In Schumann, depression and the final brain disaster which, in the last two years of his life overcame him, were due largely to disease for which his genius was in no way responsible. But his refusal to remain in wilful ignorance of the classic, the structural side of his art, without doubt saved him from much of the pain he would otherwise have suffered. Construction is the mental salvation of the emotional nature. That which can be handled, and which has known law, can be a very fountain of refreshment to the labourers on the periphery of the soul. For those who would release Beauty from her fastness are condemned to the hunger and thirst of solitude. The world has other concerns. If it is the weakness of the romanticist that he tends to ignore structure, it is his strength that he is never wholly confined by it. Schumann was spirit first, embodied spirit afterwards. In his earlier period he considered that to abide by form was to lean towards materialism, and he energetically opposed it, both in his written critiques and in his own work. It was his wont to say that Jean Paul had taught him more counterpoint than any other master. But law is beyond choice; the decision to be formed is whether one shall follow it with closed eyes, or recognize it openly. And Schumann was too great to live with fallacy.

Every artist is in some measure an architect: he must accept the laws which govern pillar and beam; he must know where the arch may leap overhead and where it must be balanced in its thrust by a buttress. But it is very probable that Schumann chose instinctively the best direction for his own development. The schools would reverse this order, but it is doubtful if any powerful artist has ever followed any other path. Expression should always precede discipline. Too urgent an application of principles in early years crushes the blossom of personality and of genius. At the age of thirty-three, at the apex of his career, there was no musical form which Schumann did not completely understand, for though he began as an enemy of form, he ended by being its master. He commenced by despising the material world, but he finished by spiritualizing it. And this is the way; this union of idea and form, this incarnation of spirit in matter, is eventually the mystery and passion of all artists. It is not sufficient that Prometheus knows of the fire, or that he mentions where it may be found; but with his hands he must bring it down to the forges of the plain, to be torn in their blasts, to submit its radiance to the iron.

Twilight has always borne a significant relation to romanticism. It is one of those hours of change and of covenant in which the soul never fails to take part, as though she recognized a prophecy in this withdrawal of the earth, and, looking up through the ravelled twigs, saw the white flames of other worlds. It is one of the hours of God and of benediction, when we are given silver for gold; the currency of the spirit for that of the world. It was at this time that Schumann was drawn to improvise, when the bat dipped his wing into the pool of the moon, when the wind falling to sleep spilt down his windows out of the tree-tops, and the flowers breathed a perfume which the sun in his glory never knew. This was the moment of his imagination; his spirit drew on her pearls, his thoughts

flew home like the birds. He himself became the very genius of Twilight; the silence entered him which awakens the evening primrose; the blue-grey quiet which bids the trefoil draw on her hood possessed him and flowed through him as the sea through an anemone. No harsh sound could be struck now, and he used both pedals almost incessantly, softening chord into chord, and from his fingers sweet sorceries unfurled, and magic dreams of enchanted hedge and tower of mist.

To understand this pause between the tides of day and night is to have an instinctive and inner comprehension of Schumann's temperament far outweighing any external knowledge.

Across much of his music has this half light fallen. Sometimes the spirit of a twilight after rain, when the leaves, still wet are edged of a sudden with a glimmer, half of the evening, half of the soul; and water from springs renewed falls into shallow basins, piping with the soft laughter of flutes. Schumann was never very far away from the rainwashed spirit of the child. Like all mystics he was conscious of moments of passionate innocence, a sense of initiation, of intuitive understanding, of being accepted as one of a throng which danced and was alive. As though a stream, which wandering through a forest of dead trees, dark and ancient, should suddenly find itself leaping into many other waters, among the young roots of a wide meadow. It is a mood in which can live no malice and no strategy, some rhythm from without has swept through the soul and has delivered it of all that is not of pure gold like unto clear glass.

It is not a matter for surprise, then, that we find, as with William Blake, a kinship between Schumann and the heart of the child; and that at the zenith of his genius he composed the *Album for the Young*. The first pieces of this were written for the birthday of his eldest daughter, and, as he himself expressed it, are 'quite distinct from

the *Kinderszenen*, which are recollections of a grown-up person for those of his own age while the *Christmas Album* consists more of imaginings, presentments, and future states for younger people.'

Two opposite tendencies, emotion and analysis, were predominant in the mind of Schumann, and the varying supremacy of these was responsible for much of his pain, and many of his mental dislocations and moods. The one energetically demanded freedom; it would be gone. The other, watching always, condensed and restrained. It was only in his creative moments that the perfect balance of these occurred; and emotion, supplying the life, was always the first to fall from exhaustion. It was the high development of these two forces which gave to the music of Schumann its peculiar significance, and to his criticism its unique power. He was that unusual being, a critical mystic; to use a word with which he himself played, he was *Doppelgänger*.

Moreover, he had the power of dwelling in either or both of these hemispheres at will, thus commanding as a critic three several points of view; famous now in the personalities which he created to hold discourse and argument in the pages of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, of which he was editor. 'Florestan and Eusebius is my double nature,' said Schumann, summing up his own character in an illuminating sentence, 'which I should gladly unite as in Raro to form a whole man.'

Within the spirit of many artists is a certain hardness, a force almost cruel, a sensitiveness keen as a blade which would cut away from life all but the beautiful expression. With them, self-expression is the pre-eminent concern. But the motive of Schumann was larger; like that of Dickens or Rossetti it was to be found in love, not in culture. His endeavour was not merely for the exquisite phrase, but to make a gift of generous life. And as with the work of such few others as have been directed by this impulse, a

certain crystalline finish is sometimes missed, but instead of the gem-like flame of which Pater speaks, one is given warm humanity; not the glisten of a stone, but the fire of a heart. Schumann's temperament was lyrical. His endeavour was to express impulse, the emotion which leaps and breaks suddenly; in both his writing and his music he was epigrammatic, and in his sentences as with his musical phrases, there occur little sudden discoveries, glances aside, and slight added graces of expression. The spiritual nature is never still, and seldom does the soul follow her true path with that straightforward confidence which is often attributed to her. Strength and courage are not always expressed by the foursquare and the statuesque. The strong spirit seeks new territory, has a curiosity for dark places where its current must feel warily for the level, constantly turning back on itself, leaving islands of rock on which it is continually broken into white pain. The course of a great life is not to be forced like that of a canal, it must be sought and followed like that of a river, with rapids sometimes and even cascades, but often timidly enough and with hesitating pools. Thus Schumann lived, fluid but not weak, diffident and awkward in relation to the world; with no gift for assertion or attack, often as a conductor allowing his orchestra to create its own *tempo*. But in his soul he was persistent with recovering courage; curious with an everlasting passion in the search for that path which no fowl knoweth, and which the vulture's eye hath not seen.

The epic quality is quite absent from his work, thus he was not so successful in symphony or sonata forms as in song, in which he has no equal. All his compositions are either short, or are a sequence of glowing moments threaded together. His power of creation rose like the crest of a wave sparkling in a warm light balanced for a moment and then fractured amid a cloud of drifting colour. The word humour with its double significance may be

applied to him. He had the elfin sparkle of gaiety, a delight in mimicry and impersonation, as shown in the *Carnaval*, and also a wandering changeable mood like a spring sky. And, it may be said, that it is this latter sense in which the title *Humoresque* is used. But rolling gloom was never far from him, and he speaks of his helplessness under its shadow in the second *Novelette*, which passes wearily on from bar to bar a sad procession of hooded figures, draped in their own dark misery. Like Jean Paul, whose writings were often a direct inspiration to Schumann, his soul had an intuitive understanding of woman, of her silences, of the inward and hidden nature of her life. Her meditative sadness found its natural kindred in the moods of his own heart, and his twelve songs of *Woman's Love* remain unique in their comprehension of her elusive atmosphere and of her alert though brooding sympathy.

Schumann was born in a period when external classification and order had begun to command the respect of a religion. Thought was rationalistic, men had come to be considered in groups; and each group had its institution, its church, its platform. But of man in the collective sense, of congregations, Schumann had little understanding. His temperament found its best expression in chamber music. He heard in his own heart the cry of humanity, and he answered in music, not to the nation, but to the individual; not from an eminence but within a chamber. He composed for man the solitary, and found that he had spoken to the whole world.

We may carry his art through the years. It is the romance of the youth of the soul, the eternal youth which is with us when our earlier dreams have swept by and have become lost in their own dust. And when we are faced with the immeasurable silence and sadness of the world, and have begun to search the wilderness that nothing be lost, we shall find his music among our baskets, for it is of those fragments that remain.

FREDERIC LAWRENCE.

SOME FACTORS IN THE PROBLEM OF CHURCH REUNION

ON almost every side the subject of Christian Reunion is before us. Nor is this surprising in the light of our Lord's prayer in St. John xvii, and especially in view of the sad and often disastrous effect of 'our unhappy divisions.' The movement for Reunion received great acceleration from Dean Armitage Robinson's sermon before the Lambeth Conference of 1908, on 'The Vision of Unity.' This was followed by the Lambeth Conference itself, with its expressions of sympathy and its practical suggestions for Reunion. Since then the appeal of the Bishop of Bombay to scholars in our Universities has done much to concentrate attention on the subject, and in particular his appeal has elicited from Dr. Sanday the important articles which have appeared in the *Contemporary Review*. Not least of all is the Conference on 'Faith and Order,' appointed by the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, with reference to this important topic. As a slight contribution to further discussion, the present article aims at calling attention to some of the questions that need fuller consideration by way of preliminaries to any decision.

I

We must study afresh what is essential in the New Testament in regard to the Church and Ministry.—Article VI of the Church of England is quite unambiguous as to the supremacy of Holy Scripture in all matters of essential doctrine: 'Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite

or necessary to salvation.' Canon Simpson, of St. Paul's, remarks that 'the English Church claims to rest upon the rock of the Bible, and the Bible only, as exclusively as any body of Protestants in Christendom.'¹

Perhaps the first requirement is a clear idea of the New Testament doctrine of the Church and its place in the Christian system. In 1875 the late Bishop Ellicott, in a sermon preached in Gloucester Cathedral, endeavoured to state what he regarded as the primary, essential, and fundamental distinction between the Church of England and the Church of Rome on this subject. He found the fundamental distinction in the fact that—

The system of Rome makes the relation of the individual to Christ depend upon his relation to the Church; while that of our own Church makes the relation of the individual to the Church depend upon his relation to Christ. In our long and enduring controversy with Rome, no other distinction has ever been drawn between us which appears to cover and to include all the broad spiritual characteristics, and to express succinctly the sum and substance of all the great doctrinal differences on either side.

With this agrees the Roman Catholic view, recently stated by Mgr. Moyes—

In the Catholic mind the order of Salvation stands as one, two, three—Christ, the Church, the Soul: that is to say, Christ living and acting in His Church teaches, saves, and sanctifies the soul. The work of Luther was to alter the order into that of Christ, the Soul, and the Church—or one, three, two. It is thus that in the Protestant mind the Church, falling into the third place, becomes something merely instrumental, instead of being as it is in the Catholic mind, something vital and permanently structural. . . . As long as the Reformation holds to its primary principles—in other words, as long as it continues to be itself—any reconciliation between it and these doctrines becomes metaphysically impossible.²

Much the same, apart of course from the Papacy, is the view of the Church held by extreme Anglicans. Thus the Bishop of Oxford has a chapter in one of his books entitled 'The Church the Home of Salvation.' But every-

¹ *The Thing Signified*, Second Edition, p. 18.

² *The Westminster Eucharistic Congress*, p. 38.

thing depends upon whether the Church is the home into which those who are already believers enter, or a place by entering which the Christian is saved. The Bishop evidently intends the latter, and argues that Christ's salvation consists in 'membership in this visible body.'

The New Testament conception, as Evangelicals view it, is that of a Church which is essentially divine, though not 'prior to its members.' The question turns almost entirely on the relation between organism and organization. The fullest and highest view of the Church found in the New Testament is in Ephesians, where St. Paul teaches that the Church is an organism rather than an organization, and that, as Newman himself once said, 'it started as an idea rather than an institution.' The Evangelical standpoint is that of the Church as a community in union with Christ, though of course expressing its life in connexion with visible organizations. But, as Hort says, the Church, as the Body of Christ, does not consist of aggregate Churches but of individual members. This distinction between organism and organization is regarded by Evangelicals as vital to the New Testament conception of the Church, because it is impossible to regard the two as either identical or coterminous. Archbishop Benson, in the preface to his work on Cyprian, speaks of 'the noble, and alas, too fruitful error of arraying the visible Church in the attributes of the Church invisible.' In this question of the Church lies one of the fundamental differences between the two great parties who are considering Reunion, and it may be summed up in Dr. Fairbairn's striking, but true antithesis, 'the one must have a Church that it may have a religion; the other must have religion and truth that it may have a Church.'

Arising out of the Doctrine of the Church comes the question of the Ministry. The Bishop of Oxford has made the frank admission that there are two points 'in which the witness of the New Testament needs supplementing by the witness of the Church. The first of these is as to the

exact division of ministerial functions; the second, the exact form which the ministry of the future was to take.'¹ The question at once arises whether in the light of Article VI any point on which the New Testament is 'silent and needs supplementing' can be regarded as essential and permanently binding.

A third point connected with the New Testament is the meaning of the act of laying-on of hands. Dr. Sanday writes—

Another question which goes to the root of the matter is that as to the significance of the laying-on of hands. It is, no doubt, a widespread idea that this denotes *transmission*—the transmission of a property possessed by one person to another. But it cannot really mean this. It is a common accompaniment of 'blessing'—i. e. of the invoking of blessing. It is God who blesses or bestows the gift; and it is in no way implied that the gift is previously possessed by him who invokes it. True, that 'the less is blessed of the greater'; but that does not mean that the greater *imparts* a blessing. When we come to think of this, it seems clear enough; and the inference suggested is one for which we may be thankful. It may save us from some mechanical and unworthy ways of conceiving historic continuity, which is just as real without them.²

Yet another vital question connected with the New Testament which calls for the closest possible examination is as to whether our Lord gave His authority to the Twelve, or, as the Roman Church maintains, to Peter alone as supreme. The Roman claim is quite simple and easy of comprehension if we accept the premiss, but if we believe that Peter did not receive any authority beyond that which was given to the other Apostles, the question at once arises whether the authority was vested in the Twelve as individuals, or as a College. If it be said that each Apostle could be the Head of an Apostolic Church, then there would be at least the possibility of twelve Apostolic Churches. If, however, the Twelve were not authorized individually to perpetuate the Church, but were constituted a collective

¹ *The Church and the Ministry*, Fourth Edition, p. 246.

² *The Conception of Priesthood*, p. 167.

body for this purpose, we still require the historical proof that the Twelve ever constituted themselves, or were constituted into a body to ordain successors.

One more point of supreme importance is the fact of the priesthood of all believers and its bearing on the question of the ministry. It is generally recognized that the true way of stating the case is that Christianity is rather than *has* a priesthood. Did this universal priesthood originally include in it all that was essential for ministry in the community? Was it possible for a body of believers to constitute themselves into a Church apart from any outside authority, such as might have been supposed to exist in the Apostles? What, in a word, was the precise relation of the Apostles and the Prophets to the Christian community in each place?

It is evident that these New Testament problems call for renewed study and definite settlement before we can proceed very far in the direction of Christian Reunion.

II

We must then study afresh all the available facts of second-century history.—Perhaps the first and most important of these is the true meaning of Ignatius. It is well known that very different interpretations have been elicited from his references to the Episcopate. Did he mean to regard it binding on all the Churches? Professor Gwatkin believes that he is attacking the Separatists who disobeyed an existing order, and is not referring to Churches which may have deliberately preferred another order. And according to the same weighty authority, amid all the urgency with which Ignatius presses Episcopacy he does not appeal to Apostolic command in support of his contention.

Time after time he insists, 'Obey the Bishop,' and presses it in every way he can. His urgency has not been exaggerated. So much

the more significant is the absence of the one decisive argument which would have made all the rest superfluous. With all his urgency, he never says, Obey the Bishop as the Lord ordained, or as the Apostles gave command. Even if this is not always the first argument of a man who believes it, he cannot get far without using it. The continued silence of so earnest an advocate as Ignatius is a plain confession that he knew of no such command: and the ignorance of one who must have known the truth of the matter would seem decisive that no such command was given.¹

Another question calling for immediate attention is as to the origin of Episcopacy. Did it arise by evolution from the Presbyterate, or by devolution from the Apostolate? Lightfoot argues in favour of the former contention,² and is supported by writers like Hatch, Gwatkin, and Lindsay. On the other hand, the extreme Anglican and Roman contention is that the latter alternative is correct. Which of these is truer to the facts of the second century?

It is now generally admitted that Episcopacy was a gradual evolution of the second century arising out of the needs of the Church. Dean Armitage Robinson argues from this that evolution is a divine law of progress, and Episcopacy came 'by a divinely natural necessity.' Bishop John Wordsworth bears similar testimony to the gradual development of Episcopacy in the second century, especially noting that it was more rapid in the East and slower in Rome and Alexandria.³ In view of this process of development the question naturally arises whether Episcopacy is to be regarded as an eternal institution, or whether it may not be treated as amenable to the Church that created or evolved it? If, as Dean Armitage Robinson says, 'the function of the early episcopate was the safeguarding of the faith and the preservation of the unity of the Church,' we naturally ask whether the Episcopate is performing the same functions in the Church to-day?

¹ *Early Church History*, vol. i, p. 294.

² *Essay on the Ministry*, p. 224.

³ *The Ministry of Grace*, ch. i.

These are some of the problems that wait for settlement by the best scholarship available, and until we can arrive at something like an approximation to agreement as to what actually took place in this century, especially between the time of St. John and that of Ignatius, we shall hardly make much progress in the direction of Reunion.

III

We must study afresh the meaning of certain well-known ecclesiastical terms.—What are we to understand by Unity? Does it require a unit of organization, or unanimity of opinion, or uniformity of practice? There is no unit of organization in the Eastern Churches, and yet there is essential union between all the Patriarchates. There is no unit in the Lutheran communities, and yet there is essential union between Germany and Scandinavia. There is no unit of organization in the Anglican Church with its two Archbishops at home and its many Archbishops in the Colonies and Dependencies, to say nothing of the relationship with the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. And yet there is nothing in this that hinders real union. Bishop Wilberforce once spoke of the insistence of unity by means of union from a visible centre as the *πρῶτον γενέσθαι*. Bishop Westcott, in *The Gospel of the Resurrection*, evidently did not consider that unity depends upon any union with an external organization—

The conception of unity based on historic and divine succession in the religious centre of the world was proved to be no part of the true idea of the Church (p. 217).

Our Lord plainly distinguishes between the unity of the fold and the unity of the flock (John x. 16), but the organized Church is not the flock, though it may be one fold.

Another word which requires special attention is Validity. We speak of a 'valid' ministry, and we naturally

ask : Valid for what ? What precisely is to be understood as included and involved in ministerial or sacramental validity ?

In the same way it is essential to arrive at a definite conclusion as to the meaning of the word Schism. We know that in the New Testament it invariably means separation *within*, not *from*, the body of believers, and when this primary idea is applied to its ecclesiastical uses the results become significant of very much. Here the *Church Quarterly Review* has a word of real value—

What is the meaning of schism ? The ordinary point of view of one body of Christians when speaking of schismatics is to suggest that they are themselves the Church, and all the others are schismatics, that is, persons who have separated themselves from it. Now historically that point of view cannot be held in any case. To an impartial observer it is quite impossible to say that the Eastern Church separated from the West, or the West from the East. They divided. A division was caused and a schism was created, that is to say, a division in a body ; so, at the time of the Reformation, a schism was created, or rather many schisms were created. But it is not that this or that Church separated from the great body of the Church : a division was created in the body, sometimes large, sometimes small ; and so in relation to ourselves and a body like the Wesleyans. And if this be the proper point of view it is equally important to recognize that the sin of schism does not probably in any case lie wholly on one side or the other. Neither Leo X nor Henry VIII can be considered entirely free from either moral or intellectual blame. Even the strongest admirers of Luther cannot acquit him of blame. We are not prepared to defend either the spiritual life of the Church of England in the eighteenth century, or the spiritual self-assertion of the Wesleyan movement. Schism means sin in the past and needs penitence and reparation in the future (July, 1908, pp. 276-9).

The term 'Apostolical Succession' will, of course, need special attention. Does this mean simply an historic succession of ministers as a fact, or does it carry with it a special doctrine as well ? The Lambeth Conference of 1888 spoke of 'the Historic Episcopate' locally adapted as one of the essential conditions of Reunion. What are we to understand by the term, 'Historic Episcopate' ?

The *Church Quarterly* says that the discussion of Epis-

curacy, whether of the *esse* or the *bene esse* of the Church, is wide of the mark, and the reluctance of the majority of Anglican divines to assert positively that the Episcopate is of the *esse* is said to be due to a confusion of two separate issues: 'a confusion as old as Hooker, and the parent of endless misunderstanding, since one is the issue about ecclesiastical polity or form of government. The other is the issue about Apostolical Succession.' Hence extreme Anglicans are not concerned with the precise form of ministerial polity, but with the fundamental principle of 'transmissory succession,' that is to say, the devolution of commission and ambassadorship for Christ from Himself by means of a successive Apostolic order. This doctrine, according to the authority now quoted is the witness to the principle of 'a bestowed and descended salvation,' and it is further argued that 'the only possible alternative to a perpetual Apostolate is ordination by the lay people, which has been the source, actually, of all the ministries of inorganic Protestantism.' So that the question is not as to the form of government so much as its derivation. 'What the Church stands or falls by is not so much Episcopacy as Apostolic Succession, a channel for successive devolution from above, and the Church's sacramental life and heritage.'

Few scholars to-day would find fault with a continuous historical succession in the ministry throughout the ages as one of the most valuable testimonies to the continuous life of Christianity. But it is altogether different when this ministerial continuity is associated with a doctrine which involves such profound consequences.

A review in the *Spectator* some time ago spoke of—

the hard-and-fast theory of Apostolical Succession and all that it connotes. We cut ourselves off from communions with which we have a natural sympathy to link ourselves with those which emphatically repudiate us. It is only too certain that if this movement goes on, what has happened to the Latin Churches will happen to us—the alienation of the educated laity.

During recent years we have become accustomed to the terms 'from above' and 'from below' in the writings of representative High Churchmen like the Bishop of Oxford. These are understood to refer respectively to the Apostolate and to the Church; a ministry of the former kind being 'from above,' and of the latter 'from below.' That it will be necessary to be perfectly clear in regard to these terms is seen from that able work by Principal Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries*—

Some Anglican divines make strange deductions from the truth that the authority which belongs to the Church comes from *above*. They at once infer that inasmuch as the authority comes from above it cannot come directly to the whole Christian society; but must come through an official class of ministers who act as a species of *plastic medium* between our Lord and His people. Strange how Gnostic and Arian ideas banished from the Creeds of the Church linger in thoughts about Orders! Then by a confusion of ideas they transfer the phrase 'from above' to the human sphere, and make it an essential idea of legitimate ecclesiastical rule that it must be invariably communicated from a higher to a lower order of ministry! Why should authority imparted through the Christian Society be regarded as 'from beneath,' as of the earth earthy? (p. 25, *note*).

And Lindsay says elsewhere—

There is not a trace of the idea that the Churches had to be organised from above in virtue of powers conferred by our Lord officially and specially upon certain of their members. On the contrary the power from above, which was truly there, was in the community, a direct gift from the Master Himself (p. 121).

One more term which has had great attention given to it during the past few years is the word 'Organ.' Dr. Moberly uses it in connexion with the Body of Christ, and says that the body cannot exist without organs, and that ministerial priesthood is only the 'organ' of the priesthood of the whole body, that as the main body acts through its members, so the Church as the Body of Christ acts through the ministry as its instrument. We are afraid that there is some ambiguity in the use of these terms. In the first place everything turns upon whether the word 'body' can

be used of an organization. Then the New Testament use of this metaphor never differentiates between the body and its instruments, but only between members and members, and it would seem that the modern use of the metaphor proves too much, for while in the natural body certain members alone can act in certain ways, in the Scriptural idea of the Body of Christ each member has real 'priestly' functions. Again, one organ in the body cannot possibly confer functional power on another organ, in the way this theory implies that the Bishop confers power on priests and deacons. In the human body no organ depends directly upon another. This theory really implies that the instruments act *for* and *through* the body in the sense of not being *immediately* in contact with the head. And yet Scripture knows nothing of two separate lines of grace; one from the Head direct to the Church, and the other from the Head to the Ministry. It is impossible on any true analogy to distinguish between the spiritual body and its ministerial organs in such a way as to make the organs at once the *instruments* of the body and yet in *authority* over it. The analogy is really fatal to the High Church view of the ministry. The body is dependent on no organ for its vitality, nor does the Church depend upon any ministerial organ for its life and progress.

IV

We must study afresh the Church of England position on all matters connected with the Church and Ministry.—The studied breadth and generality of statement concerning the ministry in the Church of England Articles is recognized by all, and amid the many and varied controversies in the sixteenth century the terminology of these Articles was never modified. Bishop Gibson in his work on the Articles fully recognizes the fact that the Articles are remarkably silent even when they might have been reasonably expected

to shed some light on the question of Episcopacy.¹ This breadth is in exact harmony with Cranmer's well-known attitude to non-episcopal Reformers both in Scotland and on the Continent. It is also noteworthy that the opening sentence of the preface to the Ordinal comes from the pen of Cranmer, who was in constant fellowship with non-Episcopalians. The association of 'Holy Scripture and ancient authors,' together with the phrase, 'Which offices were evermore had in such reverend estimation,' seems to show that while our Reformers naturally maintained the Episcopacy which they themselves possessed, they did not by word or deed intend to 'unchurch' other Reformers, who for any reason did not possess Episcopacy. And the first rubric in the Ordering of Deacons and Priests is equally significant, for while a sermon is ordered, showing the necessity of Deacons and Presbyters in the Church, there is no such rubric ordering a sermon stating the necessity of Bishops.

It is also well known that in 1570 an Act was passed making it easy for men in Presbyterian Orders to hold livings in the English Church, and Travers, the colleague of Hooker at the Temple, when attacked for having only Foreign Orders, took his stand upon the ground of this very Act. In his appeal to the Privy Council he pleaded the force of the Act of 1570, and declared that 'many Scottish ministers' were then holding benefices in England under its authority. When Travers was compelled to resign his position at the Temple he was subsequently appointed to the Provostship of Trinity College, Dublin, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to believe that he was regarded as a layman in that office. The action of the English Church in 1580 in allowing a community of Huguenots to have a Service in Canterbury Cathedral, which is continued to this very day, is another illustration of the mind of the Elizabethan Church, and we also know that the Bishop of London

¹ *The Thirty-nine Articles*, vol. ii, p. 744.

issued an order to his clergy in the year 1585 to provide themselves with Bullinger's 'Decades,' and to read a portion every week. The Convocation of 1586 issued a similar order to the junior clergy.

In his great work, *The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice*, Dean Goode gives many examples of a similar breadth of view on the part of representative English Churchmen; and in a pamphlet now scarcely obtainable, *Brotherly Communion with the Foreign Protestant Churches*, Dr. Goode shows that from the establishment of the Reformation in the reign of Edward VI, Cranmer endeavoured to bring about a union of all the Protestant Churches, and this spirit is shown to actuate many, if not most, leading Churchmen until the stress and strain of controversy with the Puritans made a difference. Canon Cowley Brown, writing in the *Spectator* (October 22, 1910) quotes from Hooker, Bishop Andrewes, and Bishop Cosin, to the same effect, and points out that Casaubon, the intimate friend of Bishop Andrewes, received the Communion at the hands of that Prelate, though himself a foreign Protestant and unconfirmed. Further, that Mark Pattison says in his *Life of Casaubon*: 'Before the rise of the Laudian school the English Church and the Reformed Churches of the Continent mutually recognized each other as sisters.'

Bishop Cosin's words and actions are particularly noteworthy because he was so representative a High Churchman at the time of the Restoration. When he was in exile in France 'he kept a friendly intercourse and correspondence with the Protestant ministers at Charenton; who on their parts expressed the utmost regard for him, and permitted him sometimes to officiate in their congregations according to the rites prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer.' And we know that during the same time he advised his friends to communicate when on the Continent with the Reformed Church and not at the Roman altars.

It should not be overlooked that the extreme doctrine of

'no Bishop no Church' did not come into the English Church as part of the heritage from the mediæval Church of Rome. It was not heard of for fifty years after the time of Cranmer, and was due solely to the exigency of controversy between Churchmen and Puritans in the closing days of Elizabeth's reign. In support of this two authorities may be quoted. The late Dr. Pocock, a well-known High Church historian, wrote in the *Guardian* of November 28, 1892, that 'the belief in the Apostolical Succession in the Episcopate is not to be found in any of the writings of the Elizabethan Bishops.'

The well-known statement of Keble in his preface to Hooker's works takes exactly the same line, for he points out that—

The Elizabethan Bishops were content to show that government by Bishops is ancient and allowable; they never ventured to urge its exclusive claims or to connect the succession with the validity of the Holy Sacrament (p. 89).

Further, Keble admits that—

Nearly up to the time when Hooker wrote, numbers had been admitted into the ministry of the Church of England with no better than Presbyterian Ordination (p. 67).

So, a century later, Bishop Cosin, writing in 1650, says—

Therefore, if at any time a minister ordained in these French Churches came to incorporate himself in ours (as I have known some of them to have so done of late, and can instance many other before my time), our Bishops did not reordain him before they admitted him to his Charge, as they must have done if his former Ordination here in France had been void. Nor did our laws require more of him than to declare his public consent to the religion received of the minister, or to subscribe to the Articles established.

It is evident from these statements that the whole question of the Anglican view of Episcopacy needs fresh and careful study, and it will probably be found that a novel view of it was emphasized and almost introduced for the first time by the Tractarian leaders. At any rate no thought of Reunion seems to be within the bounds of

possibility apart from a thorough re-examination of all the salient facts of the historical situation since 1552.

V

We must study afresh and with great care what each non-episcopal Church holds on the subjects of the Church and Ministry.—It is essential that each side should have the fullest and clearest statement of the view of those who are supposed to be in the opposite camp, and several endeavours in this direction were made soon after the Lambeth Conference of 1908. Principal Lindsay, of Glasgow, wrote—

We find the true threefold ministry, as we think, in every Presbyterian congregation where we have the pastor or bishop (the terms were synonymous down till the fourth century at least) surrounded by his 'coronal' of elders (presbyters) and deacons. The historic episcopate is seen by us in the pastorate of our congregations which represents the congregational Bishops of the early centuries. We believe that our ordination comes down to us by successive generations from the times of the Apostles (August 7, 1908).

His conclusion is that any thought of Presbyterians abandoning their ancient orders is vain, because this would mean not union, but absorption. In a similar way, a leading scholar of the United Free Church, Professor Stalker, of Aberdeen, wrote, referring to the decisions of the Lambeth Conference—

The Lambeth documents make it perfectly clear that nothing else is thought of but the swallowing-up of Presbyterianism.

It is perfectly clear that any approach to Presbyterians on the plea of Reunion must be on terms of perfect equality.

The Congregational view was clearly and ably stated by Professor Bartlet, of Mansfield College, in the course of an article on the subject. He believes that the whole question resolves itself practically into this—

How seriously are Anglicans prepared to take the calls for *modification* in the forms of their 'historic episcopate' demanded by adequate 'recognition of the work of the Divine Spirit' in and through the

forms of organization under which other historic communions in Great Britain have done the work of God side by side with themselves? How far do they really allow that they have something of value, something proper to the full idea of the organization of *Church Life*, 'the fellowship of saints,' to learn from the divine-human experience of such communions?'¹

It is unnecessary to call further attention to the distinctive position of other non-episcopal Churches, because the two systems of Presbyterianism and Congregationalism may be said to cover practically the entire ground. It must be obvious that these definite and distinctive views will have to be taken into account in any serious steps towards Reunion.

VI

We must study afresh what is to be understood by the Ministry in relation to the Church and Sacraments.—This problem may be summed up in the one inquiry: Is the Ministry a priesthood or a pastorate? Is the proper term, and therefore the proper idea, 'presbyter' or 'priest'? It is well known and practically admitted by all scholars that the New Testament never uses the word 'priest,' *leprés*, to describe the Christian minister as distinct from a layman. The discussion of Bishop Lightfoot on this point is too well known to need further reference beyond the fact that it was only with Cyprian that the term 'priest' became applied to the Christian minister. In the same way the New Testament never uses the term 'altar' to describe the Holy Table of the Lord; and Bishop Westcott is our authority for saying that the word *θυγατήριον* is not only not used to describe a material object in the sub-Apostolic age, but that such a use would have been incongruous. It is to Cyprian also that we owe the change which applies the term 'altar' to the Holy Table. That this question of the ministry as a priesthood or pastorate is at the heart of many of these problems connected with Reunion can easily be

¹ *Churchman*, June 1909, p. 424.

illustrated. A well-known American Bishop, Dr. Grafton, of Fond du Lac, who recently passed away, wrote last year that—

It is not the historical or apostolically descended ministry that stands in the way of union. The obstacle in the way of union with the non-Episcopal bodies is not primarily because they had not an episcopate. It is because, in their imperfect grasp of the Christian system, they have lost the idea of the priesthood, with its correlative altar and sacrifice. If they ever recovered a knowledge and desire for the priesthood, they would seek for Episcopal ordination.¹

It is well that the alternatives should be so definitely stated, because it helps to clear the air and to enable both sides to recognize the actualities of the situation. Some years ago a meeting of clergy and ministers was held in Oxford on this subject of Reunion, attended by representatives of High Anglicanism, Evangelical Churchmanship, and various Nonconformist Churches. A High Churchman who was present frankly admitted that the English Church had been far too neglectful of what he called the 'Charismatic Ministry,' and too much concerned with what he termed the 'Ordered Ministry,' but now all that was desired under existing circumstances was for the 'Charismatic Ministry' to follow St. Paul's example, who went to Jerusalem to be recognized by the 'Ordered Ministry.' It was curious to several present that such an argument was used, and that its fallacy was not seen beforehand. We know that St. Paul, so far from going up to Jerusalem to be recognized, still less to be ordained by the 'Ordered Ministry,' went in order to insist upon his perfect equality with the Twelve, and on their acknowledgment, that as much as themselves he was an Apostle of Jesus Christ. If only the 'Ordered Ministry,' as understood by High Churchmen, would be willing to recognize the 'Charismatic Ministry,' just as the Twelve gave the right hand of fellowship to St. Paul, there would be no further difficulty and we should have Reunion before very long. But this is precisely what the High Churchman will

¹ *New York Churchman*, June 24, 1911, p. 904.

not do, for he requires not merely recognition, but re-ordination, in order that the 'Charismatic' may come into line with the 'Ordered' Ministry. And re-ordination is what the Charismatic Ministry of the non-Episcopal Churches is naturally unwilling to consider. It is clear, therefore, that we must make quite sure of our meaning of the ministry of the Christian Church, whether it is sacerdotal or pastoral.

VII

We must study afresh what each Church is actually doing in the Christian world at the present time.—The situation is materially affected for Anglican Churchmen when they consider the relative positions of the various Churches in the Colonies and Dependencies. Speaking for Canada, of which I have a little personal experience, the Anglican Church is a very poor third, and sometimes even a fourth, in the matter of membership and missionary contributions. It is a well-known fact that in most of the leading cities of the Dominion the Presbyterians and Methodists have far outstripped the Anglicans, in the size and number of their Churches, as well as in other elements of Church life and work. How are we to account for these facts when we contemplate such questions as whether Episcopacy is of the *esse* or the *bene esse*? How are we to explain the marvellous developments of rapid growth of Churches which have not an episcopate either as the *esse* or the *bene esse*, or even as the channel of grace and priesthood?

When we turn to the mission-field the proportions are still more strikingly to the disadvantage of the Anglican communion. The Edinburgh Missionary Conference bore significant testimony to the comparative smallness of Anglican Missions all over the non-Christian world, and the facts of the mission-field continually show the fruits of a non-Episcopal Church and Ministry. During the last few years there has been a most remarkable spiritual movement in Korea, but it has been almost wholly outside the Anglican

mission of that country, while Presbyterians and others have reaped abundantly. The extreme Anglicanism of Korea seems to be a very small factor in the development of that land. Travellers like Bishop Montgomery and Canon Tupper Carey have lately expressed themselves in the frankest terms about the comparative insignificance of Anglican missions in various parts of the world. To ordinary observers it would seem the height of absurdity that by a theory of Apostolical Succession millions of the most intelligent and devoted followers of Christ in the whole world are to be cut off from any real recognition as part of the true Catholic Church. It is easy to speak of the distinction between the covenanted and uncovenanted mercies of God, and, like the Rev. Dr. A. W. Robinson, to use the illustration of the channels of grace overflowing to those who are not within the ordered and normal covenant, as he conceives of it. It is also equally simple to distinguish between the 'body' and 'soul' of the Church, and to speak of non-Episcopalians as belonging to the latter rather than the former. But all these phrases do not help forward the cause of truth. There are no mercies outside the terms of the Covenant. There is not the slightest warrant in the New Testament for channels of grace overflowing to a vaster number of millions than are connected with the channels themselves. As to the distinction between the 'body' and the 'soul' of the Church, if we understand the soul to be more important than the body, this is only a capitulation, however unconscious, on the part of the extreme Anglican.

The Bishop of Oxford, in one of his recent works, speaks in the frankest terms of the presence of the Holy Spirit in non-Episcopal Churches. We wonder whether he and those who think with him have ever really faced the implications and applications of such a statement. If God's presence is among those non-Episcopal Christians, if the fruit of the Spirit is visible, and the work of grace is manifest, how can they

possibly be in sin and doing that which is opposed to the will of God concerning the Church and Ministry? It may be said without any hesitation, that the average man, 'the man in the street,' will never be content with the insistence upon a precise form of Church government as the only true method, unless it can justify itself by its works all over the world, and if we are to apply the test, 'By their fruits ye shall know them,' non-Episcopal Christianity will often be deemed superior in many respects to that which claims to be the only true and lawful expression of the will of God.

VIII

We must use every opportunity for combined action on the part of 'those who profess and call themselves Christians.' This is only carrying out what the Lambeth Conference so admirably suggested in 1908. There is no reason why from time to time we should not meet for prayer. Gatherings for intercession will probably do more than anything else to draw Christian people together. It is round the Throne of Grace that we get to feel our oneness most of all.

Combined action for temperance and social work is another opportunity of emphasizing fundamental agreement. Apart from purely political questions there is much in the world of ethics that calls for united effort on the part of all the Churches.

Then, too, there might well be an increasing association of Christians in general religious work. Membership and co-operation in the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, the Evangelical Alliance, the Student Movement, as well as at such gatherings as Mildmay, Mundesley, Keswick, and Northfield, will do very much to help forward the cause of truth, union, and fellowship.

Nor should we forget the specific suggestion of the Lambeth Conference to meet together from time to time for the discussion of differences. Nothing but good can result from a frank and courteous consideration of the

particular standpoints of the various Churches and denominations. Even though we 'agree to differ,' the knowledge that we possess of our opponent's position, and that which he holds dear, will prove of immense service, though it may be only in an indirect way.

Most important of all, it seems essential to use opportunities for combined testimony, and whenever possible combined action, in regard to those fundamental realities on which we are all in agreement. When we think of such profound truths as the Holy Trinity, the Deity of our Lord and Saviour, the Person and Work of the Holy Spirit, and the Divine Authority of Holy Scripture, we see that amid all our differences and controversies there is much that can and should bring us together.

IX

In conclusion, there can be no doubt that the *crux* of the situation lies in the view taken of the ministry. Episcopacy in the second century meant unity, but to-day, as maintained by large bodies of Christians, it tends to emphasize separation, because it is interpreted to mean a hierarchy with the sole possession, or at any rate the supreme assurance, of grace. It is well known that there are two views of episcopacy held in the English Church to-day, the one represented by Bishop Lightfoot and the other by Bishop Gore, and before Anglicans can approach non-Episcopalians they ought to settle for themselves which of these views is correct. The time seems to have come for a careful distinction and statement of what is to be understood by the 'historic Episcopate.' A writer in the *Canadian Churchman*, not long ago, urged the importance of making it quite clear what is meant by this term, since it will never do to continue quoting it from time to time because of the difference of interpretation put upon it by various schools of thought in the Church. There are many Anglican Churchmen to-day who are more than content

to take the position laid down by Prof. Gwatkin at the Pan-Anglican Congress, when he said of Episcopacy—

If it committed us to the Cyprianic or mediæval theory of Episcopacy it would only be a sword of division in our own Church. . . . Episcopacy is like monarchy, an ancient and godly form of government which we may be proud to acknowledge and obey. . . . To claim for it a binding command of Christ or His Apostles is a defiance of history; and to make it necessary for other Churches without such a command, comes near to a defiance of Christ Himself. . . . We cannot dream of union with the non-Episcopal Churches of Christ unless we recognize that they are as much Christ's Churches as our own, and their ministers as truly Christ's ministers as we.

X

That this contention is correct may be seen from a statement made at the meeting of the Free Church Council at Cheltenham in March 1912. Dr. Forsyth said that the whole question between the Church of England and Congregationalism was concentrated in the matter of ordination. 'Must they before being received into the Established Church, be subject to re-ordination? Until some understanding was effected on that head the gulf was an impassable one.'

The Dean of Wells (Dr. Armitage Robinson), in his fine sermon to which reference has already been made, said that 'schemes of reconciliation are not what we want' at present. This may frankly be allowed, though it is probably true to say that we greatly need agreement on some fundamental presuppositions preparatory to schemes of reconciliation. But we shall all fully endorse the further words of the Dean, that 'we want Apostles of reconciliation—men who have seen the heavenly vision and can be content with no lower ideal than the one Body of Christ.' Certain it is that he who helps to break down barriers and bring different and differing Churches nearer to one another will be doing one of the greatest works for Christ, His Church, and His Kingdom.

W. H. GRIFFITH THOMAS.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF REVIVALS

The Psychology of the Christian Life. By ERIC S. WATERHOUSE, M.A., B.D. (London : Charles H. Kelly. 1s. net.)

THERE are larger and more expensive books than this dealing with the genesis and development of religious experience, but there is not one better worth the small outlay needful to possess it. It covers a wide field and faces every question frankly; it neither magnifies the supernatural nor diminishes the human; and the treatment is terse, the style lucid and lively, with not a wasted line. The young minister will find it fruitful in guiding principles, and the intelligent layman will find himself enticed along by apt and pleasing illustrations. Possibly there is one omission that will be noticed and regretted by many readers : the want of reference to the work of the Holy Spirit in conversion and the development of the after-life. The personal and instrumental sides are very carefully elucidated, and the very nicety of the author's handling makes us regret that he did not try to show where the action and influence of the Spirit come in upon the human faculties, and, with or without infringement of liberty, work out the desired result. This may be to suggest a delicate task for the author, but the book is altogether so sanely reasonable that we feel assured that we would have found him sufficient for the task and his exposition full of light. Otherwise, there is nothing to be desired. The book is a piece of compact wisdom, free from all extreme positions. Those who wish to study beyond the bounds of a manual will find a very full bibliography at the end of the volume.

I would venture to take a slightly more favourable view of revivals than that of Mr. Waterhouse. There is a very common feeling that a great revival over our British Churches

is long past due, and is much longed for by the best in all communities. Conversions have by no means ceased, but for long such trophies have been sporadic and easily numbered, while there has been going on a conspicuous recession of religious faith to callous formalism and a visible recrudescence of sensual and pagan elements in fashionable society. Under these conditions the chariot wheels of the gospel are dragging heavily, and there is great need for all who have the godliness of the nation at heart to study the conditions which induce revivals and wait prayerfully in expectation. A revival is of God, but assuredly it is also the work of man.

Revivals have their necessity and explanation in human nature, and are dependent on both its excellences and its defects. Man is a religious being. That is the best of him, and because it is the best, the crowning glory of his character, it is often the last to reach its culmination. There are three stages in human experience when it evolves according to its natural order. There is the early stage when life is dominated by conditions that are mainly exterior and material. The individual lives for years in his physical energies, is dependent for knowledge and pleasure on his senses, and is largely conventional in his notions and habits. This person may be born in a Christian home, disciplined in a Sunday school, and preached to in a church, but there is as yet no response to any upward call. The spirit is asleep. This state has its rights of existence for a time, but ought not to be, though it is often, unseasonably prolonged and in some instances never comes to an end. Then comes a time when the shallowness and insufficiency of this life is felt, intellect awakes, love comes, new relationships are formed, God is recognized, and the man lives a reasonable and moral life, but without any vital feeling of his relation to the eternal and divine. Again a similar discovery of insufficiency may be made. Things infinite and eternal heave in sight and the higher affections awake to

seek their affinities in the divine. The man begins to construct his life upon a higher platform, and with perseverance he rises into the experience of the spiritual man, the requisite preparation for the life to come.

Revivals are an effort to shorten these periods of elementary life, and to restore to the higher state those who may have lapsed. This effort is usually towards something like the production of what in the vegetable world are green-house or hot-house conditions—the forcing into bloom of persons who are not evolving fast enough, or who might never bloom if hot-house conditions were not supplied for them. Doubtless, some require a warmer atmosphere and more stimulating treatment than others. Many who are godly people to-day would never have been quickened into life without the urgent and persistent persuasives of a revival season. Whether this intensive treatment is good for an indiscriminate gathering is a question which is not always duly considered, and which it is difficult to answer. Revivalism in operation is not fishing with fly or worm for the individual that is hungry and by reason of a painful void is ready to bite. It works with a very broad-mouthed trawl and sweeps into its drag people of every possible experience, some of whom are badly prepared for what they are to see and hear. Cases of injury have been reported after every great revival, but probably the sufferers were themselves to blame; certainly, the good results have far outweighed any regretful consequences.

Revivals become accomplished facts only when there has been in the community some awakening to the value and need of being right with God. When industrial activities are at their best, or when the craving for wealth and pleasure is working strongly in society, it is almost impossible to catch the public ear. The masses are either satisfied or living in profound discontent with existing conditions, social and economic, and moved by a covetousness which finds vent in the steady growth of a crude socialism. A favourable

season is found rather in unhappy, troubled, disappointed states of the public mind. These beget a craving for a deeper and more permanent good, or awake the fear that society is hastening on to a judgement that will strike at the whole community. The law of reaction, too, prepares those who have indulged in social dissipations to weary of delusive satisfactions and have resort to the hopes and prospects of an eternal world. In Kentucky the revival of 1800 owed much to the fear of starvation and the assaults of wild beasts and savages. The revival of 1857 in the United States began by the closing of scores of banks on one day. Wall Street collapsed. A few days later a prayer-meeting from twelve o'clock to one was started by a missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church, and the movement spread. The news of this remarkable awakening reached our homeland, and the commercial depression of the times prepared the way for the Irish and Scotch revivals of 1859.

In all these revivals the fear of future judgement played a very commanding part. Searching the statistics which Starbuck has given of the results in America we find that a considerable percentage of converts were not conscious of any impelling motive towards decision save the fear of death and hell. Going back a century and a half we see that Whitefield worked largely with this threatening element. So did Jonathan Edwards; Wesley only in a moderate degree and on rare occasions. To make the appeal effective the preacher usually dwells largely on sin, makes it the prevalent factor in life, emphasizes its heinousness and depicts in vivid colours its eternal pains. Signs are not wanting that this aspect of things was frequently over-emphasized. Starbuck found that many converts gave the inconsistent testimony that their lives had been very good whilst their sins had been very great. Especially was this the case amongst females. His generalization on this point is that conversion is more commonly a struggling away from what is regarded as sin than a striving towards righteous-

ness. This discouraging conclusion may have arisen from the fact that, as Professor James suggests, Starbuck's conversions 'were mainly very commonplace persons'; but whether more cultured people brought over in a fervid revival would give a more consistent witness may well be questioned. Too much may easily be made of young people's confused ideas about sin and goodness, and too much be expected as to the motives which inspire conversions. Those who have been consciously enmeshed in sin must certainly have a more vivid remembrance of the fear that moved them and the evils from which they fled than of the indefinite good towards which they looked. This is the logical order in the turning of all sinful and irreligious souls, and is no disparagement to revival efforts nor to the genuineness of such conversions.

It has also to be noted that revival work is mainly effective amongst persons of from ten to twenty-five years. Out of a stated number of conversions a few are recorded from seven to eight, more from ten to eleven years, then a rapid increase to sixteen, a decline to twenty, then a gradual falling away with only rare cases after thirty. The work is also more successful amongst females than males. Women respond largely from thirteen to sixteen; then there are fewer than there are of men till twenty-five is reached. After this high age the numbers of the sexes are about equal. These figures are exactly what is to be expected from the known idiosyncrasies of age and sex. The young are more easily moved by images of personal danger than are those of greater maturity of mind, and in older males there is frequently a latent scepticism as to such punishments which hinders the desired results. Females are decidedly more impressionable, perhaps more imaginative and worshipful than males; whilst the men resist longer, must see their way more clearly, pass through an intenser struggle, and perhaps make on the whole the more satisfactory converts. In the female the feelings that precipitate conversion are

helplessness and humility, whilst men are impelled more by a sense of duty and loyalty to truth. This explains why men show more outcome from their conversion and win a higher reputation although their devotion to the spiritual may not be so intense as that of their sisters.

The attempt which has been made at mixing up the sexual instincts with conversion, as if there were some mystic bond between the affectional and the spiritual, has no evident justification. No doubt the coming of love is the awakening of one of the most energetic forces of nature and one of the most self-revealing. It gives a mighty fillip to the imagination, a new meaning to life, the sense of needing new relationships, an impulse towards entering on additional responsibilities, and it is a ready suggester of the need of self-restraint. It is not out of keeping that with a more vivid apprehension of these implications of personality, the mind at this period particularly should become more conscious of the unseen and eternal, and feel an increased measure of obligation to the infinite Lover and Father of all. Accordingly, other motives than fear are at work in the conversion of young men and women. Many are moved by a desire for the strengthening of their characters; many are stirred by gratitude for the Love of which they have heard; some by a measure of genuine remorse for sin, say about thirty-two per cent. with Starbuck; and others are conscious of a wish to enter into the life of devotion in a spirit of loyalty to Christ.

A question of some interest for the present time is: Has doubt of the Christian verities much to do with placing obstacles in the way of a revival? Starbuck's inquiries related only to America and may not be quite reliable as to the state of things at home. He found that fifty-three per cent. of women had been troubled with doubts, without knowing why as a rule, and is inclined to attribute them very largely to physical disorder. Seventy-nine per cent. of men had been hindered through the study of science and philo-

sophy. Probably much the same proportion may exist amongst ourselves through the circulation of socialistic and free-thinking publications and the unbelieving tone which echoes through much of our imaginative literature. This doubting mood goes towards explaining the falling away in church membership and attendance. Not that those affected are in the mass positive disbelievers. They are only gripped by a feeling of uncertainty that makes them careless of church privileges and open to be drawn after the profits and pleasures of the world. This decadent state of faith, inside as well as outside the church, is in the way at present; but the very lack of religious life may speedily create a reaction that would be a splendid opportunity for a revival. 'The road of excess leads to the palace of wisdom,' says Blake. Man suffers in doubting, and when he suffers to excess he tries to recapture his lost beliefs and restore his faded joys. We may see very soon the revival of faith, and with it will come fresh life.

In all the great homeland revivals, with perhaps the exception of that conducted by the Haldanes, emotionalism has played a forceful part. Revival meetings always draw to them the most neurotic members of the community. These are liable to undue and even extravagant excitement. The human instruments in such movements are for the most part highly-strung orators. The emotional speaker is the man of power for the production of immediate results. He not only feels intensely but thinks largely in images, and the crowd think most easily in images if they think at all. Mental pictures in which the hearers figure visibly are the most powerful implements for kindling feeling and keeping the fire aflame till the mind is consumed in feeling. Hence we find frequently that the range of Christian teaching was limited, the ideas presented few, and the constant insistence of one impressive thought was a prominent cause of success. Many people will become possessed by any idea that is put before them insistently, especially if spoken in precisely the

same words, with the same intonations. It may be only such a sentence as : ' The Lord is about to come ! ' or ' Hell is waiting for the unconverted sinner,' or as Spurgeon said in his earlier days : ' I see them, I see them writhing in the flames; I feel the heat even here; we must stand farther back or even we shall be consumed.' Any thought that rapidly conveys a vivid image in which the hearer has a part is sufficient to move a crowd not over-educated with tremendous power. With the spread of education such sensational methods will be shorn of much of their power, and revival teaching will approximate to the ordinary deliverances of the earnest evangelical pastor. Revivals will then be more acceptable to the stated ministry. Perhaps the time is coming when the best spiritual results will be obtained by the stated teaching and entreaty of each pastor in his located church. If we all did the work of an evangelist efficiently, possibly as many might be brought to decision as by the panic of a great revival, and with complete avoidance of the disastrous reactions which almost always follow great spasmodic efforts.

Revivals hotly conducted are apt to create a nervous tension which produces phenomena of an abnormal character. In several instances there have broken out purely physical manifestations such as jerks, strikings down, emotional howlings, dancings, barkings, &c., occult experiences such as trances, visions, speaking with tongues, floating lights, prophecies, and invisible singing in the air. These were abundant in the Edwardian revival and in the Cambuslang movement of the same year. We realize much more exactly the truthfulness of these now ancient reports when they come as near to us as in the Irish revival of 1859, which the present writer can well remember. The extraordinary occurrences of that period were almost past belief. People who were under no excitement, and indeed were opposed to the revival, were affected. It was the same in America. Peter Cartwright, the Methodist missionary, tells of a man

in his meeting who stood with a bottle of whisky in his hand, defiant and irreligious. He was suddenly seized with the jerks, bolted to the woods to drink his liquor, but a sudden jerk broke his neck and he was dead. At a meeting of Wesley's in Baldwin Street, Bristol, a Quaker, displeased, was knitting his brows and biting his lips, when he dropped down thunderstruck. In Ireland people who had never been near the meetings fell nerveless as if killed instantly by a gunshot, and lay sleepless, bathed in perspiration. In open-air gatherings near Ballymena, the place would be like a field of battle. Young women were struck blind and dumb, and there is a well-authenticated case of one who could not read, yet in a state of trance, eyes shut, read the 14th chapter of John, following the lines accurately with her finger. When the affected awoke from those trances it was usual for them to assert that they had visions of their departed friends in glory. On the bodies of many of the victims there came out peculiar marks similar to the stigmata of mediaeval saints; and at times sacred singing was heard high up in the air. The late Welsh movement was conducted on quieter lines. There was little teaching, few appeals to the terrors of hell, and yet here too there were striking, visions, and mysterious lights high up in the air following certain agents of the work.

Many of these peculiarities may be explained by the disturbance of the nervous circulation through over-excitement, but it must be noticed that they are found where there is no excitement and not even presence at the meetings. No psychological analysis can explain these things. Nor can we resolve them into the obtrusive action of the Holy Spirit. The evidence seems to drive us to the conclusion that the spirits of our saintly departed draw closer to us at such spiritually critical times and exercise some mystic influence upon our souls to help us to realize that there is an immortal life, and that religion is a necessary preparation for the life beyond. That they should appeal to us with a desire to

dispel our materialistic unbelief is not unreasonable, and that the magnetic or spiritual forces they employ should at times work abnormally is not to be wondered at. It may be that the Church in the unseen and the Church below are closely linked, and the divine afflatus mediated in some degree through those who stand near to us on a higher plane, affecting its subjects variously as they are open or closed to the claims of the Divine. There is no good reason for suggesting Satanic interference so far as the converted are concerned.

Analyse these experiences as we may, there remains a very large realm of mystery into which we cannot penetrate. All great revival results go beyond the achievement of any merely normal forces known to the psychologist. It is not the doing of the quickened soul itself. Nor is it entirely of the ministerial agent, however intellectually or emotionally endowed. We cannot solve the riddle by saying with Edwards of any slow, dead time: 'The Spirit of God is much withdrawn,' and with the Schaff-Hertzog Encyclopaedia: 'Revivals are the result of a special and peculiar effusion of the Holy Spirit.' We must recognize that they have a human cause as well as a divine, are dependent upon favouring social conditions, some spiritual sympathy from the Church, and then upon some man, a Wesley, a Whitefield, a Finney, a Moody or an Evan Roberts, sensitive to the needs of the times and ready to throw himself into the work. Given the conscious need, the prayerful church, and the inspired evangelist, and the work proceeds. God is the unchanging One and we are not justified in saying that His withdrawal is the occasion of our church decadence. Faults and hindrances on the human side are visible enough; the inner and diviner side still has its mysteries. Yet God waits upon man; man shapes his own destiny and carries his own responsibility to the end.

ALEXANDER BROWN.

CHIVALRY IN MODERN LIFE

THE definition of chivalry which is given in our dictionaries is sorely in need of revision. Its intention is too technical. Its scope is too limited and it stops short too soon. Although one authority may differ slightly from another, they all substantially assert that 'Chivalry signifies the degrees of military service rendered on horseback by knights of gentle blood in the Middle Ages.'

That the term chivalry had this special signification when it was first shaped and employed is undeniable. But the spirit which was underlying those particular phases of life was greater than they had embodied. It was born long before they came into being, and it continued to live long after they had faded away. There is not a single clause of the accepted definition of the term chivalry which will apply to the animating soul of it to-day. It is either outworn or too straitened. The word itself is narrow and exclusive. It is derived from *cheval*, a horse, and refers to those only who are mounted on horseback. It takes no account of those brave men who have had to go afoot while the chevalier was on his charger, or of those who were content to do their heroic journeys on humbler beasts of burden. Peter the Hermit, who preached the first crusade and called the chivalry of the Middle Ages into being, crossed the Alps bareheaded seated on an ass, with a cross for his only weapon and a rope for his girdle. He was the follower of Him whom the poet Dekker styles—

The best of men
That ere wore earth about him. A sufferer;
A soft, meek, patient, humble, tranquil spirit;
The first true gentleman that ever breathed.

Of Him—this perfect man—the prophet predicted, Behold thy King cometh unto thee meek and riding upon an ass.

It is impossible also to restrict the spirit of chivalry to deeds of military service. There may be certain manly virtues to which war appeals, and which it fosters, as Ruskin maintains in *The Crown of Wild Olive*. But there are wars and wars. To fight for the hearth and the altar, or for some unselfish cause, will no doubt ennoble the man-at-arms, but the arena of everyday life has furnished as many opportunities for heroism and self-sacrifice as any battle-field. For example—all who have narrated the story of Waterloo have spoken of the serene courage and calm patience and unflinching determination of Wellington on that memorable day. It was the recollection of that scene and of other such incidents in his military career, which led Tennyson on the day of his funeral to proclaim him as—

The foremost captain of his time,
Worthy of our gorgeous rites,
For this is England's greatest son,
He that gained a hundred fights,
And never lost an English gun.

So far so good, and if greatness of soul can only reveal itself in a soldier's prowess the eulogy is admissible.

There happened recently, however, on the banks of the Thames, an incident which may be compared with any of the Iron Duke's battle-fields. A woman had flung herself into the river, hoping that the waters might in some degree wash away her sin or cover her shame. A young man passing, hearing the cry of despair and the splash which followed, at once plunged in, although the tide was racing furiously. After he had brought the woman to the shore he left her with the crowd which had gathered, and tried to walk away and disappear. Tried, but could not succeed. He was brought back and the name he modestly strove to conceal was forced from him. It was *Wellesley*, for he was the great-grandson of the Duke of Wellington.

The spirit of chivalry has revealed itself in all ranks and conditions. It has never confined itself to knights of

gentle blood. Even in the days when the orders of chivalry were in the ascendant, the churl could be as brave as his master and the serf as heroic as the belted earl. In these later times it is in the chronicles of common life that one reads the records of greatness of soul and pathetic self-sacrifice. The miner will go down into the pit and breathe the fume of the choke damp to rescue his comrade. A Suffolk labourer, who is single, will stand before the judge and accuse himself of a crime he never committed that his married brother who is guilty may not lose his situation, but go free. One of two joiners, the elder, has just crossed the bridge and reached the platform of the Metropolitan Underground Railway when he turns dizzy and falls on the rails as an incoming train is signalled. His younger mate leaps down and is lifting him. Too late! the engine crushes them both.

The technical definition we are examining says nothing of women. It makes no mention of Queen Philippa who sucked the poison from her husband's wound; of the maid-of-honour who thrust her arm into the staple of the door which had no other bolt—to stay the rush of soldiers bent on murdering their king. It also fails to descend to modern times and to take notice of Grace Darling saving the shipwrecked crew of the *Forfarshire*; of Florence Nightingale in the fever-stricken wards of the hospital in Scutari; of the wife of Isidor Straus, who, refusing to leave her husband, stepped back from the lifeboat and stood by his side hand in hand as the *Titanic* went down.

Indeed, we are robbing both birds and beasts and other creatures of their due in restricting the possession of the chivalrous spirit to human beings. Thomas Edwards, the naturalist, tells of the pair of seagulls he saw swoop down to bear their wounded comrade seawards out of the reach of the sportsman(!) who was waiting for the tide to bring it in to his feet. There is the legend of the wolfhound Gelert, keeping guard over the cradle of his master's son, which no child of succeeding generations has ever heard without

giving its tribute of tears and of reverence. It is an o'ertrue tale which may be read side by side with the story of a Newfoundland dog which General Butler's autobiography has almost immortalized. The animal belonged to a Colonel Gordon (not Chinese Gordon), resident in Quillon. The incident had best be read in Butler's words. 'One morning Gordon was bathing in the lake off this promontory; the dog lay by his master's clothes on the shore. Suddenly he began to bark in a most violent manner. Gordon, unable to see any cause for the animal's excitement, continued to swim in the deep water. The dog became more violently excited, running down to the water's edge at one particular point. Looking in the direction to which the animal's attention was drawn the swimmer thought that he could perceive a circular ripple moving the otherwise smooth surface of the lake. Making for the shore, he soon perceived that the ripple was caused by some large body moving stealthily under the water. He guessed at once the whole situation: a very large crocodile was swimming well below the surface, and making in his direction. The huge reptile was already partly between him and the shore. The dog knew it all. Suddenly he ceased barking, plunged into the water and headed in an oblique line so as to intercept the moving ripple. All at once he disappeared from the surface, dragged down by the huge beast beneath. When the dog found that all his efforts to alarm his master were useless, he determined to give his own life to save the man's; and so Colonel Gordon built the monument on the rock above the scene, and planted the *casarina* tree to shadow it.'

It is very evident that the period of chivalrous action cannot be hemmed in by the Middle Ages. It takes us farther back, to see Horatius on the bridge of the crimsoned Tiber, and David refusing to drink the cup of water which the three mighty men had brought in jeopardy of their lives from the well by the gate of Bethlehem.

Although the definition had specially in view the brave deeds of the civilized sons of Europe, the spirit of chivalry has shown itself in all nations and in all races in all stages of their progress. While the Crusaders were endeavouring to wrench the Holy Sepulchre out of the hands of the Saracen whom they despised, Saladin was sending his own physician to heal Richard Cœur de Lion, his deadly enemy, of his mysterious sickness.

There is probably no tribe of men on the face of the earth which has not some tradition of a brave and noble action. It may not be regarded as at all extraordinary, and yet it will be cherished and re-told, and run like a thread of gold through the memory of successive generations. In Hyndman's *Records of an Adventurous Life*, recently published, there is the story of such a deed which is worth repeating. 'Tui Levuka, the chief of the island of Ovalau, was out in a big double canoe when a sudden storm came on and it capsized in a part known to be infested with sharks. Immediately Tui Levuka and the crew were thrown into the water, the natives made a circle round their chief, joining hands and keeping themselves afloat with their legs, while he swam about, inside the ring so formed quite comfortably.

'A shriek and a groan and down goes one native. The two next to him release their hands and join them again over the empty place. Another is taken in the same way, and again the circle is completed as if none were missing. A third disappears, and once more silently and as it were automatically, the narrowing circle is reconstituted with Tui Levuka still safe in the midst. "Another for Hector" was never replied to and acted upon under more gruesome circumstances, for the men left could hear the swirl of the waters as successive comrades disappeared below the surface, and their blood washed up around the circle as they were devoured. Finally, after this had been going on for some considerable time, man after man going down in turn, other

native canoes came up and took Tui Levuka and his much reduced band of followers on board. Only twenty-seven out of the original number of forty-five remained.'

With all these facts in view, we are necessarily compelled to abandon the definition in the dictionaries and to seek for one which will recognize that this noble manifestation of character belongs to man as man.

In a conventional sense the words of the American Sumner are strictly true, 'The age of *chivalry* has gone. The age of *humanity* has come. The horse yields the foremost place to man!' But our contention is that the soul of chivalry remains to animate 'the age of humanity.' Its historical and accidental limitations have been left behind. We know it now as *the spirit which inspires us to think noble thoughts and to do brave and self-sacrificing deeds in a magnanimous and modest way.*

Without attempting to analyse a spirit so ethereal and sensitive we can distinguish some of its constituent elements. According to Kenelm Digby's *Broad Stone of Honour*, it embraced six virtues: Honour, Courtesy, Humility, Piety, Purity, and Valour. We may accept the number but add one other grace to make them seven—the Charity which suffereth long and is kind. The author of the *Broad Stone of Honour* maintains that each of his six virtues was illustrated in the practice of some knight of the Middle Ages, by Bayard, Gawain, Godfrey, Tancred, Percivale, and Orlandus. It is the writer's business to endeavour to show that these same moral graces have been exercised in our modern life and often by those who have never become famous. If, therefore, it be said that the golden age of chivalry began in the middle of the eleventh and ended with the completion of the fourteenth century, the incidents we intend to recite will assuredly prove that time has run back to fetch the age of gold.

It will be well, however, first to realize that the sphere of chivalry in modern life is utterly different from that

world of romance which is traditionally associated with the chivalry of the Middle Ages.

The scene with which the *Faërie Queen* opens lies far back, indeed, from our foreground. It is dim with the mist of ghostly years. As the immortal story begins—

A gentle knight was pricking o'er the plain,
Yclad in mightie arms and silver shield,

a figure is revealed to us which neither ourselves nor our children will ever see on Salisbury Plain or meet on any King's highway. We are not told by Spenser where he has come from nor the scenery through which he has passed to reach that starting-point, but we can faintly imagine them. He has probably left some embrasured castle, perched on the limestone cliff. He has ridden along a scarcely marked track, now by the shining river and now through the forest shadows. He has heard the wild boar crash through the underwood and seen the footprint of the wolf on the soil. He has avoided the gloomy dell with its matted undergrowth surrounding clumps of solemn yews where the foul dragon lay concealed. He was glad to come into the open plain with its signs of tillage and promise of human habitation, and was relieved at last to hear in the distance familiar and hospitable sounds—the winding horn of the swineherd, the pipe of the shepherd, and the twang of the gleeman's harp as that wandering minstrel, like himself, was wending his way for a night's lodging in the stranger's dormitory of the Monastery, lying half hidden behind the sheltering elms.

At the break of day the matin bell awakes him. He bends his knees in prayer, and then sets out once more upon his journey. If we had been accompanying in imagination the hero of the immortal allegory, we should have seen him encountering giants, dwarfs and demons in the depths of the forest, and in caves and dens of the earth. But we are following the knight of ordinary mediaeval adventure, and he is bound for Camelot, where the lists are fixed for the

coming tournament. Innumerable fluttering ensigns mark out their boundary. The King is seated on the dais, which rests upon its cloth of gold, and the gallery behind him is crowded with the most beautiful women of the land. The eyes of the knight are lifted to the face of one of them—to him the fairest of the fair. She has deigned to wear his favour. And now the trumpets sound and the heralds proclaim the lineage and exploits of the combatants. The lances are levelled, the eager steeds, half hidden under their embroidered harness, dash together, and when the shock is over the victor who has kept his seat dismounts to receive his wreath of laurel or coronet of silver, while the surrounding spectators rise to wave their hands and shout their rapturous applause.

The *mise-en-scène* of modern chivalry lies neither in the region of faërie-land nor in the realm of ancient romance. It is lit with the light of everyday suns. It is crossed by the joys and sorrows of common life : with the hopes and fears of men and women of like passions with ourselves. And yet notwithstanding the striking difference between the two periods in content and colouring, the arena which is opened to the exercise of chivalrous virtues to-day is even in its outward environment more wonderful and more beautiful and infinitely wider than that which the trophied lists and haunted forests and moated castles offered to the ambitious and the brave of the Middle Ages. Perhaps we may miss some of the sights and sounds and some of the pursuits of Merrie England. The supernatural agents and influences in which our forefathers believed, the fairy, ghost, and basilisk have departed. The spells of the witch and the wizard are broken. Instead of folk-lore, tradition, the monkish tale, the discoveries of the diviner's rod, we have the diffusion of knowledge, the revelations of science, the civilizing force of trade and commerce, the purifying and ennobling power of a preached and published gospel. And now there rises before us the

vision of the village school with its free education—the university which is open to the ploughman's son—the church or chapel which is found in every town or hamlet—the factory with its thousand looms—the foundries with their streams of molten metal—harbours with their innumerable masts, gay with the flags of all nations—cities whose streets are lit by electricity, intersected and tunnelled with lines on which tramcars travel by invisible energy—ships of iron upon the sea like floating towns which can send their wireless messages a hundred miles,—it is in such outstanding places as these that the men and women of the twentieth century are summoned to play their part. In lowlier spheres as well—in the garret, the cellar, and model lodging of the crowded town—in the thatched cottage and blacksmith's forge of the village green—in the work-house, hospital, and prison, we have ample room for the acts and monuments of modern chivalry.

There are three particular sections in this ample area—the home, the social circle, and the political zone.

The relations which the members of the family hold to each other afford many opportunities for the practice of a perfect chivalry. Although the deeds themselves may seem to be but little and lowly, the motive which inspires them can be both high and generous. Only the other day a husband whose wife had become incurably intemperate was besought by his friends to secure a separation. His children were neglected: their clothes and the furniture of the house were carried to the pawnshop. The money so obtained, together with what part of his hard-earned wages she could steal, was spent in the gin-palace. The man's home was blighted. His happiness was wrecked. But he refused to put her away. Whenever he saw the wedding ring he remembered that he had sworn to love and cherish her until death did them part, and he resolved that as far as in him lay, his vow, the sacred tie which bound them, should never be broken. The acts of simple self-suppression and silent

heroism which women show to their husbands in the round of daily life are almost too common to be noticed. One instance may suffice. One night when Disraeli, then high in office, was about to ride to the House of Commons to deliver an important speech at a critical hour, he hastily closed the carriage door and unknowingly crushed the hand of his wife, who was going with him. She was faint with agony, but realizing that he was absorbed in thought and that her slightest cry would disturb and distress him, she never moved nor spoke a syllable.

It is out of the reverence which children feel to their parents that the most beautiful growths of character can spring. It is an essential part of the truest piety. When the Romans used the word *pietas* it embraced both reverence to the aged and reverence towards the gods. Our translators have, therefore, employed the right word in conveying Paul's exhortation, *show piety at home*. It is in such filial honour and affection that chivalry appears. There is only room for one example from the events of the latest Spanish-American War. Just before the battle of Manila, when the order was given to strip for action, the smallest powder-boy on the flagship dropped his coat overboard. He asked permission to jump after it and was refused. He went to the other side of the ship, dived into the water, recovered his coat, and was promptly arrested for disobedience. After the battle he was tried and found guilty. When the sentence was submitted to Commodore Dewey for his approval he became interested in the case. As he could not understand why the boy should risk his life for the coat just before the battle, he had the culprit brought to him. He spoke kindly to the lad, who broke down and told the Commodore that the coat contained his mother's picture which he had just kissed, and he could not bear to see it lost! The order was promptly given to release him.

In the relation of servants to the master or mistress of the house there is often an opportunity for chivalrous feeling and action. The touchingly humble and generous

apology of Robert Louis Stevenson to his waiting-maid is an instance in point. He had rebuked her hotly in sudden anger and was afterwards ashamed. 'I should not so have spoken'—he explains—'to one whose position forbade her to reply.'

In social life there is also a wide and varied field of occasion. The chance may come any day and in anything—in the commerce of friend with friend—in the duty a man owes to his neighbour—in his bearing to his enemy. Few of the many who were repelled by Thomas Carlyle's rough and rugged manners could ever guess what a tender chivalrous soul was concealed behind them—in his singular friendship with John Stuart Mill it revealed itself. The manuscript of *The French Revolution*, which had taken Carlyle's laborious pen three years to write, was lent to Mill to read at his urgent request. He did not take care of it. It was consigned by the servant to the wastepaper basket and afterwards burnt to ashes. When Mill came to tell Carlyle the news he heard him in silence. When Mill had gone he turned to his wife and said, 'How miserable poor Stuart Mill must be!'

While this essay is being written the heart of the nation is being strangely moved with sorrow and pride as it reads Captain Scott's narrative of his last journey over the Antarctic ice and snow. The bravery of himself and his comrades—their loyalty to one another—their manly love, will live long in the memory of their fellow Englishmen. One incident of their gallant ending will stand out in bold relief: how Captain Oates, sick, worn out, and feeble, well knowing that he was a clog on the movements of his comrades—who would not leave him so long as he lived—went out into the blizzard and never returned.

It will be very evident from this rapid survey of the varied sections of our national life, that notwithstanding Edmund Burke's historic lament, the age of chivalry is not over. And yet there are symptoms in our political and

social conditions which are both disappointing and disturbing. There is no reason why magnanimity and courtesy should not play a part in the campaign of party politics. Even on the battle-field the generous and softer feelings of humanity are often displayed. In the severest conflict the fiercest combatants have shown the grace of gentleness and a regard for each other's honour. Surely, therefore, it should be possible for those who are the representatives of the people in Parliament and who make their laws, to discuss the question of the day on the platform and in the House of Commons, and to differ from one another without personal violence and abusive language. It is to them that the youth of England are looking for leading and example.

It may be said that the spirit of chivalry has been severely strained in its relation to the demands of the women of the nation for political rights and liberty, by the militant tactics of a small minority. This was perhaps inevitable. But should it not have been proof against all provocation? It seems to be possible for men to hold two opinions as to the justice and reasonableness of those demands, but this apart—can there be any question of the duty of those in power to listen to their plea with an open-minded patience and with never-failing courtesy?

There is another appeal to our national chivalry from the millions of animals which are annually slaughtered for food in Great Britain and Ireland. If our life must, indeed, be nourished through the sacrifice of theirs we should at least determine that their deaths should be as free from pain and horror as possible. The regulations which the Government has recommended should be enforced. No animal should be bled before being stunned, or killed in presence of another or in sight of blood; and no stunning or slaughtering implement used which has not been approved by the Local Government Board. Surely He in whose ears the Creation groaneth has heard the cry of the stock-yard and the slaughter-house, and will be avenged.

How to promote the growth of the spirit of chivalry in her sons and daughters is the greatest question with which any nation can be concerned. The answers are various. It should be the object of *education*—the education which seeks not only to impart knowledge but to inoculate by the vital influence of personal example. The youth of the Middle Ages was apprenticed to some noble knight. He became his page and then esquire, and by brave and loyal service won his spurs. It is not enough to have as master, tutor, professor, one who can convey information. He should himself awaken reverence and admiration, and through those master faculties impress all that is noble in his own disposition upon the character of his pupils. One thinks of Arnold of Rugby, from whom radiated truthfulness, courage, and charity. The lives of the illustrious dead should also have a place in the memory and imagination of the young. It was to secure this that Huxley advocated the reading of the biographical parts of the Bible in all *Board* schools, and it is for this end that the names of her heroes, from the War of Independence down to the present day, are recited in every school in the United States of America. There is no country with such a gallery of noble men and women as our own United Kingdom.

The spirit of early chivalry was also fostered by the Orders or Associations, which had their rules and duties and privileges. The Knights of the Table Round, all of whom went forth in quest of adventure and some in quest of the Holy Graal; the Knights Templars, who guarded the pilgrims to the Holy City, and the Knights Hospitallers, who ministered to them when sick and dying, are some of the many. The same instinct of association for the furtherance of noble deeds and for mutual aid is more vigorous in these later days than ever. The names of their Orders outside the Military and Naval services are legion. The Royal Humane Society; the French Academy with its Annual Prix de Vertu; the Carnegie Hero Fund Trust, with its

roll of honour, have each their worthy aims. They single out some special hero for publicity and reward. It is just here that a caution is needed. True nobility of spirit shows itself in the common events of every day. It is unconscious of its own greatness and it covets no reward. If the laurel is afforded it will be worn with meekness. If denied, it will neither be missed nor lamented. The associations which have sprung up in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries for the moral and spiritual culture of young men and women have nobler aims than any mediæval knightly companies. Some are distinctly spiritual societies, as the Wesley Guild, Christian Endeavour, and Church Brigade. Others blend physical training with moral discipline, as the Boy-Scouts and Boys' Brigades; and others, like the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association, endeavour to meet the need for social intercourse. But all profess to have adopted and to obey that high motto of knight-errantry, 'I Serve.'

In developing the manly and gentle virtues the Christian Church must play its part. It should be the school of chivalry. Each squire invested with knighthood was reminded of his dependence on divine assistance. He spent the eve of the day of his dedication in confession, fasting, and prayer. In the morning he bathed and put on his white tunic. In the chapel he was girt about with his consecrated girdle in the name of God, St. George and Michael 'he Archangel, and his sword, which he had laid upon the altar, was handed to him again; and, to crown and seal the sacred ceremony, he partook of the Sacrament, which set forth the body and blood of his Lord. It is in such a spirit that he who craves to be a truly Christian knight of modern days must enter into the invisible Armoury of the Church, to be harnessed from head to foot and made ready for the Holy War.

E. J. BRAILSFORD.

THE RELIGIONS OF GREECE AND ROME

The Greek Genius and its Meaning to Us. By R. W. LIVINGSTONE. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912.)

The Higher Aspects of Greek Religion. (Hibbert Lectures, 1911.) By L. R. FARNELL. (London: Williams & Norgate, 1912.)

The Religion of Numa, and Other Essays. By J. B. CARTER. (London: Macmillan, 1906.)

The Religious Experience of the Roman People. (Gifford Lectures, 1909-10.) By W. WARDE FOWLER. (London: Macmillan, 1911.)

The Religious Life of Ancient Rome. By J. B. CARTER. (London: Constable, 1912.)

IT is almost a commonplace to-day that Greece is entering again upon her own—that, coincidently with the movement to destroy the prestige of the Greek language as an instrument of education, Greek thought is leaving an ever deeper mark upon our political and intellectual life. Nay, more—by a curious irony those who think themselves the bitterest enemies of Greek are often doing most to further, along certain lines, a Greek ideal. The labour leader who denounces the language as the great barrier which marks off Oxford as the preserve of ‘the classes’ is himself seeking to advance a policy of collectivism and state-interference which, in practical politics, bases itself far less upon Karl Marx than upon Profs. T. H. Green and Bosanquet, and others who have learnt their first lessons from Plato and Aristotle in the school of *Literae Humaniores*. In our literature, again, there are not wanting men who not merely patiently interpret for us the glory of Greece, but who deliberately exalt Hellenism, as they conceive it, at the expense of modern civilization, of Christianity, and even of morality. Matthew Arnold, protesting against what he

deemed the over-Hebraism of English life, declared that we needed the inspiration of Hellas as well; many of his descendants are ready to deny altogether the truth of the Hebraic ideal.

We welcome Mr. Livingstone's book alike for its sympathy and its courage. In one sense, perhaps, it says little that is new; but it presents the central features of Greek life with great clearness, and with an ever-present sense of their close contact with the life of to-day, alike in resemblance and in contrast. It is the work of a man who has thought deeply on the books he teaches, and on the reasons which make them worth teaching. He has deliberately confined himself to the classical age, and to the standard authors. But for him they are no hackneyed routine; he makes no stock quotations, no cheap criticisms; he portrays the various manifestations of a national genius, and he finds them, where they must ever be seen, not in a large view only, but in details. The modern parallels and contrasts are continuous and full, and display an almost bewildering acquaintance with modern literature, especially French. We are never out of sight of our own current problems and tendencies.

We admire, we say, Mr. Livingstone's courage. He not only tells us what Hellenism is, with its notes of 'beauty,' 'freedom,' 'directness,' 'humanism,' 'sanity and many-sidedness'—he tells us what it is not. It is not, to use his own phrase, 'a picture-gallery sense of beauty, which can be turned on and off like a tap.' It is not a wild revolt against Christian convention, like Thomas Hardy's; it is not 'art for art's sake,' *à la* Oscar Wilde. Swinburne, for all his trying, is not Hellenic, because he is not direct; his very sentences, thirty lines long, 'proceed toward the infinite,' as Aristotle would say, and the Greek always revolted from what lacked due measure. Pater is not Hellenic, though he thinks he is; an artificial pose is not Greek. For good or for evil, there has passed between us and Greece a Presence which we can never efface; we have

seen the Cross of Christ. We may learn of the Greeks, and we have much to learn; but we cannot be Greeks, any more than Rousseau and Chateaubriand could be the innocent Indians of their vain imaginations.

Mr. Livingstone, of course, does not say all this, though he suggests it; as befits an Oxford tutor, he leaves the Christian and the Hellenic ideal side by side, and will not judge between them. But he points out to us how even within the circle of the great Greek authors we have at least one man whose outlook on life is largely anti-Hellenic. We are only slowly learning, as Mr. Zimmern has lately so well pointed out in his *Greek Commonwealth*, that much of what Plato and Aristotle tell us displays Greece not as it was, but as they wished it to be, and it was not. True as this is politically, it is even more abundantly true, at least of Plato, in the realm of religious thought. He has the distinct strain of mysticism so rare in the Greek; he knows, as few Greeks knew, the weakness of human nature; he sees the body as too often a clog upon the soul; he realizes in himself a dualism, without the Pauline sense of triumph over that dualism.

We have only lately begun to understand the source whence arose this under-current of anti-Hellenism in the Greek nation. Archaeology has proved to us that the Greeks were a fusion of two widely different races—the indigenous people of 'Mediterranean' physical type, who worked out the prehistoric culture now known to us as 'Minoan,' and a wave or waves of Northern invaders, of finer physique doubtless, but lower material civilization, who swept over the country in the late Bronze and early Iron ages. In historic times the fusion was so complete as almost to have been forgotten; but we now see that while the main tendencies of the higher religion of Greece are those of the Northern anthropomorphism, it is to the earlier people, with their cruder animism, that we owe the more mystical, as well as the more degraded, aspects of classical

faith and practice. Ever since comparative religion has become a science, the relative purity of the Homeric religion has been a difficult problem. It has nothing of totemism, no beast-gods, no magical ideas with regard to the divinity, no fetishism, few traces of worship of spirits. It has no superstitious dread; it is almost as free from the obscene as Christianity itself. The attempts to read 'primitive' ideas into it have signally failed; the elms planted upon a barrow no more prove 'tree-worship' than do the yews in an English churchyard. Nor is Prof. Gilbert Murray's theory that later generations 'expurgated' our Homer more successful; it is hard to square with the facts of Greek history; it is entirely contrary to the parallels of other races. The phenomenon is not isolated: we find it in the earlier Norse Sagas and the heathenism that lies beneath a thin Christian veneer in *Beowulf*; we find it again in the *Rig-Veda*; and we find it, as we shall see, in the early patrician calendar of Rome. In each case the explanation is the same—an invading race has brought in a purer faith.

No doubt the Homeric pantheon, like the Norse, already shows an accommodation of diverse elements; the 'mother-goddess' and the chthonic (or, as we commonly say, 'infernal') powers of the Minoan religion are there side by side with the Aryan sky-god Zeus. The bright, cheerful, self-reliant faith of the northerner, who felt that he could look his gods in the face and know himself but little weaker than they, whose 'all men have need of gods' has in it a touch of unconscious patronage—this could not satisfy a more developed age. Like the similar Teutonic beliefs, which melted as snow at the touch of Christianity, it already in Homeric days was losing its binding power. But in the Greek religion of historic times it is still the dominating factor, as far as state-cult and literary expression go; while on the other hand, we owe to the 'Minoans' the elements of superstition and mystery, worship of the dead, placation of ghosts, and the like, which form the background of Greek

religious experience. We cannot, with Miss Harrison, rhapsodize over these lower elements, but we are bound to admit that they had in them much that was capable of satisfying deeper longings; they gave rise to the 'Mysteries' and the secret brotherhoods, to the longing for purity and the sense of sin—in short, to what is often called the 'Oriental' element in the religious life of Greece.

The salient features of that religious life are admirably summed up in Dr. Farnell's six lectures. Behind his illustrations there obviously lies deep knowledge of detail; but so simply are the conclusions set forth that one almost forgets that the writer is author also of five large volumes on the *Cults of the Greek States*. His judgements are admirably sane and balanced; he knows too much to advance rash theories or form hasty generalizations. Therefore his book is not only readable; it is thoroughly reliable.

The outstanding facts of Greek religion are two: it is in essence a religion of the family, clan, and city-state; and it is humanistic—a 'natural religion' in the obvious sense of that much-abused term. These facts are at once its strength and its weakness; they form the reason why some students of it to-day look back upon it longingly, and contrast it with Christianity to the latter's discredit; they also account for its eventual failure. Long before it came into contact with the rising Church it was already bankrupt; it had failed to hold the heart of its own people. When the city-state gave way to a larger world-outlook, 'Apollo and Athene were too much citizens to adapt themselves to the new order.' We are reminded of Dr. Carter's 'incorrigibly republican Jupiter.'

The true Greek lived for and thought of this world only. Life had many interests, and in one sense, religion was but one of those many; though in another each interest had its own god. Each force of nature, each capacity of his own soul or body, each relationship of life had its own appropriate deity, conceived of as possessing like passions with himself.

Roughly speaking, he knew no priests and no set form of prayer; yet he was bound by the limits set by his family and his state to the gods they had created. Liberty of choice was unthinkable; each Greek worshipped the gods of his family, his clan, his state, because all men did the same. Sin for him was only sin because it was anti-domestic or anti-social. His birth, his marriage, his death, all brought him into the closest touch with his divinities; his family meals were a communion with them; any offence against family ties was an offence against them, and one of the worst was that of rearing no family to show them honour. And of these family gods the highest was 'Zeus of the courtyard'—the satisfactory worship of whom was a necessary condition of holding the highest office at Athens. Shallow such worship may have been; yet the religion of the family has its lesson even to-day for many who are ashamed lest their nearest relatives should know that in their household God is worshipped as Lord of the household (the Greek 'household' included even the slaves) as well as Lord of the whole earth.

The family was but part of the clan, and of clans the state was made up. There could be for a Greek no union of men, tribal, local, national, or even commercial, without its deity and its worship. Each parish had its rites; each clan its religious initiation soon after birth or adoption. The state and the state-religion were bound up together; and for that very reason citizenship was a hard thing to win. The traitor's worst offence was that he strove to give others' gods the victory over his own, and so to disturb their 'ancestral' ritual. To Creon, in Sophocles' play, it is inconceivable that the state-gods should do otherwise than rejoice in his inhuman treatment of their enemy's corpse; and if the poet saw farther, the religious duty which he sets over against state-duty is still but duty to the family, which for him is more elemental still. In a vague way the Greek conceived of the unity of the Athene of whom Homer sang, and in times of national stress she might rise to the dignity

of a national goddess; but in practice he worshipped Athene 'the Virgin,' if he were an Athenian, or Athene 'of the Brazen House,' if he were a Spartan, for these were the gods of his state. Individual thought and worship were but late growths in Greece.

Such a religion had in it much that is noble; it bound together the small city-state as no nation of to-day can be bound. It fostered a sense of national unity against the barbarian; it softened the cruelties of war, and invested oath-keeping and hospitality with an honourable sanction. It knew no persecution: who was there to persecute when each man must needs worship the gods to whom he belonged by birth? But neither could it produce a prophet of righteousness. It was a religion of the ordinary man; it satisfied no deep cravings; and religious advance is led by extraordinary men, who long for the highest. It was good, in its way; but it was the enemy of the better. The philosophers were soon beyond it; and their progress was outside it, though many of them failed to see that fact. It had but little that was reverential or awe-inspiring; it was obviously the creation of human brains, the reflex of the feelings of human hearts. It had no sanction. How could one be sure that Zeus existed? The state said so; the fathers said so; Homer said so. But these were not enough.

Hence the longing for systems of purification, for an assurance of union with the deity, and happiness after death. How these systems arose, we hardly know; they came up out of the under-world, and they always remained somewhat apart. They, too, were only indirectly moral; to Plato, with all his mysticism, many of them appeared directly immoral, because their purity was not an ethical purity. But they satisfied for a time the striving for a wider union than the state, for a wider outlook and higher aspiration than the state-religion could afford. At Athens the Mysteries of Eleusis were indeed adopted into the state-religion. Dionysus, the god of the lower orders, became at

least as powerful as the Northern Apollo; as a representation of spiritual insight the Hermes of Praxiteles fades into nothing beside the Demeter of Cnidus. It is rank nonsense for moderns to talk as if the 'pale Galilean' had banished the full-blooded and light-hearted joyousness of the old Greek faith; every scholar knows—Swinburne better than most—that Greek religion died of its own failure to meet the heart-felt wants of mankind. It ennobled the body and the mind, as some forms of Christianity have failed to do; but it ceased to have a message for the soul. Mithras was a more formidable enemy to Christ than was Zeus. The mysteries but paved the way for something higher.

Our knowledge of prehistoric Italy is more recent even than that of prehistoric Greece, and it is still more fragmentary. But it would appear that there too an indigenous race of 'Mediterranean' type but low civilization dwelt undisturbed till in the Bronze Age there pressed downwards from the Alpine lakes a new people, practising cremation-burial. The plan of their artificial lake-villages (whose remains are the so-called *terremare*) reminds one so irresistibly of a Roman camp that one feels instinctively that they must be the ancestors of the Italic race in its narrower sense. Yet it is still quite uncertain in what proportion the various tribes of historic Italy represent the mixture of these two fundamental elements, and yet more uncertain what elements in Italian religion correspond to each. Analogy would seem to suggest that the austere impersonal religion of the earliest Roman calendar represents the faith of the invaders, while such discordant elements as the strange taboos on the unfortunate Flamen of Jupiter, the rites of Diana in the grove at Aricia, and the obscene cults (never part of the state-religion) cited by the Christian writer Arnobius belong to the aboriginal inhabitants. Be that as it may, we are driven back upon the literary evidence for want of monumental; and fortunately the Roman genius was such that its ordinances seem to embalm the antique, and in

religion as in politics we can almost certainly discover the oldest elements by merely abstracting from the accretions of historic times. This is the method whose most thorough application in this sphere is associated with the name of Prof. Georg Wissowa. Mr. Fowler and Dr. Carter accept it to the full. We are aware that another school represented by Prof. Pais of Naples, led by a doctrinaire theory of what is 'primitive,' regards early Roman religion as a mass of mythological filthiness which would degrade a savage; but we may pass them by; such animals as they conceive did not build the Roman nation.

It is but a few years since that we used to talk of 'the Graeco-Roman religion,' meaning thereby, on the Roman side, the mythology of the *Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses*. Now we are more conscious of the differences between Greek and Roman religion than of their likenesses. Readers of *The Religion of Numa*—and we know no more handy introduction to the subject—will be struck by the absence from the earliest Rome of almost all which we associate with classical religion. There is no mythology, no personality in the divine; only a number of dimly-conceived, almost impersonal, 'numina' or powers, divine citizens of the city-state, whose importance resides entirely in their function, their activity. They include Jupiter and Mars, it is true, but Minerva, Diana, Mercury, Apollo are absent, while we have Robigus, Falacer, and many another nonentity. Juno is there, but there is no proof that she is considered as the wife of Jupiter. The Roman, like the Greek, had a deity for every object and operation of his external life, and he propitiated it with due prayer and offering; but he did not personify it. His household gods were not 'Jupiter of the courtyard' and 'Apollo of the ancestors,' but 'the spirit of the household' (*lar familiaris*), 'the gods of the store cupboard' (*penates*), and 'the good gods,' or undifferentiated spirits of his forefathers (*di manes*). The gods of the earliest state-religion were obviously in the main

agricultural: we see a village-community settling down into city-life, and officially regulating its worship as only a city can, yet making little or no provision for the wider outlook of commerce and culture which city-life brings. Unlike the Greek, the Roman knows little about his gods; just enough to know how to avoid their anger, win their favour, and turn their powers to account; but at least he has freed the state (if ever it were bound) from magic, from grossness, and from superstitious fear. If his faith be animism, it is animism at its highest.

Such is the early faith which Mr. Fowler, with infinite patience and sympathy, as well as mastery of detail, has traced down through its varied changes and expansions to the days of the Augustan revival. He has made dry bones live, because he sees each phenomenon as part of the living 'religious experience' of a great nation. Few books of the kind have left upon us such a warm feeling of attraction to the spirit of its author. He writes as a scholar pure and simple, who treats the religion of the people whom it is his life-work to interpret as an integral and central part of the national existence; but he never leaves his reader in doubt as to the nature of his own convictions.

It is hardly true to say, as Dr. Carter does in his rather disappointing later book, that the earliest Roman religion had no sense of patriotism, and concerned itself merely with the powers of reproduction of men, cattle and crops. It did not need the Etruscans (with whose lore Dr. Carter is now somewhat intoxicated) to teach an Italic people to love their land—witness the Samnites. But to the later Roman kingdom, under that Etruscan domination which raised Rome to the headship of the Latin peoples, and gave the plebeians (whatever their origin) their first real share in the state, we owe the first great temples of Rome, the first cult-images (of Graeco-Etruscan form), and the first assimilation of external worships. Shrines there may have been before; but henceforward the temple of Jupiter 'Best

and Greatest' on the Capitol dominated the imagination of the Roman and became the centre of his national faith. Now came the Italian deities Minerva and Diana, the first at least through an Etruscan medium; and now were domiciled at Rome the Italianized Hercules and Castor, whose cult had filtered up from the Greek colonies of Lower Italy. The gods of dominion, of handicraft, of travel, found their way in, doubtless through plebeian channels, as the life of the older farmer-aristocracy admitted broader interests, and needed an appropriate god for each.

Then came the Republic; and with it, or but a little earlier, the Apolline influence of the Sibylline books from Cumae in Campania, which were gradually to change the whole religious outlook of the Romans. Carefully concealed, in the keeping of state-commissioners, in the vaults beneath the Capitoline temple, they were only to be resorted to in times of religious panic when local and customary expiations failed to allay supernatural terrors. But the custom grew: Apollo, Hermes (as Mercury), Demeter, Kore and Dionysus (as Ceres, Liber and Libera), and many another god, were received—though still, as strangers, without the sacred limits of the city; new forms of cult-processions, displays of images, banquets of the gods, were resorted to; and finally, in the dark days of the Second Punic War, the door was opened even to the debasing Oriental worship of the Great Mother of Galatia and her eunuch priests. The spectacular, the sensational, the entertaining—all these the Roman oligarchy found necessary for the weakness of the lower orders; but the poison, once admitted, could not be checked. We recommend any one to whom the 'portents' of Livy's Third Decade have seemed a dreary and senseless iteration to read Mr. Fowler's interpretation of them, and so judge them as a symptom of religious hysteria, the reaction from which heralded the utter collapse of the state-religion of Rome.

The collapse was rapid; to Polybius the fabric seemed

to stand impregnable, little as it commanded his personal adherence. But a sceptical philosophy, a flippant literature—both adaptations from the Greek—and a flagrantly dishonest use of religious forms for political ends, within two generations destroyed all public faith. Private rites still lived on, and were often, no doubt, observed with genuine piety; but the masses relapsed into Eastern superstition, while the nobler intellects found refuge in a hesitating philosophy, and both united later on in the worship of the Caesars—of Rome as personified in the ‘Genius’ of the Emperor. The two great names in the last century before Christ are not Cicero and Varro, but Lucretius and Vergil, and on the latter in particular Mr. Fowler throws much light as a religious poet. Yet for all his concentrated attack on ‘religion’ as he conceived it, we feel instinctively that Lucretius was essentially the greater religious genius; had the two poets been Christians, Vergil would assuredly have been a Catholic, and Lucretius a Protestant. To turn from the one to the other is to feel as the writer remembers to have felt, when, after visiting several of the ‘Domkirchen’ of Northern Germany, he entered the Frederiks-Kirke at Copenhagen, with the great letters over its portal ‘The Word of the Lord abideth for ever,’ and his heart beat faster at the thought ‘This was meant for a *Protestant* church.’ In Lucretius, however misguided, we meet the first great *missionary* in the history of the Greek and Roman religions.

The conflict between Christianity and heathenism has often been described, and Dr. Carter in his latest work has written very interestingly on several of the phases of that conflict, and of the efforts of successive Christian writers and workers in the Roman West to adapt their faith to the older culture, and to conserve both in the face of barbarian inroads. But we do not feel that Christianity commands his enthusiasm. It can hardly be otherwise if he regards it, as appears to be the case, as merely one manifestation of

the 'normal religious instinct,' of these 'religious forces which are at work in the world, as they always have been.' No one desires falsification of facts—the portrayal of Julian as a devil, or Constantine as a Christian hero; but to regard Christianity as merely the noblest product of the purely human religious genius is to play into the hands of that Neo-Platonism which provided the latest anti-Christian controversialists of the ancient world, but which was yet, as Dr. Carter says, a force utterly incapable of providing a constructive alternative to the new faith. There are virtual Neo-Platonists, as he hints, among us still, men vaguely 'interested in religion,' coquetting in a dilettante way with 'Christian Science,' or Theosophy, or Esoteric Buddhism. But, as ever, their activity is sterile; they have no missionary force.

We cannot think that Dr. Carter's view of the reasons for the triumph of Christianity is adequate. Let us examine a few of them. Firstly, it had a firm historic basis. Without subscribing to the overdrawn description of Mithraism as 'the most effective organization of missionary endeavour in the history of the world'—were that so, it would have left a greater mark on literature, and would not have disappeared so rapidly—any reader of Prof. Cumont's work must instinctively confess to the absorbing interest aroused by the story, as traced by the monuments, of the spread of this alien faith. But, as has well been said, the weakness of Mithraism was 'that there never was a Mithras, and he never slew the bull.' There *was* a man Christ Jesus, and He *did* rise from the dead. The weakness of the revived Krishna-cult in India to-day, which so strangely resembles Mithraism, and like it, borrows from Christianity so many of its later features, is the same. The 'pale Galilean' could do what the 'Unconquered Sun-God' could not, because resurrection comes only through death, and He died.

Again, Christianity has the note of authority: its message has the ring of 'Thus saith the Lord.' It is a revelation

from above, from One whose words and deeds are written plain. It has a Book, before which every ancient would-be 'scripture' was as feeble as the 'Book of Mormon.' It has an organization and brotherhood, based on a new life which is no mere emotional impulse, but a moral regeneration. The cult of Isis and Serapis might preach purity, but it had arisen out of an impure past, and to the dust it must return. We should be sorry to find with Dr. Illingworth the mark of the Divine transcendence in Church-government by officials who chance to be called bishops; but we do indeed find it in the authority claimed by the Church and its creed—by the Church not as an organization, but as a body of new-created men and women in whom the Holy Spirit dwells. It is the intolerance of Christianity—the characteristic which has always so irritated the Neo-Platonist—which is at once its very essence, and the condition of its success. God spoke of old time by divers portions and in divers manners, but now, once for all, and in a wholly unique way, He hath spoken unto us in His Son.

And because of this underlying authority, there is in Christianity a note of triumph such as was wholly alien to the true Greek and Roman religions, and found even in Mithraism but a faint echo. The personal note was but feebly heard in Greece, in Rome not at all; but the Christian can face life with confidence—

Now I have found the ground wherein
Sure my soul's anchor may remain—

and meet sorrow with calmness—

Give to the winds thy fears :
Hope and be undismayed ;
God hears thy sighs, and counts thy tears ;
God shall lift up thy head.

It was this strong confidence which enabled the writer of the note appended to the 'Martyrdom of Polycarp' to add his strange date—'Polycarp bore witness' on such a day of

such a month in the governorship of such a proconsul, 'but in the eternal reign of Jesus Christ, to whom be glory, honour, majesty and a throne eternal unto all generations. Amen.'

The religions of Greece and Rome, in their ordinary form, as distinct from the insight of the great poets and philosophers, may still teach us much; from the one we may learn the close unity in family-worship; from the other the sense of the divine in common things which made the old Roman look on every operation of his farm—his ploughing, hoeing, weeding, harrowing—as under the direct government of a deity. They mitigated, no doubt, within their limits the horrors of slavery; but they had no missionary message for the depressed and the ignorant. No ancient faith, least of all Mithraism, could have attempted the moral and spiritual elevation of outcastes like the Pariahs of India; none could have inspired Charles Wesley's rejoicing at the new life of the Kingswood colliers—

For this the saints lift up their voice,
And ceaseless praise to Thee is given;
For this the hosts above rejoice—
We raise the happiness of heaven.

Christianity has given to the rustic and the mechanic a spiritual power that Neo-Platonism never dreamed of. One summer afternoon, as the writer sat on Pateley Bridge platform waiting for a train, he heard three or four youths mocking an old shunter for his religion. 'What did father Job say?' ran one taunt. 'Young man,' rang out the answer, 'Job said, *I know that my Redeemer liveth*; and he didn't say that he thought, and he didn't say that he hoped, but he said that he *knew*.' And so he turned again to his work. Truly among them that are born of women have arisen few greater than Euripides and Plato, than Lucretius and Vergil; yet he that is but little in the Kingdom of Heaven is greater than they.

ERNEST E. GENNER.

CHRIST AND THE LAW OF CONTRADICTION

The Realm of Ends : Gifford Lectures. 2nd series. By
Dr. JAMES WARD.

Individuality and Value : Gifford Lectures. 1st series. By
Dr. BOSANQUET. (A. & C. Black.)

Truth on Trial. By Dr. PAUL CARUS. (Open Court
Publishing Co., Chicago.)

THE academic no less than popular notion, that any contradiction must be fatal to an argument, displays a curious ignorance of human nature and also of psychology. Mental no less than mechanical activity works best and most productively along the lines of most (rather than least) resistance. In the late Duke of Argyll's excellent book, *The Reign of Law*, occur, as critics know only too well, two violent contradictions. Herbert Spencer, in his great work *Principles of Biology*, was obliged to admit that certain statements neutralized or at least opposed each other. In fact, every thoughtful student might easily write an interesting book on this very point. For no author has lived who never contradicted his assertions, not merely at different periods or stages of his life, but in one and the same book. It is this point that constitutes in many cases the chief charm of a spectator to the observant critic. The disinterested or impartial spectator finds an exquisite pleasure in noting the marchings and countermarchings, the antithetic floundering of philosophers in the mighty ocean of thought. They begin naturally by contradicting each other and end necessarily by contradicting themselves. To particularize offenders in this way would be absurd and indeed impossible, where all equally offend in kind if not in degree. Even those who make a parade of logic form no exception to the general rule. Perhaps they would

admit at any rate verbal inconsistency when really thoughts diametrically clash. But who would care to live an hour in a world of iron logic, where two and two always make four and never five, where horses always pull carts and carts never horses, where hammers always drive nails and never nails hammers, where the whole must be always greater than the part and the part always less than the whole, where two parallel straight lines never meet and two straight lines cannot enclose a space, and where the great god is the Rule of Three? If we did not, on the other hand, inhabit a world of delightful inconsequences, where nothing seems certain but the uncertain, like cricket and the weather and women, we should be profoundly and persistently miserable. It is the sporting chance of the non sequitur and not the inevitable conclusion of the adamantine and coherent syllogism, which makes life worth living. The freakish element in the cosmos, as though the Deity possessed a keen sense of humour and did not spare His creatures or Himself, adds that ineffable completeness in the very incompleteness and illogicalness of things. We sometimes seem to hear behind the blunder or delicious lapse, the refusal of some rebellious cause to produce the appropriate and usual effect, the anticlimax, the anacoluthon, the daring metonymy of misapplication, the *ἄσβεστος γέλας* or inextinguishable laughter of the gods above. The by-products, the epiphenomena, the parerga and not the erga, so frequently usurp the throne, while the antilogisms and paralogisms appear to carry on the eternal process, in spite of their discontinuities and dazzling excursions into the region of the improbable or even the impossible. Makeshifts, accommodations, incongruities, and incompatibilities, more than harmonies, confront and confound us everywhere. This fact should make us more cautious in our universals and conclusions. He who expects the unexpected will never be taken off his guard. Nature abhors the invariable. She enjoys the imposition

of sudden surprises on us, deviations, new departures, contradictions. Every day we are compelled to revise our laws and symbolisms, to enlarge the outlook. Just as necessity makes us acquainted with strange bedfellows, joining together black and white, bitter and sweet, truth and falsehood. Nor is it otherwise in love, in marriage, as Horace knew and sang—

Sic visum est Veneri, cui placet impares
Formas atque animos sub iuga aëneæ
Saevo mittere cum joco.

A good working philosophy will make room for the supplementary antinomy, for both positive and negative constituents, the bathos, the descending or opposing transition. *Vita per saltum progreditur*, life proceeds by jumps, from contrast to contrast. Faith recognizes the breach, the chasm, the lacuna, the crack in creation, and takes it at a leap. And this holds true in science no less than in religion, as Boutroux has shown with superfluous conclusiveness in his admirable book. The smoothly flowing limpid argument, that goes on without a check or fault, should always make us suspicious, or at any rate watchful. Not thus runs the course of Nature or daily life, consistent most emphatically and continuously in their inconsistencies. When we reach a blind blank wall, we may feel assured we are far nearer some great truth or fresh discovery, than when we skim over the prosperous surface with 'proudfull sail.' The *via remotionis* of Thomas Aquinas proves most fertile in helpful and human results. The Bushmen of the present day belong to the Aurignacian period of the Upper Palaeolithic Age with its artists and cave painters and their sense of humour and religion. They have not grown with efflux of time, and indeed they may almost be said to have deteriorated. And the inability to transcend the logical stage, so useful and necessary in its place, is as bad as to be a Bushman. One may often notice in a German town, when two men have met, the listener waiting

and waiting and waiting. For what is he so attentive? He watches for the final verb, that will make clear the long-winded exordium. Thus with those who do not really live, and are not in sympathy with Nature or Art, to expect the last link in the chain, the logical conclusion, is to be lost. We must take the world as we find it, a world of beautiful contradictions and blessed incongruities. And then life, a very practical and inconsequent business, will soon settle things for us, and we shall pass from antithesis to antithesis without any sense of opposition, to the haven where we would be.

If we remember that the unit of knowledge, as we have shown in the *Keeper of the Keys*, is not so much subject *plus* object as subject *contra* object, we shall discover no difficulty in the contradictoriness of life. Indeed, bearing this fact in mind, we ought antecedently to expect something of the kind. Nature universally chooses to work in this way, mind does not and cannot act otherwise, and every decision seems determined by its negative or its polar opposites. Even the affections reveal the same contrariety of movements, for we are able to love and hate the same person at the same time, and we find the Everlasting Yea and the Everlasting Nay uniting in their very conflict and agreeing to differ. The affirmation and the denial often concur in the strangest manner. The enemy is the friend and the friend is the enemy. Our experiences, the consciousness, not merely oscillate between two contradictions, but actually are simultaneous contradictions. By their eternal resistance to each other they subsist. Hendiadys is the rule and not the exception. We ourselves are quite as much what we negate as what we posit, simply because we cannot escape from the psychological necessity which laughs at logic and logical demarcations, which only exist in abstraction and never in actuality. Nobody ever was a master unless he was a slave, and nobody is a sovereign until he is a subject. We declare, no doubt, that we are

either this or that, but the fact refutes us and demonstrates that we are both alike. The socialist would not be a socialist were he not an individualist, and the individualist would not be an individualist were he not a socialist. The arguments that prove the Conservative, prove likewise the Liberal. Extremes meet, and Limehouse and Lansdowne House touch each other. Indeed, but for our othernesses, our enemies, our antagonisms, the world would be dull indeed. Nothing great or small, high or low, seems intelligible, if we do not regard things through the medium and in the light of their opposite. The savage core gives culture its substance and its justification. Thomas Holmes, who ought to know, denies the existence of any criminal type, because we are all potentially criminals. As indeed Richard Baxter said at an execution, when the murderer mounted the gallows: 'There goes Richard Baxter but for the grace of God.' Man still bears about with him the atmosphere of the Pleistocene Period, of which he is a product, according to Professor Sollas. Have we gone so very far beyond the primitive mind? Well, certainly the late Duke of Argyll and Herbert Spencer had not. Surviving savages, who represent the palaeolithic if not the colithic age, like these thinkers, entertain contradictions without seeing the contradictions. Not on account of their uncivilized state, but on account of their psychological constitution. They know, as surely as Hegel, that things can be at once themselves and others. And this wrongly supposed proof of unintelligence, really and truly suggests a philosophical mentality and powers of thought. The safest criterion of human development was always and always will be the ethical standard. And these so-called savages endure this test triumphantly. For instance, the Todas, who dwell in the Nilgiri Hills, are said by travellers and those best acquainted with them to be pre-eminently moral. And among the Western Bushongo, a Bantu people, the Ikina Nyimi or royal precepts attain to a very high level

of morality. We may trace in (what has been termed) the Law of Participation, according to which, whatever happened to one member of the community, affected all, the operation of the same principle, the particular ego expressing itself in its other or here in all. Novalis called poetry absolute truth. But he would have been far nearer the mark, if he had said it was contradiction. From this verity no escape can be found. For even the most highly organized egotism works out infallibly in the end as pure and simple altruism, just as altruism cannot fail to issue in egotism. Man, wrote Pascal, stands for what is infinitely above man, and therefore and thereby manifests himself to be most man. Death, while destroying life, thus most effectually establishes it on the rock of immortality.

Though love repine and reason chafe,
 There came a voice without reply;
 'Tis man's perdition to be safe
 When for the Truth he ought to die.

God became pre-eminently God at His Kenosis, when He emptied Himself, and it was on the Cross of Calvary that Christ revealed most fully those 'bright shoots of everlastingness' that are the pledge and promise, the positive and permanent assurance of our own. *Morior ergo sum*—it is no mortality that vindicates our birthright of immortality. Man, at his lowest, whether an irresponsible autocrat or a political partisan who lies habitually for the benefit of a faction as, according to the famous story, the ambassador did for his country, yet acts as a dethroned monarch—betrays sometimes his divine otherness. He persistently contradicts himself and keeps negating by lightning flashes of better thoughts and things the blurred and blotted schemes of his squalid life. Even in Aristotle's doctrine of privation rightly understood—and what is truth but Aristotle affirmed, and what is falsehood but Aristotle denied?—we discern the want of something required and realized, something that belongs to us, a missing crown

of completeness. Well wrote Goethe, 'In deinem Nichts hoff' ich das All zu finden.' In the Nothing, if we will only look in faith and love, shall we discover the All. Unless we embrace both horns of the dilemma we call life, unless we accept our complementary opposites, unless we envisage the part in the whole and the whole in the part, unless we continually deny ourselves to assert ourselves, unless in science we negate God and in religion we affirm God, unless our doubt confirms our faith, we do not fully live. Nothing has been done to relieve us of our responsibilities, but rather to open out new worlds for us. *Deus creavit, homo recreavit*. Darkness alone displays the stars. And each new negation could not help being also a new affirmation, while the trial which throws down old altars erects at the same time and by the same movement new and fairer altars. If the shadow veils one light, it naturally and necessarily unveils other lights. And as Pusey taught, the heaviest part of sorrow often is looking forward to it. Its presence brings joy.

The unity is always the strongest, when the opposing forces or feelings are antagonistic. They pull together the most, just because they pull against each other. The centripetal and the centrifugal elements balance each other, attraction and repulsion maintain the cosmic equipoise and harmony. From the interaction and the interdependence of life and death issues larger life. We have no isolated existences, but a universal co-existence in which contrarieties produce the seesaw of unstable equilibrium, which passes from one new synthesis to another—absolutely stable equilibrium would be death. Each fresh equipoise by perpetual counterpoise cannot be otherwise than temporary and relative. Thought is a flux, feeling is a flux, eternally dissolving to recombine. There cannot exist a *single* thought or *simple* feeling, each being determined by its other. They are all mixed, all compounded of opposites which keep running into each other

by constant solutions and resolutions. No honest, accurate, observant, penetrating scientific psychology can fairly fix any rounded off and separate states of consciousness or feeling. We recognize here and there, now and then, wave crests of dominant emotion or thought; but the wave itself proves invariably to be compounded of countless minor waves, and the dominant summit passes quickly into its other and is defined by the other, and so on for ever. In the map of the mind, as experience reveals it to us, we have occasional visions of three vast territories which may be divided into the conscious, subconscious, and superconscious. But this distinction yields itself purely to human abstraction for useful purposes, being artificial and not natural. The so-called 'subliminal consciousness' of Myers was anticipated ages before him by Leibnitz and probably by others—just as the recently discovered Man of Ipswich under the chalk boulder clay, according to Prof. Sollas, presents the typical features of man at the present day. And, to speak metaphorically, could we unearth the Deus of that Lower Palaeolithic Period, we should find Him the Homo of to-day. That is to say, God and Man mutually act and react on each other and determine each other. Anthropotheism and theanthropy are necessary counterforces in the progressive development of the world. Reason and emotion, likewise, work, but by violent antipathies, mixed and profitable results. Thought never was or will be untouched, uncoloured, by feeling, nor feeling by thought, and will inevitably energizes in both. It is the constant check, the sense of resistance everywhere, which elicits the appropriate counter-movement and disengages or liberates more and fuller life. We are all both sentimentalists and rationalists, all both pragmatists and idealists. Whatever we choose to label or libel ourselves, our conduct gives the lie direct to the assumed nomenclature. No title of the sort is worth a tittle. We are, thank God, greater than we know and say, we build more broadly and deeply

and highly than we know and say. Human nature, with its infinite variety and variability, refuses to be isolated or compressed into cast-iron moulds. With the force of intra-atomic energy it ruptures at once all these ridiculous compartments and flows over and flows on. Reason's ultimate effort, like the cometary sweep of faith, recognizes the illimitableness of the things above and beyond its reach, and thereby identifies itself with the infinite. Science talks of constant relations between phenomena, and in the same assertion proclaims their inconstancy and prophesies new revelations of new faith. Novels should be written by men of science and not by idealists and poets, because the men of science make the largest assumptions. Science has been called the reduction of the unknown to the known, the inexplicable to the explicable, the obscure to the evident. But it begins and ends in faith—in imagination. Leslie Stephen maintained that the imagination lagged behind the reason, but he certainly did not exemplify this in himself. And no science ever has divorced, or ever will divorce, the one from the other. The greatest romance is not *The Cloister and the Hearth* or any such book, but Newton's *Principia*. And the chief poet was not Shakespeare (or Bacon), but Kelvin or another of the same school. Tennyson truly proclaimed 'the fairy tales of Science.' Huxley and Tyndall were far more seers than students of phenomena. Darwin's *Descent of Man* easily over-imagines and out-distances *King Lear* or *Hamlet* or *The Tempest*. Pascal, as usual, who more than any prophet anticipated equally metaphysic or science, declared that the parts of the world were so interdependent that we could not understand the one without the other, or without the whole. Dean Inge assures us that the Jews were patriots and not people with a genius for religion. But his negation was at the same time an affirmation. He only meant that the Hebrews, like all other nations, entertained contradictory views, as he does liberally himself. *Credat Judaeus ! Credat Decanus.*

The multitude of books written against miracles show us, if we have open or even scientific minds, that the Rev. W. Temple, of worthy father worthy son, is perfectly right in maintaining that 'the demand for miracles is absolutely inherent in religion.' Persons who think the last superfluous, soon, like Auguste Comte, establish a cult of their own, if only Temperance or Tariff Reform or Imperialism. We all believe in a sort of something—though it may be ourselves, or the military fetish called Honour, on which the Head Master of Repton pours such crushing contempt. Let us never trouble ourselves about the logical consistency of our views. The most incompatible in life will speedily adjust themselves and lie down together in peace and happiness, as the lion and the lamb in the Millennium. The more inconsistent we are, the more likely are we to be in the way of truth. Is not God the sum of all contradictions? Was not, is not Christ, the One Everlasting Paradox?

As we should have antecedently expected, our Lord's teaching abounds in the very flattest contradictions. In fact, it would not be too much to say that of all mystics or prophets, He stands easily the foremost in His union of opposites. The gospel might, indeed, be called the sum of all contradictions, when we consider the antithetical character of His doctrines. Not merely do we find this distinctive feature in St. John's, but even in the Synoptics. We might readily multiply examples of the divinely careless antagonism of the different statements. They read to the modern mind just as if they were thrown out casually and almost at random, for after-ages and the Church to reconcile as far as possible. Though it may be reasonably doubted if all will ever be perfectly harmonized. Maine de Biran used to insist on the importance of effort, and the immense part it played in life and progress, whether we regarded speculation or conduct, thought or ethic. As if the march of development followed the line of most rather

than of least resistance. But he never quite grasped the complete truth. That is the universal law of cross purposes, as they appear—for they are both competitive and co-operative—which still works towards one and the same goal, and involves perpetual fighting against resistance. Now, we see that Christ held the conflicting belief of law and miracles, prayer and an established world order. He manages to combine a sublime selflessness and an overweening, an enthusiastic altruism, and a colossal egotism. The Kingdom of God or of Heaven which He proclaims is at once immanent and transcendent, subjective and objective. The boundaries of ordinary chronology disappear, the present and the future grow mixed up together, as if time had no meaning and eternity had already begun. Sometimes the Kingdom has come, sometimes it is yet to come. We pass from parables like that of the mustard seed and slow evolution to sudden revolution and catastrophe, from the simplest moral lessons to the gorgeous machinery of the most extreme eschatology and apocalypse. Life and death meet and mingle, and thrive like tares and wheat side by side in inextricable confusion, so that we cannot immediately distinguish between the evil and the good. Spirit at one moment looks everything, and yet the body is often put first in the Lord's ministrations and in the daily miracles of healing. Prudence seems occasionally thrown to the winds, and the next moment the disciples are solemnly warned to count the cost—to be both provident and improvident. Jesus calls Himself and is meek and lowly, and yet He often manifests a dignity and autocratic severity more than those of any Oriental despot. Extremes in Him frequently merge, like gentleness and wrath, forgiveness and unforgiveness, the temper of the lion and of the lamb. Christ inculcated alike Conformity and Non-conformity, respect for authority and custom and tradition and orthodoxy, and iconoclastic defiance of forms and ceremonies and rules. We might *prima facie* suppose He

was the victim of moods and caprices. But the suspicion fades away before it has fully shaped itself, even when we note that He kept the Levitical law or violated it at His pleasure, and ritualism clashes with spirituality, worldliness with unworldliness—as in certain familiar parables. Freedom or liberty and service, if we did not read the full context of contending passages and dig deeper, might be thought to cancel each other. Teutonic independence and Oriental submissiveness flit before us like dissolving views. Christ conveyed the impression of being constructive and destructive alike, now the champion of socialism and then the advocate of unsocialism or something like a glorified individualism. He taught the childlike obedience to God, and at the same time promised a God like power upon and over Nature to obey and disobey, to command and serve. He was at once a Particularist and a Universalist, who lived no less in the actual than in the ideal, and accepted the one as real as the other. There never was a vaster visionary, there never was a more practical man. Experience and inexperience, the adult and the child, the commonplace and the impossible, dream and fact, prose and poetry, poverty and riches, gain and loss, were indifferent in value and in a way synonymous. But we need not suppose, from the paradoxicalness of His doctrines, by precept or parable, by miracle or example, that He differed greatly in this respect from His predecessors, whether Hellenic or Oriental. Heraklitus and Lao-tsu, and all the rest put forth their special principles in precisely this identical manner. Mystics always have done so and always will. They all appealed less to the reason than the heart, to Bacon's broken kind of knowledge named wonder. *Das Wunder ist des Glaubens liebstes Kind*. But in one marked respect, Christ differed from His forerunners. He spoke with a confidence and an assurance, with a personal authority in His most antagonistic utterances, that His hearers, even if they did not fully understand, could not doubt the divineness of the revelation.

Experience has been called the personalization of phenomena. And whatever this may mean, it is certain that Christ contrived (without contriving) to stamp on all His statements a Personal note which gave them a character of their own. They were contradictory, but never really or ultimately confused. They combined the babble of an inspired child, if we may say so without irreverence, and the rescripts of some imperious and irresponsible autocrat. The eternal womanly and the eternal masculine meet and mingle. St. Paul's discourses, in their frequent anacoluthons and non sequiturs and headlong inconsistencies, so far but no farther, remind us of his Master's teaching. But they lack Christ's original authentic, unanswerable note. We feel instinctively that from Him lies no appeal, there is no ulterior tribunal above and beyond. He stands at the centre of all, while others see in a glass darkly from point to point in the circumference of things. Christ never argues, He announces contradictory truths, because He sees and knows they agree and unite at last, and His Spirit will eventually lead us into all the light we want for guidance of ourselves and others.

F. W. ORDE WARD.

THE PAINTER OF ETERNAL TRUTHS

George Frederick Watts : The Annals of an Artist's Life. By M. S. WATTS. Vols. I. and II. *His Writings*, Vol. III. (Macmillan & Co. 81s. 6d. net.)

THERE is nothing in the ancestry of George Frederick Watts to account for that fine flower of English art. His biographer has only been able to furnish a meagre sketch of his parents and of the stock from which they came. The painter did not love publicity. Like Lord Tennyson he 'envied the oblivion that now hides every fact of the life of the man whose name stands first in literature.' He disliked his own surname because it had no music in it. 'I confess,' he once said, 'I should like to have a fine name and a great ancestry; as it would have been delightful to me to feel as though a long line of worthies were looking down upon me and urging me to sustain their dignity.' His grandfather was a cabinet-maker, or a maker of musical instruments in Hereford, where he married Elizabeth Bradford in 1774 and where he died early in the last century. His son George Watts established himself as a pianoforte manufacturer in London, and in 1816 married as his second wife a widow who was the daughter of Frederic Smith. On February 28, 1817, their famous son was born in Queen Street, Bryanston Square, and named George after his father and grandfather and Frederick after his mother's favourite brother. There were three children of the first marriage and four sons were born of the second, but three of them died in infancy. Mrs. Watts herself died of consumption in 1826. The two daughters kept house for their father and cared kindly and wisely for their half-brother, George Frederick. Mr. Watts himself drew and painted, though without much skill,

and some etchings by Rembrandt and Greuze which he bought at Hereford show that he had artistic taste. His child's frail health prevented him from attending school regularly, but his father guided his choice of books wisely. Like John Ruskin, his neighbour in Hunter Street, he knew the Bible thoroughly, and when he retold the Old Testament stories in later years, 'just by an accent here and there he would throw new and original comment upon them quite his own.' He could not recall any time when he did not use a pencil. His father carefully dated and kept many of the boy's drawings and the engravings of which they were very exact copies. The young artist was bent on making the best use of his gifts. Long afterwards he told his wife, 'To this steady endeavour I owe everything. Hard work, and keeping the definite object of my life in view, has given me whatever position I now have. And I may add, what I think is an encouragement to others, that very few have begun life with fewer advantages, either of health, wealth, or position, or any exceptional intellect. Any success I may have had is due entirely to steadiness of purpose.' At the age of ten he was allowed to go in and out of the studio of William Behnes, who became Sculptor in Ordinary to Queen Victoria. Charles Behnes, an invalid brother, took great interest in the young visitor, whose gifts he had already learned to appreciate highly. A friend of his who was a miniature painter taught George a simple rule for the use of oil colours, and lent him a painting of Lely's to copy. Mr. Watts now ventured to submit some of his son's drawings to Sir Martin Shee, President of the Royal Academy, but the judgement was adverse. 'I can see no reason why your son should take up the profession of art.' The father's confidence, however, was not shaken. He had made little out of his own life as a business man, but he gave his son every opportunity within his reach. The youth's powers were visibly growing. Once he painted a Van Dyck to see if he could deceive the

Behnes. The sculptor looked at it critically. 'Well, I would not venture to say that it is by Van Dyck, but it certainly is by no mean hand.' When the trick was confessed he asked angrily why the boy did not always paint like that. The young artist's first studio was built at the back of their house in Roberts Road, Hampstead Road. He was devoted to his work. Once when the conversation turned on the difficulty young people found in rising early, he said, 'Don't I know that very well, for I could only overcome the difficulty myself by not going to bed at all: I used not to undress, but rolled myself in a thick dressing-gown, and lay on the floor of my studio, sometimes on two chairs, until I had taught myself to awake and get up with the sun.' He never lost that habit. In his eighty-second year he rose at daybreak to resume his work. 'If he was ill and obliged to remain in bed, he would generally ask to have the curtains and blinds closed, once explaining, "I cannot bear it, the light calls to me."'

Before he was sixteen, Watts was drawing portraits in coloured chalk or pencil for a fee of five shillings. After that age he never cost his father anything. In 1885 he entered the Royal Academy Schools, but soon found that he could learn as much in his own studio. The Keeper, Mr. Hilton, thought his work ought to have won a medal, and told the students 'That is the way I like to see a drawing done.' When Watts showed him a small picture he had painted of a dying knight, he warned him as a friend not to attempt anything original in the way of composition. But the young artist had chosen his own path and followed it, though he realized the need of making careful studies from Nature. The 'Wounded Heron,' which he exhibited in the Academy of 1887, was painted from a dead bird whose beauty struck him so much that he bought it at a poulterer's shop. He also exhibited two portraits of young ladies. The painter long regretted that the 'Wounded Heron' had been lost sight of, but it came back into his

hands in 1888, when a dealer in Newcastle offered it to him for a small sum.

These early years were saddened by ill-health and by the failure of his father's life, but he bravely set himself to maintain the home and to educate himself as well as to study his own art. The Ionides, Greek merchants in London, were his first important patrons. In 1887 Mr. Constantine Ionides offered him £10 for a copy of his father's portrait, for which he had paid Mr. Lane £68. When it was finished he preferred the copy so much that he kept it and sent the original to Constantinople. The artist's generous temper was shown when a client gave him £25 instead of the £20 agreed upon. 'Mr. Watts immediately insisted on painting the portrait of the baby, which he threw in !' His character was already formed. About this time he was at the house of a gentleman whose portrait he was painting. To his annoyance the son of the house, a youth of fifteen or sixteen, who was leading a very fast life, offered to walk home with him. Something that the young painter said stirred him to a sense of the misery of his own evil ways, and when they met again several years later, he was tall and handsome, with a brilliant course as a student of science opening before him. He told Mr. Watts that he dated the whole change in his life from the night when they had walked together across the park. When asked about their conversation, Mr. Watts said, 'We talked of the stars.'

In 1848 he won a premium of £800 for his cartoon, 'Caractacus led in Triumph through the Streets of Rome,' intended for the decoration of the Houses of Parliament. He was sketching one of the lions at the Zoological Gardens when it threw its head back for an instant as if at bay, and gave him exactly the pose for the British hero. His prize enabled him to visit France and Italy. On the steamer from Marseilles to Leghorn, he met General Ellice, who introduced him to Lord Holland, then British Minister at Florence. Mr. Watts was just changing his lodgings.

Lord Holland said, 'Why not come here? We have plenty of room, and you must stay till you find quarters that you like.' He remained for four years. That was the chief blessing of his early career. Lady Holland was a notable housewife who kept an eye on every detail of her establishment. She gave the painter strict instructions that he was only to use one room as a studio, but that limit was soon removed, and he was permitted to paint in every room in the house. Mrs. Watts says, 'At no time were the conditions of life happier for George Watts; the climate suited him, he was in much better health, he enjoyed the society at the Legation; most people of note, either living at Florence or passing through, being as a matter of course the guests of the British Minister. Lady Holland, as he described her, brilliant, full of humour, fond of society, and at that time speaking French and Italian, perhaps even more fluently than English, made a delightful hostess. Lord Holland, large-hearted and genial, was a sympathetic companion, always certain to appreciate what was best in others—a great lover of the beautiful in art and nature. The young painter made many friends here, and it may be said with truth that he never lost one. I remember one lady whose father was at that time attached to the Legation saying, "I was so proud when I was allowed to sit by him at dinner"—and then she added—"and he was *so* handsome."' Amid the luxury of the Legation the painter ate only of the simplest dishes, and drank nothing but water. He toiled at his art early and late, painting many portraits and trying his hand at fresco-painting in the courtyard of the palace. His work in Florence shows little change in its style or character. He drew his pictures with gold or lead point on metallic paper. This permitted no correction to be made, and he always recommended the method to students. He did not make copies of the great masters, but set himself to discover the general principles which they employed. He regarded Michael Angelo's 'David'

as a bad statue, but the frescoes on the roof of the Sistine Chapel overwhelmed him. 'On the whole, as a complete work by one man, they are the greatest things existing.' Michael Angelo 'stands for Italy almost as Shakespeare does for England.'

His father died in 1845. He had seen him on a visit to London in the previous year, but was in Italy at the time of the loss. He was now becoming conscious of his powers. He tells Mr. Ionides in 1846: 'If I have not made money, it has been my own fault. With the connexion I have made, if I applied myself to portrait-painting I might carry all before me; but it has always been my ambition to tread in the steps of the old masters, and to endeavour, as far as my poor talents would permit, to emulate their greatness. Nor has the sight of their great works diminished my ardour; this cannot be done by painting portraits.' He asks for a commission to paint 'some patriotic subject, something that shall carry a moral lesson, such as Aristides relinquishing his right to command to Miltiades, that those who look upon it may recollect that the lone hero and patriot thinks not of his own honour or advantage, and is ever ready to sacrifice his personal feelings and his individual advancement for his country's good. Such subjects grandly painted, and in a striking manner, would not be without effect upon generous minds. Take advantage of my enthusiasm now; I will paint you an acre of canvas for little more than the cost of the material.'

He returned to London in 1847 and won a premium of £500 for his cartoon, 'Alfred Inciting the Britons to resist the Landing of the Danes by encountering them at Sea.' It was bought for the nation and hangs on the walls of a committee-room in the House of Lords. That picture of England's first naval victory is dedicated 'to patriotism and posterity.' His powers were now gaining recognition. Ruskin wrote in 1849, 'Do you know Watts? The man who is not employed on Houses of Parliament—to my mind

the only real painter of history or thought we have in England. A great fellow, or I am much mistaken—great as one of these same Savoy knots of rock; and we suffer the clouds to lie upon him, with thunder and famine at once in the thick of them. If you have time when you come to town, and have not seen it, look at “Time and Oblivion” in his studio.’ Watts was now at work on portraits of Panizzi, the Librarian of the British Museum, and of Lady Holland. He had begun to cherish his plan for painting his most distinguished contemporaries and presenting them to the nation. He produced some striking portraits. Lady Holland said, ‘I never know my friends until you have painted them.’ Mr. Ruskin twitted him with turning his sitters into angels though they were men. Some one else said, ‘Mr. Watts paints people alone, and with their best thoughts.’ True portraiture indeed should find the man behind the surface. His own personality, in which there was something higher than charm, accounted for much in his art. The ‘transcendental self’ was always apparent. ‘Everything about him seemed an expression of this, and if touched by some thought of specially wide reach from a friend or from a book, the contact with his imaginative Self sent a sort of transfigured look into his face, as if a flame had been lighted.’

In 1851 his friends, Mr. and Mrs. Prinsep, went to live in Little Holland House, two miles from Hyde Park Corner. Mr. Watts made his home under their roof. Probably the arrangement was in view from the first, though Mrs. Prinsep said, ‘He came to stay three days, he stayed thirty years.’ He was now at work on his great imaginative masterpieces. He offered to execute a fresco on the wall of the Hall at Lincoln’s Inn, and in 1858 began his ‘Justice—A Hemi-cycle of Law-givers.’ Ill-health prevented its completion till October 1859. Next April he was entertained to dinner by the Benchers, who presented him with a cup valued at £150 and a purse of £500, in grateful recognition of his

generous service. He often said that he believed his best chance of going down to posterity at all worthily, lay with this design.

In the Prinsep circle he was known as Signor. He carried in his pocket a small note-book of indelible paper with a metal point in the sheath. 'When his eye fell on any particularly beautiful arrangement in posture or line he would call out, with a gesture of his hand, "Oh, pray, stay where you are for a moment," and the note-book was taken out to receive a monumental outline on the tiny page.' Mrs. Watts counts these among his finest drawings. She gives some delightful glimpses of the Prinseps and the brilliant circle that gathered round them and their painter friend. Burne-Jones was brought on a visit by Rossetti. Watts described him as 'a real genius! really a genius!' Burne-Jones knew his friend's faculty of appreciation. 'Signor,' he said, 'admires paintings that would make very good soles to his boots.' Watts himself did not like to be praised too highly. Mrs. Cameron, Tennyson's friend, to whose brilliant amateur photography we owe so many treasures, was ardent in her admiration of Watts, who felt as though he were practising some deception upon her. 'She describes a great picture, but it is hers and not mine.' His own feeling was thus expressed. 'The really great is so far beyond one's reach that comparison becomes an unworthy consideration; to work with all one's heart, but with all singleness of heart is the right thing, and whoso does this may feel satisfied, whatever the result of his labour may be. If I have shown the way to better things I shall be very well contented, but I neither expect nor desire that my work may be considered a great one.'

The winters of the late fifties and early sixties were spent by the Prinseps at Esher, where Watts got some hunting which afforded him his nearest approach to the joy of living. 'His love and his understanding of a horse,'

his wife says, 'was akin to that which is more commonly given to dogs; and in his art he liked to use the horse as a symbol as much as he liked to use the little child.' One masterpiece in the Tate Gallery shows his skill in this branch of his art. The 'Mid-Day Rest' was painted from a dray and horses with their carman lent to him by Mr. Charles Hanbury. Mr. Watts had asked a firm of brewers if they could lend him a pair of horses, as he wished to paint that fine breed. He received a curt reply that the firm required no such advertisement. Mr. Hanbury came to the rescue with his kind offer, and the horses were brought to Little Holland House whenever he wished to paint them.

Despite his skill in seizing a likeness, Mr. Watts refused many commissions for portraits. 'Nature,' he said, 'did not intend me for a portrait-painter, and if I have painted portraits decently it is because I have tried so very hard, but it has ever cost me more labour to paint a portrait than to paint a subject-picture. I have given it up in sheer weariness; now come what may, my time must in future be devoted to the endeavour to carry out some of my large designs, and if I fail either to make a living or to do anything worthy of an artist (as I understand the term), I fail, but I submit to the drudgery of portrait-painting no longer.' His difficulties with the portraits of Carlyle and Mr. Gladstone show how hard he found it sometimes 'to paint the man, body, soul, and spirit.'

As to the artist's marriage with Ellen Terry, the biography is wisely reticent. 'All who have heard his name know also that a beautiful young girl who, with her yet undeveloped genius, was destined later to fascinate and delight thousands of her generation, came into his life, that they were married in February 1864, and were parted in June 1865, and, except for the accident of one chance meeting in the streets of Brighton, never met again, the marriage being dissolved in 1877.'

As the years passed on Mr. Watts devoted himself more and more earnestly to those allegorical pictures which he hoped would prove his title to be considered a real artist. They were not popular with those who forgot 'that spiritual and even most intellectual ideas can only be expressed by similes, and that words themselves are but symbols.' Thought of future influence made Watts keep working on an unvarnished picture for any number of years. 'A design laid in in the 'fifties might be completed ten, twenty, and even thirty years later.' Mr. Prinsep once exclaimed, 'I never saw such a fellow as you are, Signor! Why don't you finish one picture before you begin another?' From the doorway Signor replied as he went back to work, 'My dear friend, you don't paint a picture as you would make a pair of boots!' To him money-making was a trifle. His object was not merely to enrich the nation, but humanity in general. For this he says, 'I have steadily worked on, generally against discouragement, endeavouring by severe labour to acquire knowledge and experience, making large designs both in painting and sculpture with this great end in view.'

He tells Mrs. Percy Wyndham, whose portrait he had finished in 1870, how keenly he had been entering into her enjoyment of great art and great nature. He adds, 'What depresses me in general is not so much that I cannot give utterance to the "thoughts that fill my heart to bursting," though it is painful enough. That people walk through all this glory and only coldly recognize that something is round about them, interesting perhaps when they have time to think upon the matter, after business and the claims of society. With me it is like a religion, in fact, I believe it to be part of the same thing.'

He had devoted himself to sculpture and had finished his bust 'Clytie,' now in the Tate Gallery, and was busy with a recumbent figure of Bishop Lonsdale and a life-sized figure of Mr. Thomas Cholmondeley. He offered to give

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Mr. Ruskin the tenth of his earnings for St. George's Guild, but adds, 'that will amount to very little, for my professional (labours) are not valued in the market; and, after having worked indeed very earnestly for five-and-twenty years, I have not succeeded in realizing enough to give me—after satisfying just claims—if I should be from accident unable to work, £50 a year.'

Mr. Watts liked to send his pictures to an exhibition before they received the last touches, as he learned something by seeing them placed in unfavourable conditions. He held that art, like music and poetry, could inspire and awake, if only for a time, the highest sensibilities of our nature. 'If an individual feels, for five minutes, the best part of his nature called into activity, he has been a gainer; and in this way I hope to deserve well of my fellow human-beings.' By 1875 there were twelve to fifteen very large pictures, 'which it will be a great point of conscience to paint, and I can only hope to succeed by giving up the rest of my life to them.'

Undreamed-of sunshine came with his second marriage in November 1886. He had first known Miss Fraser-Tytler as a visitor to his studio in Little Holland House. The girl, who was herself an artist, was struck by the slightly built painter with his fine head and his courteous manner. He had 'the simplicity and humility of the immortal child that so often dwells at the heart of true genius.' His pathetic poise of the head seemed 'as if in dumb beseeching to the fountain of Eternal Beauty for more power to think His thoughts after Him.' When they became more intimate, Miss Fraser-Tytler said, 'Oh, Signor, when I am with you I grow.' In July 1886 the painter told her that he needed her. 'I want you to know that I have come to find for you the most profound and tender respect, and the most absolute trust in the qualities of your nature.' He was sixty-nine, but the marriage was a true union of hearts which brought untold blessing to the artist and

to the lady who became for the rest of his life his good genius.

The Grosvenor Gallery opened its doors in 1877. There 'Love and Death' made Watts known to a larger public. 'The mind of the painter was speaking for the first time, going into the intimate, into the most sacred hours of life.' He now began to receive those letters that he loved, telling how for one and another life had been transformed in its darkest hours through thoughts suggested by his pictures. At the Manchester Institution in 1880 a collection of his chief paintings was first on view. Sir Coutts Lindsay was immensely impressed, and arranged at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1881-2 a winter exhibition of some two hundred of Watts's pictures. Lord Lytton wrote that he had been wandering with gratitude and delight amongst the trophies of his friend's noble life, 'all of them stamped with the authentic birthmark of genius.' Such praise led to much heart-searching. The painter told Lord Lytton, 'I haunt the footsteps of the great dead, those who, while they ennoble their birth-land, enrich the world and ennoble humanity itself. From my childhood I have had a longing to be of that band, but I dare not think it is for me.' To another friend he speaks of 'The things I do care for being of sufficient size and brightness to shut out obscure personal considerations.'

His modesty led him to decline the public dinner arranged to do him honour in 1882, but some of his works were exhibited in Paris and others crossed the Atlantic and won him a host of admirers in America. Mr. Gladstone offered him a baronetcy in 1885, but he could not bring himself to accept the honour. That was the year before his marriage. On their return to London Mrs. Watts began to share his peaceful life of art. Her husband hinted that she need not get up for his early breakfast, but added, 'It will be very nice if you can.' The little meal was spread in the studio when the lamplighter was going round to turn out the

lamps. Then the painter's light figure would pass from canvas to canvas, 'every movement full of enthusiasm and the expression of earnest endeavour.' New discoveries were always in store and he was eager to seek them. 'Every day is a birthday, every moment of it is new to us; we are born again, renewed for fresh work and endeavour.' Sometimes Burne-Jones would look in, delighting them with his humorous sayings or confessing that he had 'felt ashamed to walk along the street, because he was certain every person he passed knew quite well what bad work he had that day been doing.'

Marriage caused a change in the artist's attitude as to money matters, yet amid new responsibilities he cherished the old spirit. In 1888, when his resources had been strained by illness, he refused an offer of £2,000 for the version of 'Hope,' which he had set aside for the nation. He worked hard, just as a good pilgrim waiting for his call. 'The tick of the clock had in it for him the sound of Time's footsteps. "I know it," he said, "and remember that each line that I draw is one less, one nearer the last."' A white-smocked labourer once said, 'Dear me, it's always harvest-time with Mr. Watts.' His deeper thoughts appear in his meditations when the Emperor Frederick was dying. 'Life here, with its intimations of perfection, could never be all that man is intended to know; he must develop elsewhere. I feel sometimes as if the human being was an atom in a great Whole—that we are all but as people moving in a dream, and that the dream is from One Brain.' As he saw a circle of white-capped peasant women at Aix-les-Bains singing their vespers, 'with eyes turned towards the Blessed Mother and Child,' he said, 'Oh, the pity that such a faith should ever be lost.' One Christmas Day he expressed a wish for a seal as a present. When Mrs. Watts asked him to invent a motto for it, he was silent for a second or two, then he said, 'I think I should like to say, "The Utmost for the Highest."' Mrs. Watts suggested that there should be

a pool reflecting a star. 'Oh, yes!' he replied, 'a little puddle; that will do beautifully for me.' He was increasingly eager to paint his 'ethical reflections,' for he saw that many around him did not really live. 'They only vegetate; and they are not good vegetables either.' As to religion he said, 'Of this I am sure, that unless we do refer to principles, the principles laid down by the Founder of Christianity, the truest Socialist that ever lived' (altruistic Socialism being understood), 'our national life is doomed.' A great change might be wrought 'if mankind could but realize that the present ideal is wrong—all for self and self-advancement, chiefly by gathering money for self—and would instead try for that grand universal impulse towards helping all to reach a happier and better state of things, "a heaven might really dawn upon earth."'

When he visited Farringford to paint Lord Tennyson's portrait the two veterans talked much about their religious beliefs, which were almost identical. Both felt that the world could not get on without a personal God. 'The Hebrew conception of a god who can break his own laws to exhibit his power is not so convincing of greatness as is the Power that works within a self-imposed order for higher purposes than the human mind can comprehend.' Some one gave the painter Professor Drummond's little book, *The Greatest Thing in the World*. He listened carefully whilst his wife read every line, then he said, 'That contains the whole of religion. Do not let us read anything else to-night.' Christ's words made a deep impression on his mind. 'I would lead to that church with many doors which is illuminated by the great light shining through many windows—the eternal truths preached in the Sermon on the Mount especially.'

In 1890 a crowning joy came through 'Limnerslease,' his new home at Compton. He was the limner, the artist; whilst the Old English 'leasen,' to glean, held out a hope of some golden years yet to be gathered in. 'I cannot say how much

I look forward to it,' the old man said. The house was an unqualified success. He had never dreamed to have such a country home, and he enjoyed it with childlike pleasure. Sometimes the tap of his hammer could be heard at four in the morning. He told his wife that as he went out into the twilight and saw the light grow he felt the earth move in its courses—'Myself more distinctly a part of the great universe than ever before.' When his wife grew solicitous for his strength and would have had him rest more, he answered hotly, 'You are quite wrong, I know I *must* live in the light.' In that spirit he spent the last lovely years in Surrey. Mr. Gladstone again offered him a baronetcy in 1894, but it was again refused. He lived among his noble works and his noble thoughts. 'If I were ever to make a symbol of the Deity, it would be as a great vesture into which everything that exists is woven.' The National Portrait Gallery was opened in 1895 with fifteen portraits in oils and two drawings which he presented to the nation. More than double that number now hang there illustrating his judgement that a 'portrait should have in it something of the monumental; it is a summary of the life of the person, not the record of accidental position, or arrangement of light and shadow.' In 1897 the Tate Gallery was opened with a room devoted to his allegorical pictures. Mrs. Meade once called him 'The painter of eternal truths.' That, he said, was the only title he would ever take. He did not claim more for his pictures than that they were 'Thoughts, attempts to embody visionary ideas. But I believe that from a successful attempt to carry out the principle which governs my efforts might come the noblest pictures the world has seen.' 'I want,' he said, 'to make art the servant of religion by stimulating thought high and noble. I want to assert for art a nobler place than it has hitherto had.' He described himself with exquisite modesty as 'One of the smallest who have endeavoured after something, my work has ever been a failure, because my percep-

tions have been too big for my hands.' To spend an hour before such pictures as 'The All Pervading' and 'The Dweller in the Innermost,' or 'The Court of Death' and the two impressive scenes, 'Love and Life' and 'Love and Death,' will make any one understand why the painter felt his brain to be mightier than his brush.

His later years robbed him of many tried friends, but his devotion to his life work never faltered. Each day was welcomed with a burst of praise. He was glad when night was over because he wanted to get to his sculpture or painting. He wrote to Lady Burne-Jones: 'Mary and I find our days only look in upon us to nod and say good-bye.' At eighty-five he felt that he was beginning to understand how to paint. Death had no terrors for one who had clothed it with the white robes of an angel. He told his wife, 'I often catch a glint of that white garment behind my shoulder, and it seems to me to say, "I am not far off."' One morning in his last days, he beckoned his wife and her friend to come nearer. 'He had looked into the Book of Creation, and understood that the whole could be comprehended—made plain from that other point of view which was not our earthly one. "A glorious state," he called it, and we looked on the face of one who had at last seen "true being" when he said, "Now I see that great Book, I see that great Light."' He came up to work on his 'Physical Energy' in Kensington, and thence on July 1, 1904, as he once said of a friend, he took the better journey. He was laid to rest in the graveyard at Compton which seemed to have put on its full summer beauty to welcome him who had so long loved those scenes. His wife has not only given us the record of his beautiful life but has added a volume of her husband's writings and sayings. The volumes have illustrations of his chief masterpieces, from which the future as well as the present will draw inspiration to work out his own glorious motto: 'The Utmost for the Highest.'

JOHN TELFORD.

Notes and Discussions

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE INDIAN TERRORIST

THE mystery surrounding the attempt made on the lives of Lord and Lady Hardinge at Delhi on December 28, continues to be almost as baffling as it was on the day the tragedy was enacted. Though a horde of experts of the Criminal Investigation Department, most of whom distinguished themselves in trapping the anarchists who perpetrated the outrages in Bengal and Southern India, have all this time been busy making searching inquiries, and though, to ensure their success, large rewards for information leading to the apprehension of the guilty have been offered by the Government and Native Chiefs, not only are the culprits still at large, but no clue has yet been found which would place the authorities in a position dogmatically to assert whether or not political motives led to the atrocity.

Many theories, however, have been advanced. One of them is that the crime is of a terroristic character—that Lord Hardinge was chosen as the victim purely because he was the head of the British-Indian Administration, the Nihilist aiming at the pre-eminent Englishman in Hindostan to make the effect of his act most telling : and that the occasion was chosen because, with the Viceroy on his way to formally declare Delhi the Capital of the Administration, it was peculiarly suited to produce a spectacular impression. Another conjecture has it that the deed was enacted by Moslems, either because they did not like to see their white masters installed in the Government-seat of the great Moghuls, or because the English, despite the peremptory demands of the Indian Islamites, have not taken it upon themselves to shield Turkey and Persia against the aggression of the Christian Powers. Other guesses attribute the tragedy to some one bearing a personal grudge against Lord Hardinge, or even to a maniac.

All these theories, with the exception of the first, are of too flimsy a nature to merit much attention. The one making Mohammedans responsible for the act appears to be the fabrication of those who would like to see some community other than the Hindu charged with the crime—all the recent assassinations having been traced to Hindus. So far as is known, Lord Hardinge has not been guilty of injustice to any Indian. Indeed, he has made himself very popular with the cultured natives. The only people to whom he has given any offence are the property owners and merchants of Calcutta, who, for selfish reasons, do not like his snatching the Capital away from Bengal : but these people do not bear any personal malice against the Viceroy, nor would they be likely to retaliate by throwing bombs at the man who gave them offence. The contention that the deed was that of a madman cannot hold, because it was so cleverly planned and executed that weeks of hard labour on the part of an army of detectives aided by the promise of large rewards—which, as a rule, prove most effective

in tempting Indian criminals to betray their confederates—have not brought to light one clue to the identity of the assassin.

Therefore, the only satisfactory theory is the one which attributes the act to terrorists. The cool nerve, the firm determination, the attention to minute details, and the secrecy which characterized this outrage are the same which the Indian anarchists have uniformly exhibited since 1907, when the first tragedy of this kind was perpetrated. Indeed, the facts that the authors of the crime are still at large, and that their missile came within a hair's-breadth of killing Lord and Lady Hardinge—as it was, the bomb did inflict many wounds upon the Governor-General, and killed two persons—show that this latest *coup* is the work of those who have profited from their past mistakes and utilized their previous experience to ensure success in their fell work. The strongest proof in support of this theory, however, is the fact that the explosive experts employed in the case have come to the conclusion that the bomb thrown in Delhi was of the same manufacture as those prepared in Bengal.

The authorities are much too reticent about the affair—and one can easily imagine why they are anxious to keep their counsels—to permit any one to dogmatize about the construction they put upon the matter. However, no one can read the speech which Lord Hardinge delivered on January 27—his first public utterance after the outrage and before he had quite recovered from its effects—without coming to the conclusion that he himself inclines to this theory.

Considerable support is given to this suspicion by another terroristic outburst which Bengal witnessed about the same time that the attempt was made at Delhi to murder the Governor-General and his wife. On January 14, Dheendra Kumar Ghose was done to death at Comilla. The only people interested in killing this man were the anarchists who had been 'betrayed' by the deceased to the authorities, and who naturally felt aggrieved against him and considered it dangerous to let him live. This incident, in itself, makes it obvious that the terrorist has not disappeared from the Indian political arena, and that he has not lost either the lust to prey upon society or the power to victimize it.

This necessarily comes as a shock to all those who had felt that the era which opened in India with the Delhi Durbar of 1911 would not be disgraced by outbursts of terrorism. Many reasons did, indeed, exist for cherishing such a belief. To begin with, the myrmidons of the law had done all in their power to crush anarchism—and so far as outward appearance went, they had succeeded in their endeavour. Then, the *causa causans* of Indian unrest—the partition of Bengal—in whose train political excesses had followed, had been undone. Again, their Majesties King-Emperor George V and Queen-Empress Mary, by journeying to their Oriental Dependency, made the teeming millions of the Peninsula realize that Hindostan, with all its disabilities, was after all regarded by Great Britain as the brightest diadem in its crown—and the Sovereign, in well-chosen words, had inspired India with 'hope' for the brightest future. Still further, the British officials—without a single exception—had met the terroristic outbursts in the manliest manner—in itself, the most powerful

weapon to strike a staggering blow to the bomb movement, which seeks to demoralize the Administration. In addition to these, the flower of the Indian community had condemned the atrocities and unmistakably shown that the foul deeds raised no other sentiments in its breast than those of horror. Thus an ignominious extinction had been decreed to nihilism from all quarters.

But recent events have shown that the evil has not yet been absolutely uprooted. A puny, little, insignificant tree though it is, and though it has been mercilessly hacked, poisonous sap still runs through it and vitiates all who unfortunately touch the virus. Indeed, when due regard is had to the agencies which the Government of India have at their command to control the press and platform and exercise a watch over the lives of the native publicists and political suspects, and the relentless manner in which the nihilist has been hunted down, one must admit that Indian terrorism has shown a baffling, elusive, and apparently unperishable vitality. So far, an effort has been made to minimize the strength of the evil: but this course is as fatal as that of the ostrich which buries its head in the sand and fancies it has avoided danger.

The amazing grit and pertinacity that the Indian terrorist has shown is doubtless due to the fact that those who gave birth to the movement have endowed their offspring with a fund of sincere purposefulness which they themselves astonishingly lacked. Those who ushered nihilism into the Oriental Dependency, in each and every case, were men gifted with a wonderful power to persuade the impressionable youths to do their bidding, and considerable ability to perfect the work of organization with such secrecy and skill that the law could not touch them: but they were cowardly at heart, incapable of making the least sacrifice for the 'cause' for which they professed so much love, keeping themselves always out of the zone of danger to their own life and limb, their sole motive for propagating the forces of disruption being either the desire to get even with the British for fancied or real wrongs, or the overweening ambition to wield the power now in the hands of others, and sometimes both. Theirs was the character which marches others to their certain doom while they themselves remain behind, safely ensconced in their fortress to enjoy champagne suppers and women's smiles. However, the younger people whom they have brought under their influence are of a vastly different type. Outwardly calm and composed, silent and subdued, gentlemanly and undemonstrative, at heart they are emotional, volatile, faithful, and above all, sincere, affectionate, and credulous. Once their confidence is gained, they are easily led by the person who has won their hearts: but at the same time so impervious do they become to other influences that they cannot be deflected from the course on which they have been started by one who has been clever enough to pierce beneath the surface crust of their calm, gentle demeanour. The little bit of modern education that they have acquired at school and college gives them political aspirations and ambitions—but it is not potent enough to take away from them that religious subconsciousness which is a Hindu's most distinguishing birthright. They constitute a curious mixture of the West

and the East—loving the representative institutions of Democracy, and at the same time loyal to the millions of gods included in the Hindu pantheon. This combination, left alone, is innocuous, though in some respects often somewhat humorous: but when the fire of anarchism is lit in it by some one with the power to set it ablaze, it becomes most dangerous, its worst feature being that outwardly the innocent look remains, while a passion rages in the hidden recesses of the being. Think of it as a volcano, likely to burst at the least provocation, secreted under a thin coating of ice, and probably the state of affairs will be better understood.

The way this peculiar mentality has been inflamed shows a wonderful understanding of it on the part of those who have fathered the terroristic movement in India. They have represented Hindostan as the 'Mother,' or 'Motherland' being brutally despoiled by British ogres, and have called upon young India in the name of Krishna, and in the words of the Bhagvat Gita to employ the '*Kali Mayer Bomb*,' or 'the bomb of Mother Kali'—the Hindu deity who is depicted as delighting in wearing skulls, and demanding bloody offerings—to drive the 'despoilers' out of the country. The curious part of such incitement is that while calculated to form the most dangerous goad to the young Indian, it is capable of being so ingeniously clothed in religious innuendo, of which some Indians are past-masters, that a British official treating it as sedition is likely to give the impression to the Western world that he is a despot of the deepest dye.

Such complexities make the Indian bomb movement extremely hard to crush. Indeed, one may go beyond this remark and say with some dogmatism that no foreign domination, no matter how kind and resourceful it may be, could by itself satisfactorily solve such problems. The evil is peculiarly Indian—that is to say, nihilism after its importation from the West into India, has been duly Indianized, and therefore the cult which secretly skulks in Hindostan is the child of a section of the hybrid generation of the semi-modernized Oriental Dependency. Therefore, about the only way to get rid of it is through the whole-hearted and active co-operation of the cultured natives of the land.

Those responsible for the British Administration have all along been anxious for Indians to help to uproot this evil: and they would be the very first to concede that such assistance has been freely given by the Indian leaders, due to which (even more than to the Governmental repressive measures) anarchism has not captivated the hearts of more than a very small minority of Indians. In addition to this admission, it may, however, be added that until quite lately both the authorities and the cultured Indians have failed to realize the fullest significance of what native effort can accomplish to extirpate this deadly doctrine. One can quite understand officialdom trusting itself more to the police and magistracy than to the kind offices of the native leaders, just as one can realize the natives concerning themselves more with their constructive propaganda than devoting themselves to the overthrow of this disintegrating philosophy. A slightly different course on the parts of both the ruler and the ruled would have no doubt brought better success. However, such reflections are in the nature of locking the stable after the horse has been stolen. It is far more

fruitful to note that the tragedy enacted at Delhi on December 28 has caused the Administration to call for active and sympathetic co-operation from those who influence Indians, and has resulted in their setting forth to do organized work. As evidence of this, one cannot do better than ponder over a passage from the speech of Lord Hardinge, to which reference already has been made, in which he said—

' . . . I have one word more to say to the people of India, which I say with a profound sense of the gravity of the import of my words. I need hardly recall to the memory of anybody that the recent incident is not an isolated episode in the history of India, but that during the past few years both Indians and Europeans, loyal servants to the Government of India, have been less fortunate than I have been, and undeserving of the cruel fate meted out to them, have been stricken down by the hand of the assassin. These deplorable events cast a slur on the fair name of India and the Indian people, to whom I know they are thoroughly repellent . . . and I say that this slur must be removed and the fair fame of India must be restored to a high and unassailable place. . . . It may be asked what remedy can be applied to prevent their recurrence. To this I would reply that such crimes cannot be dismissed as the isolated acts of organized conspiracies for which the actual agent of the crime is not always the most responsible. The atmosphere which breeds the political murder is more easily created than dispelled. It can only be entirely and for ever dispelled by the display and enforcement of public opinion with a determination not to tolerate the perpetuation of such crimes, and to treat as enemies of society not only those who commit crimes, but also those who offer any incentives to crimes.'

The response awakened in the Indian heart has been so genuine that the British, from the Viceroy down, have been deeply touched by it. Some idea of the impression it has made can be deduced from what the *Pioneer* (Allahabad), which is accredited with being a semi-official organ, editorially said in a recent issue—

'The indignation of the country over the outrage' (perpetrated against Lord and Lady Hardinge) 'has been manifesting itself unmistakably, and what is not always the case in India, has been manifesting itself speedily . . . the stir of opinion has been so genuine that representative public meetings have been assembled spontaneously on all sides to denounce a crime which has revolted the feelings of the country. At Lahore, Lucknow, Allahabad, Bankipur, not to speak of Delhi itself, and many other centres, meetings have been convened which have expressed the universal sentiment with entire simplicity and explicitness. There is no doubt that the discovery of the assassin or assassins would be hailed over the greater part of India with genuine delight. We should recognize and be thankful for the moral change of attitude that this development reveals. At Delhi, where the indignation is naturally most vivid, the people are

doing all they can to help the police to a discovery, and if any clue is forthcoming it will not be kept back.'

An idea of the effect that the attempt on the Viceroy's life has had upon the minds of the educated Indians in inducing them to actively organize to throttle anarchism can be formed from the following course of action suggested by Rai Bahadur K.B. Thapur—a leading publicist of the Capital of the Punjab—in the *Tribune* (Lahore)—

'My countrymen . . . should on no account content themselves with even the most emphatic and whole-hearted denunciation of the cowardly outrage that they have demonstrated. They should do all that lies in their power to cope with the monster of anarchy with a view to exterminate or destroy it. The government of the country may be depended upon to do what it can to destroy the anarchical propaganda—root and branch. But it is evident that success will crown the efforts of Government only if these efforts enjoy the whole-hearted and unstinted co-operation of the people. . . . What is wanted is an elaborate anti-anarchical campaign in which all classes and communities should take part irrespective of any considerations of colour, caste, or creed.'

It augurs well for Indo-British relations in particular, and Indian progress in general, that the attempt to assassinate Lord and Lady Hardinge has called forth the expression of such sentiments and is leading to Indians making common cause with the authorities to put down lawlessness.

SAINT Nihal Singh.

THE MYSTICISM OF DANTE

It has been said that if there had been no Francis there would have been no Dante. It would be easy to add, If there had been no Virgil—no Augustine—no Bernard—and especially no Aquinas, there would have been no Dante. Such pronouncements only mean that a great poet knows how to gather and use all kinds of material, to receive and assimilate many and diverse influences, that he may blend all into a new unity and stamp it with his own incommunicable and imperishable genius. Dante is the synthesis of the Middle Ages, as the century in which he lived embodied a thousand subtle traces of classical, patristic, and early mediaeval periods. In the *Paradiso* he makes Aquinas the Dominican to sing the praises of the founder of the Franciscan order and Bonaventura the Franciscan to set forth the glories of Dominic. But he himself with golden ease fuses in his poem the scholasticism of Aquinas and the mysticism of Bonaventura and of many another besides.

It is interesting from a student's point of view to follow Dante to his 'sources' and see what use he makes of his 'authorities'—if such technical phraseology may be permitted in relation to a poem. It raises our con-

ception of Shakespeare to trace in detail the transformation he has wrought in material drawn from Holinshed or Marlowe. And Dante, like Milton, is especially a scholar's poet, so that it is possible for whole commentaries on the *Commedia* to consist of little else than literary parallels carefully culled and deftly arranged. A most interesting harvest has recently been gathered in a part of this field by Mr. E. G. Gardner, whose *Dante and the Mystics* was published by Messrs. Dent early this year. What does Dante owe to previous mystical writers? is a question that few could have answered as well as Mr. Gardner, whose ripe scholarship is felicitously combined with imaginative insight and deep religious feeling. Students of Dante are not necessarily students of Dionysius and the Victorines, of Joachim and Mechthild. Whilst some of the parallels between passages of the *Divina Commedia* and Augustine's *Confessions*, Bernard's *De Consideratione* and the *De Caelesti Hierarchia* are fairly well known, Mr. Gardner has greatly enhanced the interest of these by the setting he has given to them, and his pages are rich with suggestions of other similar parallels that can have been known to very few besides himself. Yet there is no parade of erudition in his book, which ought to fascinate alike those who love poetry, those who love accurate scholarship, and those who love devout reading of the deeper and more recondite kind.

But the more interesting aspect of the subject to our mind is the mysticism of Dante himself, the way in which he has stamped with his own impress the mystical elements of religion as these were found in the thoughts and devotions of predecessors or contemporaries. For Dante was a mystic in more than one sense of that much abused word. Almost mathematically exact as the poet was in his astronomical allusions, for example, and in the minute details of his similes, Dante's mind was mystical through and through. His portraiture of Beatrice is enough of itself to prove the statement. Truly has he said of her 'what was never said of any woman,' since without losing the 'eternal womanly,' she is portrayed as divine philosophy personified, and the exemplar of divine wisdom in its utmost beauty and charm, the poet's very advancement in Paradise being marked by the heightened loveliness of the smile that lit up her eyes and lips.

Definitions of Mysticism have been multiplied to the bewilderment of would-be disciples. Mr. Gardner essays one or two more, and perhaps few are nearer the central mark than that which is found on p. 26 of this volume—'the love-illuminated quest of the soul to unite herself with the supra-sensible.' He adds, 'with the absolute—with that which is,' but the introduction of the metaphysical 'absolute' strikes a jarring note. He rightly urges that a mystic is one who 'conceives of religion as an experience of eternity,' and holds it possible for the human soul, even in this life, not merely to know God, but to be united immediately and directly with the Divine. This, according to the *Commedia*, is the supreme goal for humanity, both for the individual and the race. But the truth is uttered symbolically, sometimes by a symbol within a symbol—

Shell within shell, dream folded over dream.

In his letter to Can Grande, the genuineness of which Mr. Gardner is surely right in assuming, though possibly in its present form it is not perfectly authentic—Dante makes this quite plain. His work, he says, has not one single meaning, but many; and whether literal, allegorical, moral or anagogical significance be found in the whole conception of the poem or its various parts, all alike lead by various paths to one spiritual home and resting-place. Literally understood, the poem portrays the state of souls after death. Allegorically interpreted, it figures the soul's upward way, from impenitent sinfulness to penitence and purification, and thence to holiness which is at the same time the condition and the result of a vision of God and true union with Him. Morally, this may be realized on earth; anagogically, it will only be complete in everlasting glory. But from end to end of the poem the central idea of Mysticism at its best is mystically represented by perhaps the loftiest imaginative genius ever lodged in human frame.

Mr. Gardner has wisely introduced into his definition of mysticism, and more fully elaborated in his comments, the importance of Love in relation to the soul's mystical union with the Divine. No true exponent of Dante will fail to give prominence to this feature. The poet not only does not slight the intellect, but at times he may seem (following Aquinas) to insist too strongly on the rational element in religion. But Love is supreme. 'While Scholasticism is the body of Dante's religion,' says Mr. Gardner, 'Mysticism is the soul, and Love the animating spirit of both.' Readers of the *Vita Nuova* will remember how the lordship of love over the writer's soul is there set forth in the spirit of Spenser's four 'Hymnes'—in honour of Love, of Beauty, and of Heavenly Love and Heavenly Beauty. Parallels from Catharine of Siena and from Hugh of St. Victor are adduced by Mr. Gardner, and additional ones might be cited from that other Catharine of Genoa, as they appear in the pages of Baron von Hügel. But the literary coincidences are not the most convincing proofs of identity of thought. For Dante, as for elect spirits in all ages, that which makes the *Inferno* to be hell is the lack of love. The *Purgatorio* represents the purification of love from all unworthy elements and the moving celestial spheres of the *Paradiso* lead from one splendid circle of light to another, till in the Empyrean bliss is at last complete because Love at last is perfect. The climax of the whole series of ineffable conceptions is found in the lines (*Par.* xxxiii. 85–87), with which Mr. Gardner closes one of his most suggestive passages. 'Thus the whole motion of the universe is conceived as one cosmic dance of love, beginning in that highest angelic order, "that loves most and that knows most"', and continued through all nature. And at the consummation of his vision, Dante will behold, by penetrative intuition into the Divine Light, how it is that Love thus binds the universe into one, to make it resemble the supreme Unity—

Nel suo profondo vidi che s'interna,
Legato con amore in un volume,
Ciò che per l'universo si squaderna.¹

¹ Within its depths I saw contained, bound by love into one volume, what is dispersed in leaves throughout the universe.

Mr. Gardner's fuller exposition of this theme in his *Ten Heavens* is familiar to Dantists, perhaps the best interpretation of the *Paradiso* extant in English.

Concrete illustrations of the way in which Dante, as a leader in the mystical chorus, gives a character of his own to strains found in other writers, abound in Mr. Gardner's pages. Let any reader compare Augustine *De Civ. Dei*, xxii. 80 with the well-known words of Piccarda Donati in *Par.* iii. 70-87, and he will see why the line *E la sua voluntate è nostra pace*—'His will is our peace'—has become immortal. If he would understand why there is a deep spiritual significance in Dante's picture of the angelic orders in the nine heavens, lacking in the account given by pseudo-Dionysius of the members of the celestial hierarchy, let him carefully compare the two. The similarities and the divergences are both instructive. A high place in *Paradise* is given to St. Bernard, who acts as Dante's guide when Beatrice leaves him, and remains with him till the end of the vision, being regarded as himself the symbol of contemplation whereby the direct vision of God and union with Him is ultimately to be attained. The reason for this may be found in a study of the *De Consideratione*, but those who are inclined to speak of Bernard as in some respects Dante's master must confess that his mystical teaching is far surpassed by that of his disciple. Dante seems to have used the writings of Richard of St. Victor rather than those of the greater Hugh of the same school, though both are placed by the poet among the doctors of the church in the Heaven of the Sun. Mr. Gardner adduces some interesting parallels between Richard's mystical teaching and that of Dante. He appears also to favour the theory that the 'Matelda' of the Earthly *Paradise* is not Countess Matilda of Tuscany, but either Mechthild of Magdeburg or her namesake of Hackeborn, probably the former. If his arguments are not entirely convincing on the historical side, there can be no question concerning the interest of the mystical teaching of both the saintly German nuns in comparison with that of Dante.

In concluding this note, it may well be said that it is vain to fill a tiny shell a few times from the ocean to show what the great sea is like. Let those who thus regard these scattered sentences dip for themselves afresh in the ocean of Dante's mighty verse, using Mr. Gardner's last book as guide and companion.

W. T. DAVISON.

MAN AND THE ICE AGE

THE Glacial Period is the puzzle of Geology. Its bearing on the Antiquity of Man; its cause, duration and effects, are all complicated problems. To solve these Prof. Wright has written a splendid volume on *The Ice Age in North America*,¹ with 200 illustrations, many of which are large folding plates, also beautiful coloured maps, and elaborate diagrams. He passes in review the great ice-sheets of Greenland and

¹ Bibliotheca Sacra Co., Oberlin, Ohio. 5 dols. net.

of the Arctic and Antarctic. All along the Alaskan coast the mountains are covered with perpetual snow, and gigantic glaciers fill all the valleys and run down into the sea. Under Mount St. Elias lies the Great Ice Sheet of the Malaspina glacier, which, with its affluents, covers an area of about a thousand square miles. The glaciers in the St. Elias range are the largest in America. Dr. Wright spent a month in examining the Muir glacier, and he gives splendid photographs of this vast river of ice. All these Alaskan glaciers pour their icy streams into the narrow bays and deep gulfs of the coasts, and icebergs breaking off from their front, float out to sea. Strangely enough, the extreme north-east of Alaska is not a glacier region, but the neighbourhood of Behring Straits presents features much resembling the Tundras of Siberia. The Arctic Regions north of Hudson's Bay are also not glaciated, for, although the mountains are snow clad and contain glaciers, the snow melts off the lowlands during the brief summer. There is, therefore, no *permanent* polar ice-cap. Greenland forms a difference, but even here Peary found that north of the Greenland ice-cap the land was free from snow in summer. Siberia also is quite free from snow during the summer, so that Greenland is the only part of the world, save the regions close to the Poles, where glaciation is complete and permanent. The account of the glaciers in Alaska, and on the Pacific coast of North America, is of great interest.

Prof. Wright thinks that during the Glacial Period vast ice-sheets and glaciers covered 4,000,000 square miles in North America. The southern edge of this ice-sheet, roughly speaking, ran along the valleys of the Ohio and the Missouri, its greatest depth being 10,000 ft. The centre from which the ice moved north and south, was north of the great lakes of Canada. In northern Europe an area of 2,000,000 square miles was covered with an immense ice-sheet; its southern boundary ran, roughly speaking, along the 50th parallel of North Latitude. No ice-sheets covered Siberia, and they did not extend further east than the Ural Mountains.

The cause of the Glacial Period is a problem almost insoluble. It cannot have been owing to the cooling of the earth; for in this case the Ice Age would never have passed away. Nor can it have been produced by the earth passing through a cold region in space; for we have no evidence to show that such cold regions exist in space, or warm regions either. Sir Charles Lyell thought that it could be explained by changes in the position of land and sea; but as far as we know the positions of the continents were precisely the same in the Glacial Period as they are now. Mr. Croll's theory, which finds the cause of the Glacial Period in the regular recurring positions of the earth during past ages, has also broken down. If this theory were true we ought to find geological evidence of *many* Glacial Periods in the past history of earth. But geology shows us only *one* Glacial Epoch. The cause, therefore, of the Glacial Era is still a profound mystery. Some of the most interesting chapters in Prof. Wright's book are those in which he describes vanished lakes and old river-channels in North America. These existed during the Great Ice Age, but when it passed away they also disappeared.

The *duration* of the Glacial Period is an important question. It was

formerly thought that it lasted for immensely long ages, but latterly a change has come over scientific opinion on this point. Sir Joseph Prestwich—founding his calculations on the movements of glaciers—has calculated that the Great Ice Age did not last longer than from 15,000 to 20,000 years,¹ and Prof. Wright fully agrees with this estimate. It is also maintained by eminent geologists that the Glacial Period departed *rapidly*. The great ice-sheets melted very quickly, Prof. Dana having actually calculated that the vast ice-sheet which filled up the head of the Connecticut Valley melted at the astonishing rate of a square mile in a day! This occasioned tremendous floods, and if *all* the ice-sheets of the Glacial Period melted with similar rapidity, it will be easy to imagine that the passing away of the Glacial Period was—as Prof. J. A. Geikie declares—‘a scene of torrential rivers and vast inundations.’² If this were so, it is plain that the gravels deposited by these tumultuous floods, which contain the implements of the earliest men, were formed with great rapidity. The date of the passing away of the Glacial Period is a comparatively recent one. Prof. Wright declares that its close was more than 10,000 years ago.³ He further maintains that it is not improbable that the northern parts of Great Britain were covered by an ice-sheet when the earliest civilization of ancient Babylon was existing in all its glory. So completely has scientific opinion changed on these important subjects.

Prof. Wright has just issued another volume on *The Origin and Antiquity of Man*.⁴ It is also profusely illustrated. In dealing with the methods of scientific approach he shows that Lyell's theory of Uniformity has been pushed too far, and that now and then in geology periods of intense energy and catastrophic action occurred, as has been ably set forth by Sir Joseph Prestwich.⁵ As to the historical evidence for the Antiquity of Man, recent discoveries of Evans, Murray, and Burrows in Crete have revealed a pre-Grecian civilization, which may go back to 4000 B.C. As to Ancient Babylon, inscriptions in the Euphrates Valley carry us back to nearly the same date, and the antiquity of the Sumirian (or Accadian) empire in Chaldea can be traced back beyond Sargon I, the date of whose reign is approximately fixed at 8800 B.C. Beyond this comes the pre-Sargonic period, so ably described by Prof. Clay.⁶ In Ancient Egypt, Dr. Wright maintains that there are dates which carry us back to the third dynasty, or about 4400 B.C.; and even before this, the valley of the Nile was the scene of active life. In Central Asia, according to Prof. Pumpelly, civilization flourished at a still earlier date. From a study of language and the antiquity of its development the conclusion is reached

¹ *Geology*, vol. ii. pp. 533, 534. See also a paper by Sir Joseph Prestwich in *The Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society* for August 1887.

² *Prehistoric Europe*, p. 543.

³ *Scientific Confirmations of Old Testament History*, p. 234.

⁴ *Bibliotheca Sacra* Co. 2 dols. net. Also of Charles Higham, Farrington Street, London, E.C.

⁵ In his great work entitled *Geology*.

⁶ See a most interesting chapter in his valuable book, *Light on the Old Testament from Babel*. This chapter is pp. 23–58, and is called ‘The Great Antiquity of Man.’

that the time necessary for the development of the various languages on the earth has been much exaggerated. The present races in Europe are compared with the Neolithic builders of the dolmens in the later Stone Age, but little light can be thrown on this question.

Man did not originate in America, but entered it from Asia by two distinct routes. One of these was by way of Behring Straits, and the other was across the Pacific, the prehistoric ruins in Easter Island, and in the Carolines and Ladrones, being evidences of this ancient migration. Man inhabited North America when the great Ice Age was passing away, his implements of flint and quartz being found in gravels which were formed when the ice-sheets of the Glacial Period were melting. What caused this rapid melting of the ice-sheets of Europe we do not know, but it proves that the gravels of this period, which contain the bones and implements of the earliest—or Palaeolithic—men, were formed with great rapidity. The chief relics of Man in North America of Palaeolithic or Quaternary Age are—The Lansing skeleton, the Nampa image, and the stone mortars found in the auriferous gravels under the lava beds in California. Prof. Wright thinks that the age of the Lansing skeleton—which was found in the loess of the Missouri Valley—may be 10,000 years. The Nampa image is a small clay figurine discovered in glacial gravel, but the bones and stone mortars from California are doubtful relics.

In a short chapter Dr. Wright finds the evidences for the existence of Tertiary Man in Europe quite unreliable. The so-called 'Eoliths' of the Tertiary (and early Quaternary) Period, are too rough and small to have been formed by Man, and the assumed human markings on bones are formed by mere natural causes.

In Europe the implements and bones of Man are found in gravels and in caverns of the Quaternary—or Palaeolithic—Period, along with the bones of the elephant, lion, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus. How were these gravels formed? It was formerly imagined that slow-flowing rivers laid them down through long ages, but this opinion cannot now be held. These gravels are full of enormous boulders tons in weight, and contain vast masses of bones piled together pell-mell. The waters that deposited these gravel beds must have rushed along with terrific speed. Further, these gravels are found not only in the valleys, but also on the table-lands, and on the watersheds in widely-extended sheets. They were, therefore, formed *quickly*, and their position, character, and contents prove that they were deposited by vast bodies of water sweeping rapidly over the face of the country.¹ The palaeolithic deposits in the caverns are of the same age. Skulls and bones which are as truly human as are the bones and skulls of men living in the present day, are found alongside the remains of the extinct animals. Prof. Virchow, the first anatomist in Europe in his time, says these earliest men 'have heads so large, that many a living person would be only too happy to possess such.'² Prof. Boyd Dawkins is equally decisive. 'The few fragments of fossil man which remain to

¹ Prof. J. A. Geikie maintains that these gravels were formed rapidly by the melting of the ice-sheets. See his *Prehistoric Europe*, pp. 121-168.

² *The Freedom of Science*, p. 60.

us prove that at this remote period (i. e. the Palaeolithic Age) Man was present in Europe as Man, and not as an intermediate form connecting the human race with the lower animals.' ¹

Prof. Wright describes the skulls and bones of Man which have been found in Europe in the gravels of the Quaternary Period. Many of these skulls, such as those of Engis, Chancelade, Truchère, and Cro-Magnon, are as large as those of any intelligent European.² Others, however, such as the skulls of Neanderthal and Spy, are of a coarser character, but they are still entirely human. The finding of the *latest* of Palaeolithic skulls is described by Prof. Wright. These are the skeletons and skulls of Galley Hill (in the Thames Valley in 1888), of La Chapel aux Saintes (1908), and of Ipswich (1911). All these might have belonged to a cultured European of to-day. A human jaw was found in Quaternary gravel in the valley of the Elsenz, a tributary of the Neckar, in 1907.³ It resembles the famous Naulette jaw, found by M. Dupont in the cavern of that name in the valley of the Lense in Belgium.⁴ Prof. Wright describes Glacial (or Quaternary) Man in Central Asia. This region contained large inland seas during the Glacial Period, and what are now sandy wastes were then fertile districts, over which roamed the mammoth and the woolly rhinoceros. Man's flint weapons are said to occur in Southern Siberia, but no human bones of the Quaternary Period have as yet been found in this portion of Asia.

Prof. Wright considers that the remains of *Pithecanthropus erectus*, found by Dubois in Java in 1894, belong to a man. 'It has been convincingly argued by Wallace and others, that Man's physical structure bears indubitable marks both of long-continued foresight in general preparation for its development and of intelligent selection in its final adaptation to the incoming mental powers of which it was to be the organ. It may be impossible for us to explain just how the designing Artificer of all things has woven His pattern. But that it has been woven by Him is beyond all reasonable doubt.'⁵ The differences physiologically considered between Man and a gorilla are—as Huxley says—very great, and Man's upright position, shortness of arms, and curve of backbone are striking peculiarities, to which must be added the weight of Man's brain. Psychological Materialistic theories of Evolution break down when they come to human psychology. *All Men* possess this capacity for indefinite progress, and *no apes* possess it: here is the real crux for Evolutionists.

History gives no countenance to the idea of a universal and general progress among Mankind, but rather to that of a tendency to decay. Prof. Wright concludes that 'While the Antiquity of Man cannot be less than ten thousand, it need not be more than fifteen thousand years. Eight thousand years of prehistoric time is ample to account for all known facts

¹ *Early Man in Britain*, pp. 168, 169.

² Prof. Huxley says of the Engis skull that it might have contained the brains of a philosopher. *Man's Place in Nature*, p. 186.

³ The jaw is described in *Records of the Past*, November-December 1911. It is also figured by Prof. Wright.

⁴ M. Dupont describes and figures this jaw in his book entitled *L'Homme pendant les Âges de la Pierre*, pp. 90-101.

⁵ *The Origin and Antiquity of Man*, p. 408.

relating to his development. Whether he was a mere scientific 'sport,' or was assisted to his pre-eminence by divine intervention, is a question of philosophy. That it was by divine intervention will be the verdict of most sane and candid minds.'¹

The change of opinion in geology on this question may be exhibited by another statement recently made by Prof. Wright. . . . 'Geological time is not one-hundredth part so long as it was supposed to be fifty years ago. The popular writers who glibly talk of the Antiquity of Man upon the basis of the old geologic ratios are behind the times, and are ignorant of the new light that, like a flood, has been shed upon this whole question during the last few years.'²

D. GATH WHITLEY.

BABYLON AND ASTRAL MYTHOLOGY

In these days theories, like events, follow one another rapidly. One invention is elbowed out by another; one hypothesis is shown to be inconsistent with freshly discovered data, and forgotten. Only a few years ago our whole intellectual and even our religious horizon seemed in danger of being clouded over by astral mythology. Motifs alike of our folk-lore and our literature, and even our most sacred beliefs, were to be derived from Babylonian myths, every one of them founded on the existence of the zodiac and the solemn wanderings of the planets therein. The Christian faith itself was to evaporate beneath the baleful influence of the stars.

As Mr. Walter Maunder recently pointed out in the pages of this REVIEW, the astronomy of Babylon was not above suspicion. The Babylonians were great astronomers only to those who were not properly astronomers at all. The products of Babylonian literature were not founded on stellar investigations. And so we may still believe that the story of David and Jonathan was not a means for conveying astronomical knowledge about *Gemini*, and that Samson at Gaza was not really the sun in eclipse or in the weakness of winter. The connexion between Babylon and Israel, however, must not be underrated. It is true that Israel only came into direct contact with Babylon for the first time during the Exile. But some of the most important and vital elements in the religion of Israel only make themselves felt then. Before the Exile, the religion of Israel, so far as it escapes prophetic condemnation for admixture with external faiths, centres chiefly on the great words of Micah, 'What doth Jehovah require of thee but to do justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God?' In other words, its distinguishing marks were the stress it laid on social and commercial honesty and on personal kindness and charity, both resting on the recognition of Jehovah's absolute lordship over His chosen people. Ritual, indeed, was steadily growing in importance—the pure ritual of Jehovah, that is, as distinct from the practices of the *bamoth*—but to the best minds it was always secondary;

¹ *The Origin and Antiquity of Man*, p. 496.

² *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1903.

this is really true even of Ezekiel. And ritual itself was a sublimation of ideas existing outside as well as inside Israel; it was imported rather than home-grown. Only after the Exile do we find, in any recognizable form, the ideas of individualism, of personal piety as distinct from national obedience, and of the rising again of the dead as distinct from their being huddled into Sheol.

It is easy to exaggerate the influence of Babylon in all this; neither in good art nor good history does the background 'kill' the chief figures; but it cannot be neglected. Nor must we forget that indirectly Babylon exerted an influence over Israel much earlier than the Exile. When the Hebrews entered Canaan, they found themselves in a country where Babylonian culture had long been predominant. The evidence of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets has been strikingly borne out by recent excavations on Palestinian sites themselves. Babylonian literature and culture had permeated Canaan some centuries before Israel entered it. It is held by many that the stories in the first eleven chapters of Genesis were learnt by the Hebrews after their arrival in Canaan; but even if, as is quite possible, these stories were known earlier, the Hebrews themselves must have felt in a thousand ways the influence of the culture they found in Canaan. Every student of the subject is acquainted with the Babylonian flood story. It is found in four versions or fragments of versions, of which the most complete is embedded in a much longer narrative. This is indeed nothing less than an epic, of which the flood story is an episode, as Gen. xiv. is an episode in the connected and continuous narrative of Abraham. The epic is well worth reading for its own sake; the world has not too many epics to allow us to be careless of this. The hero, Gilgamesh, is a king of Uruk, who, like another Pharaoh, forces his subjects to labour at his palaces and temples. In despair, the labourers call to heaven or deliverance from him, and they are bidden to expect a wild creature, half man and half brute, to kill him. The monster, however, is tamed through the favour of Gilgamesh's divine protectors, and from his first encounter with Gilgamesh the two became fast friends. The main part of the poem is taken up with their travels and adventures. Ishtar herself, the fiery goddess of love and battle, is defied and humiliated. But at last the king's friend, Engidu, dies, and Gilgamesh, in his loneliness and distress, sets out to find the only man who has ever escaped death, his own ancestor, Ut-napishtim. It is from him that he learns the story of the flood, and Ut-napishtim's subsequent release from the doom of death. But the knowledge avails the hero nothing; and he returns, as he went, knowing that he too must die.

This story is treated by Jensen as a long and detailed example of the embodiment of astral conceptions in a narrative form. But Gressmann, in a recently published examination of the poem, has subjected the view to a searching and deserved criticism. After a new translation of the whole by Ungnad, Gressmann prints nineteen detailed and sometimes lengthy notes, in which he analyses the different elements in the epic, the friendship of Gilgamesh and Engidu, the Mount of Cedars, the search after unending life, the evocation of the dead, and the rest. In each case,

he finds that the individual 'sagas' have their congeners in the stories of other races, and that they cannot be derived from an artificial manipulation of astronomy. This is especially true in the case of the travel adventures of Gilgamesh and Engidu, in which Jensen has found abundant references to the journey of the sun through the zodiac. Gressmann has little difficulty in showing that these references are either unrecognizable to all save pan-Babylonists, or that they do not exist at all. Gressmann is equally positive that the whole complex of stories is not reproduced in the Old Testament, and indeed, as he reminds us, stories do not pass from people to people in companies or battalions, but singly. Further, as for the single episodes, if there are parallels between the Old Testament and the epic, there are equally striking parallels between the Old Testament and other bodies of ancient stories. The flood narrative, as we have noticed, is not an original part of the epic, and the likenesses between the Hebrew and the Babylonian accounts here must be studied by themselves. It is in any case difficult to find an astral motive for them.

On what then are the elements of this venerable epic built? On a foundation far more ancient than any developed astronomy; namely, on the great mass of popular tales, many of which reappear in the most distant countries and in the most diverse races; while many others seem to repeat, in mythical form, the actual customs or events of a dim and half-forgotten past. To construct out of this fluctuating yet fascinating material the intellectual and religious universe of the myth-makers and narrators is the first task, at once alluring and difficult, of the new science—or perhaps we should call it more modestly, the new study—of Folk-psychology. A second task is the excavation of prehistoric events from the covering of myth in which they have been buried—just as the Theseus story in Athens seems to have preserved the tradition of the tribute of Greek slaves to the bull-fights of prehistoric Crete, or as the story of Gilgamesh contains the record of one of the ancient builders of the vast cities of Mesopotamia. The third task—for us, most important of all—is the comparison between the stories of different peoples and the elucidation of differences of mental and spiritual outlook. Gressmann, for instance, has rightly and very strikingly emphasized the pessimism of the Gilgamesh story. Death awaits even the stoutest heroes; the mightiest conqueror cannot deliver his friend; if, by the favour of heaven, a solitary mortal escapes the universal doom, his life is emptiness and sorrow; and, for the land to which the dead must pass, no tongue can describe its horror and misery. The same pessimism is found widespread in the literature of the cultured and uncultured alike; in the Romance of Alexander, for example, and in the Creation story of the Dinkas on the White Nile. 'Man comes forth; he goes down to the ground; and comes not again.' Of such language there are many echoes in the Old Testament; Gressmann himself compares with these instances the pessimism of the story of Paradise and the Fall. Echoes, yet how different their cadence and close! We need not recall the fashion, wholly foreign to Babylonian, Greek, or Celt, in which Prophet and Psalmist find in life, not the path of a brief enjoyment which leads but to the grave (even the author of Ecclesiastes could hardly rest satisfied with

that view), but the chance of the prize of learning the undying rapture of communion with God. It is enough to point to the Israelite stories themselves. Whatever their subject, faith of patriarch or courage of warrior, the real hero, as Gunkel has said, is Jehovah; and in Jehovah we search in vain for traces of lust, cruelty, or caprice, such as meet us in Ishtar, Marduk, or Nergal. To talk about the derivation of the Israelite stories from anything we have of Babylon is probably no wiser than to talk of the derivation of Gothic from Greek or Welsh from Latin. But to set the stories of Israel beside their nearest parallels from Babylon or elsewhere is to realize, as perhaps we could not realize in any other way, the splendour of the religious impulse which swept onwards through the former to the thoughts that burn in Isaiah and Ezekiel, while the latter are left as helpless to rouse or move as the futile and unpregnant heroes whose fates they mourn.

W. F. LOFTHOUSE.

TWO ENGLISH PLATONISTS: WHICHCOTE AND NORRIS

THERE are few brighter episodes in English literature than the story of the Cambridge Platonists in the latter half of the seventeenth century. It is difficult to account for the rise of the school. It came without introduction and it left no successor. A partial explanation may be that it was a reaction against the flood of Deism which then swept over England with desolating effect. At all events, there can be no doubt of the splendid service it rendered to spiritual religion. The school stood for the union of philosophy and religion. An excellent account of its character and work is given in the second volume of Principal Tulloch's *Rational Theology in England in the Seventeenth Century*. The two giants of the school were Ralph Cudworth, whose *Intellectual System of the Universe* (reprinted in 3 vols., London, 1845) is a mine of Platonist teaching and thought, and Henry More, whose works have not been reprinted recently. Both Cudworth's and More's works were translated into Latin. The title of one of Cudworth's treatises, *Eternal and Immutable Morality*, indicates the trend of the entire school. Religion was expounded and advocated chiefly on its ethical side, and in its essential harmony with reason. An excellent idea of the school may be got from the *Select Discourses* of John Smith (Cambridge, 1859). Smith writes as a Christian Plato might have done. The subjects 'The Immortality of the Soul,' 'The Existence and Nature of God,' 'Prophecy,' 'The True Way of a attaining to Divine Knowledge,' take us at once into the spiritual world, and the style is worthy of the subjects. Benjamin Whichcote (1610-1683) and John Norris of Bemerton (1657-1711) were minor stars in a glorious constellation.

Whichcote, unlike Norris, wrote little and published nothing himself. Their works have not been republished in recent years, and are not easily obtainable. A choice and characteristic work of Whichcote's, *Moral and Religious Aphorisms*, was collected from his MSS. and published by Dr.

Jeffery in 1708, and again in 1758 by Preb. Salter, with additions and interesting correspondence between Whichcote and Dr. Tuckney, Master of Emmanuel. The only other works we have are *Sermons* in 4 vols. (1702) and *Select Sermons* (1696), the latter with a preface by Lord Shaftesbury of the 'Characteristics.' The present writer has only succeeded in getting the first three of the 4 vols. (Aberdeen, 1751). One of the choicest of Dr. Westcott's essays in his *Religious Thought in the West* is the one in which he outlines for us Whichcote's life and teaching in the light of the volumes just named. Dr. Westcott has a congenial subject in one who was Provost of King's College from 1644 to the Restoration, and whose line of thought is so closely akin to his own. The Aphorisms are full of the heavenly wisdom, 'pure, peaceable, gentle,' which is a note of the Cambridge school. 'He that repents is angry with himself: I need not be angry with him.—Heaven is first a temper and then a place.—No one reverenceth a wicked man: no, not a wicked man himself.—Where there is most of God there is least of self.' The 1,200 aphorisms are wonderfully uniform in the high level of point and force they maintain. The correspondence with Tuckney throws much light on the development of Whichcote's views. His upbringing had been in strict Puritanism. While retaining the essentials of Puritan faith, his outlook became broader. It is in his sermons that we see him at his best. He may, perhaps, be described as a blending of Westcott and Maurice. The ethical tone is the purest and highest possible. There are thirteen sermons on Phil. iv. 8. Many expositions run into several sermons on one text. Thus Whichcote's remains are scanty, but they are pure gold.

Norris of Bemerton is more voluminous and more intellectual and metaphysical. It will be remembered that George Herbert was one of his predecessors at Bemerton (1680-1683). Norris not merely expounded Plato's ideas, he platonized himself. The thought and the treatment are his own. The title of his chief philosophical treatise, *An Essay towards the Theory of the Ideal or Intelligible World* (2 vols., 1701), speaks for itself. Alas, I have no personal knowledge of this work for a sufficient reason. We have all Norris's religious mind in four vols. of *Practical Discourses on the Beatitudes and other Divine Subjects*. The eight discourses on the Beatitudes are the musings of a deeply religious soul. Appended to this volume is a letter to a friend on John Locke's *Essay concerning the Human Understanding*. Norris does and does not hold the doctrine of innate ideas, which Locke attacks. He does not hold it in the form which Locke rejects. He holds it in the sense of Malebranche, namely, that we see or know all things in God. 'I account for the mode of human understanding by the presentialness of the Divine Logos or Ideal World to our souls, wherein we see and perceive all things.' Locke would like Norris's doctrine still less than the common notion that ideas are written by nature on the soul. Norris's insistence that God alone is to be the object of our love involved him in controversy with friends. He defends himself by distinguishing between the love of desire and the love of benevolence, the first due to the Creator, the second to the creature. He writes, 'I am not so wedded to an hypothesis, but that I value truth more. . . . They use

the term Love in the large and popular acceptation, as it extends even to the willing the use of a thing. I use the term more strictly, and it may be more philosophically, for the soul's uniting itself to anything as its true good, beatific object, or the cause of its good or happiness.' This is the topic of a separate work, *Letters Philosophical and Divine concerning the Love of God*.

Three characteristic works are *Christian Prudence; or, the Principles of Practical Wisdom fitted to the Use of Human Life and Designed for the Better Regulation of it* (7th edit., 1722); *Humility, Designed for the Furtherance and Improvement of that Great Christian Virtue both in the Minds and Lives of Men* (1707); *Reason and Faith in Relation to the Mysteries of Christianity* (1697). The latter treatise discusses a fundamental and well-worn topic in a most effective way. Indirectly it deals with Toland's *Christianity not Mystorious*, which is described as 'one of the most bold, daring, and irreverent pieces of defiance to the mysteries of the Christian Religion that even this licentious age has produced.' The Cambridge men were accused by some of their friends of unduly magnifying the power of reason in religious inquiry. This work shows that they did not overlook the limitations. The distinction of things contrary to reason from things above reason is laid down as a first principle, from which it follows that human reason is not the measure of truth, and that a thing being incomprehensible by reason is of itself no conclusive argument of its not being true. The reply is the more forcible as being implicit rather than explicit. The author says that instead of unlocking the door for the reader he puts into his hand a key to open it for himself. Still he is true to the principle of his school: 'To believe anything without reason is an unreasonable act, and 'tis impossible that God should ever require an unreasonable act, especially from a reasonable creature.' The author gives as a reason for writing the work on Christian Prudence that 'so many idle and frothy trifles (to say no worse) have of late come from the press.' It is difficult at first to see how so much can be said so well on the single virtue of humility—its foundation in self-knowledge, its reasonableness, excellency, necessity, its effects and signs (the treatise runs to above 400 pages). But this may be said, that matter and form are worthy of the theme; there is nothing weak or superficial. The appeal for reasonable (rational, spiritual) worship would satisfy even Matthew Arnold. Nothing can be better than the devout tone of these works. 'St. Austin' is frequently cited.

The treatise on *The Natural Immortality of the Soul* (4th edit., 1722), is in the form of a letter to Henry Dodwell, the Nonjuror, who had contended that the soul is naturally mortal, and is immortalized by God through baptism. The work has all the lucidity and strength which mark the author's writing. The distinction between natural and positive is well drawn, the former meaning that the immortality follows from the nature of the soul, the latter that it is due to external influence. Of course the first does not mean that immortality in man is independent or absolute; the nature itself is determined by God. The difference is that between a wall standing by its own strength (which, however, has been imparted to it), and one supported by buttresses. We need not enter into the keen

metaphysical discussion as to the difference between 'incorruptible' and 'unperishable' as two forms of immortality. Norris is only anxious that both should be kept in dependence on the Creator. On one point he differs from Thomas Aquinas, for whom he expresses the highest respect.

We can only mention two other considerable volumes, *A Collection of Miscellanies, consisting of Poems, Essays, Discourses, and Letters, Occasionally Written* (5th edit., 1710), and *Treatises upon Several Subjects, Formerly Printed Singly, now Collected into One Volume* (1697). The latter includes theological and philosophical contemplations on the Nature of God and the Nature of Man, Reflections on the Conduct of Human Life in regard to Learning and Knowledge,¹ along with treatises on Schism and the 'Divine Light' of the Quaker doctrine. The former work, besides the verse, contains brief papers on similar subjects treated in the same thoughtful, serious spirit, reminding us of Plutarch's *Morals*.

It is hopeless to expect that writings of this class will be reproduced in our days. The attention of students, however, may be usefully drawn to them. Other members of the Cambridge school were Nathanael Culverwel, whose *Light of Nature* has been reprinted in recent days, John Worthington, Bishop Wilkins, Joseph Glanvil, Sir Thomas Browne. Bishop Burnet's account of Whichcote may apply to all. 'He was much for liberty of conscience. And being disgusted with the dry systematical way of those times, he studied to raise those who conversed with him to a noble set of thoughts, and to consider religion as a seed of a *deiiform* nature (to use one of his own phrases): in order to this, he set young students much on reading the ancient philosophers, chiefly Plato, Tully, and Plotin, and on considering the Christian religion as a doctrine sent from God, both to elevate and sweeten human nature, in which he was a great example as well as a wise and kind instructor.' Dr. Tillotson in his funeral sermon for Whichcote speaks in similar terms at greater length.

JOHN S. BANKS.

¹ It is interesting to remember that Wesley was an early student of Norris (1728). In 1734 he published an abridgement of *Christian Prudence*; and in 1741 an extract from *Reflections on the Conduct of Human Life*, both of which reached at least a fourth edition, and were also included in the first edition of his *Works* (1771).

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D., with the assistance of John A. Selbie, M.A., D.D., and other Scholars. Volume V: Dravidians-Fichte. (T. & T. Clark. 28s. net.)

SOME idea of the range of this great work may be gathered from the way in which the Editor treats the subject of 'Ethics.' Prof. Muirhead contributes a comprehensive and compact article, dealing with the Scope of Ethics, and discussing clearly the special problems of modern ethics under the headings of the Psychology, the Logic, and the Metaphysics of Ethics. But there are also separate articles on 'Ethical Discipline,' 'Ethical Idealism,' and 'Ethical Movement.' In addition nearly a hundred pages are devoted to 'Ethics and Morality,' the article having eighteen sections—Buddhist, Chinese, Muslim, &c.—and being preceded by an introductory essay on 'Ethics (Rudimentary).' The article on 'Ethics and Morality (Christian),' by the Rev. Donald Mackenzie, M.A., deserves special mention because of the admirable section in which the Holy Spirit is shown to be 'the objective dynamic of the individual moral life and of social life as well. It is the condition of moral progress.'

Fourteen writers contribute articles on 'Expiation and Atonement,' amongst them Dr. Louis H. Gray (Introductory and Primitive), Dr. Driver (Hebrew), Dr. Rhys Davids (Buddhist), and Dr. W. Adams Brown (Christian). The last-named writer gives a lucid summary of recent attempts to explain the doctrine of the Atonement 'in the moral and spiritual terms which have become controlling for our modern thought of God.' In summing up, Dr. Adams Brown is in favour of the theories of Moberly and Ritschl, but he recognizes that both Dr. Lidgett and Dr. Dale are in accord with the older Protestant writers on the Atonement, when they maintain that 'that which gives the death of Christ its saving power is its penal quality, or, in other words, the suffering which Christ endured as our substitute or representative.' Dr. Denney's article on 'Fall (Biblical)' does not answer all the questions which are asked by modern Evolutionists, but he expounds luminously the Old Testament narrative and the standard passages in the writings of St. Paul and in the Apocrypha. The Pauline teaching is: 'Man is a sinner, all men are sinners, sin is in the stock and has been from the beginning; it is deep, virulent, constitutional, no hurt to be healed slightly. . . Sin in its unity and universality may be taken for granted, and it may also be overcome; but not even on the basis of the Bible—Old Testament or New Testament—will its origin ever be explained.'

Dr. Maldwyn Hughes has a congenial theme in 'Experience (Religious).' He distinguishes clearly between Christian Experience and Religious Experience in General, and indicates the reality and independence of the spiritual life. Excellent judgement is displayed in the discussion of the psychology of spiritual experience. Dr. Maldwyn Hughes is not carried away by the modern tendency to lay great stress on the subliminal self as though it were the peculiar organ of the religious life. 'If God is active in man, He must, above all, be present in that region in which the life of fellowship with Him is consciously lived. His activity may, indeed, penetrate deeper, and it will explain many of the phenomena of the religious life if we believe that the Divine Spirit is present in the hidden depths of our personality, seeking to order our impulses aright.' In a most interesting section of this valuable and instructive article, the Methodist doctrine of the Witness of the Spirit is distinguished from the Quaker doctrine of the Inner Light. 'The witness of the Spirit is conceived of as operating *ab extra*, the inner light *ab intra*. The former is a development of Christian experience, the latter is its presupposition.'

A careful study of many of the articles in this volume deepens the impression of its extreme value to students. It is a liberal education to master its expert articles, and they are trustworthy guides to further research.

Jesus the Christ: Historical or Mythical? A Reply to Professor Drews' Die Christumythe. By Thomas James Thorburn, D.D., LL.D. (T. & T. Clark. 6s. net.)

What is rightly called an 'historical heresy,' namely that Jesus never lived, is trenchantly refuted in this able work. A well-informed introduction on 'The Old and the New Mythicism' enables its readers to distinguish between the theory of Strauss and its later developments, as well as between the older mythologists who 'admitted an historical basis for the personality of Jesus' and the moderns who dispense with His existence altogether. Part I examines 'The Historical Data,' both sacred and secular. St. Paul's witness, often depreciated, is rightly estimated. 'It was no "spectral" Jesus or "mythical" Christ, which was present in his mind when, amid toil, and weariness, and suffering, he preached "Jesus Christ crucified and risen from the dead."' The Testimony of Josephus and of the Roman writers is also carefully stated and impartially weighed. In Part II, entitled 'The Mythical Data,' Dr. Thorburn directs attention to 'the entire lack of valid historical and other evidence for the existence of pre-Christian and secret Jewish cults worshipping a Redeemer, or Healer-God, named Jesus.' This book will well repay all who carefully study its conclusive reasoning. The position of the anti-Christian mythologists is carefully stated and its untenability is forcefully shown. Dr. Thorburn's admirable defence of the trustworthiness of the evidence for the historicity of Jesus Christ may be heartily commended to all who desire to remove from minds sceptically inclined doubts engendered by the dogmatic negations of modern Mythicism.

Handbook of the Modern Greek Vernacular. By Albert Thumb, Professor of Comparative Philology in Strassburg University. Translated from the second German edition by S. Angus, M.A., Ph.D. (T. & T. Clark. 12s. net.)

Prof. Thumb's great Grammar of the Modern Greek Vernacular has been for seventeen years the indispensable aid of students desiring to apply to the interpretation of New Testament Greek the treasures lying hid in the popular dialect which is its lineal descendant. There are many grammars of the Modern Greek language, but they deal with the artificial and for historical purposes useless literary dialect, which tries to resuscitate the ancient language (in arbitrary selections) for present-day use. (Incidentally, a corrupt and superstitious religion has utilized this would-be patriotic absurdity as an excuse for keeping out of Greece all intelligible versions of the New Testament: the Bible Society is barred in this one country of Europe, though all manner of destructive or immoral literature is free to enter!) Prof. Thumb is the greatest authority living on the history of the Greek language in its whole range, from Homer to the folk-song or the peasant's patois of to-day. His book sets forth the accidence and syntax of the modern vernacular, with a copious chrestomathy of illustrative texts. Admirably translated from the new and enlarged second edition by an English student who worked under Prof. Thumb's stimulating guidance, the book is crowded with information which sheds needed light on the Greek of the Roman Empire as used by Luke and Paul. It is a wonderful monument of linguistic grip and scientific knowledge, from the hand of a scholar who touches nothing that he does not illuminate. His massive new edition of Prof. Brugmann's monumental *Griechische Grammatik* will be for years to come the final authority for all who wish to examine the prehistoric development of the greatest of all languages. The present volume deals with the results of three thousand years of change, and completes one of the most fascinating of all researches into the history of language. All serious investigators of the Greek Bible and its exegesis will find this new tool invaluable.

The Principle of Authority in Relation to Certainty, Sanctity, and Society. Lectures by P. T. Forsyth, M.A., D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 10s. 6d. net.)

Principal Forsyth's book is 'An essay in the Philosophy of Experimental Religion.' The subject is emphatically practical and timely. It is 'the central question of religion, and therefore of everything.' The whole outlook of our age raises it with ever-increasing importance. 'The whole history and career of Humanity' are vitally involved in it. Dr. Forsyth sees that the Christian certainty is 'not simply certainty about Christianity, but certainty in Christ, about the divine reality, stability, and destiny of a shaken moral universe.' Faith is certainty—though not of myself, and

my salvation, but of Christ. 'The evangelical experience of regeneration is the soul's re-creation, surrender, and obedience once and for all in a new creation and direct communion with the God of the moral universe.' Dr. Forsyth's criticism of 'the fascinating movement known as Modernism' is acute and well-timed and we wish it had been extended. In dealing with the object of religion he urges that Christianity has little to do with our nature and everything with our will. He regards it as the chief error in modern thought to seek the relation between God and man in our nature and constitution rather than in our will and state. 'We frame a great humanist, Christ, irrelevant to the miracle of Grace, and then of course we find nothing in the denial of all His miracles which need depreciate the value of such a Christ.' The final section headed 'Society' shows that Christianity cannot live without a theology based on a historic revelation. 'The laity are in many quarters becoming both ill-informed and indifferent to Christian belief, great as is their interest and value in the matter of Christian principle and temper.' But that indifference is fatal. 'Such a laity is not equal to the Church's trust, and can only create a reaction which might be sacerdotal.' Dr. Forsyth's appeal is to Christian thinkers. He leads them steadily forward to the mighty conclusion that the authority of religion rests in that 'holiness which makes love truly, if slowly, divine, which makes it to judge, to save, and to re-create, from the guilty, humbled, and regenerate conscience outward.'

The Bible To-day. By Bertram Pollock, C.V.O., D.D.,
Bishop of Norwich. (Murray. 2s. 6d. net.)

Words of Witness in Defence of the Faith. By G. S. Streatfeild, M.A. (Hodder & Stoughton. 5s.)

This is the second part of the Bishop's Charge delivered at his Primary Visitation. It goes to the bedrock of the ministry, and is an earnest plea for a more devout study of the Bible in all its connexions. The bishop has much to say that is stimulating and timely. He is sure that preachers should be careful to deal with fundamental truths, and not allow their preaching to 'deteriorate into mere moral expositions, or petty sketches, or superficial essays.' Any historical and literary disquietude caused by criticism may, he thinks, be cleared away, and 'lead on, not to a dimmer but to a fuller appreciation of the God of revelation, of God in history, of the part which God has taken in the lives of men.' 'The forms of the Old Testament required a reinterpretation to make it speak with the same unchanged spiritual voice to us as to our fathers.' No critical study must lead the preacher to fail in pressing home the Bible demand for a high standard of righteousness. The last part of the Charge dwells on the fact that 'the Christian faith is not a matter of dogma, but of life, of life that is the service of a Living Lord, a Present Friend, who still claims all that is true, as His own, whose Spirit still leads His servants to think right thoughts, to do right things.' The Charge was one that was greatly needed, and is bound to bear fruit in the study and in the pulpit.

Mr. Streetfield's book takes a wider range than the Bishop's Charge. He begins with 'Jesus Christ the Supreme Factor in History,' drawing out impressively an argument which has hardly attracted due attention. Then he deals with Christianity and Social Service. Much of the best and most earnest thought of the Church has been deflected from dogmatic to social questions. The Incarnation is infinitely more to the Church than it was, and those who enter into that great mystery are willing to make the self-sacrifice on which the coming of the Kingdom depends. The baptism of the Spirit at Pentecost is another witness to the claims of Christ that it is profitable to be reminded of. There is a suggestive chapter on the Atonement, and another on 'The Divine Education of Man: A Study in Ethical progress.' The plea for 'liberty of thought in relation to Biblical Criticism' is temperate and well-balanced. The book is written in an easy style which will secure it a wide circle of readers, and it has a very real message for our times.

Heredity, Evolution, and Vitalism. By R. C. Macfie, M.A., M.B., C.M. (Simpkin & Co.)

This is certainly a book that merits the attention of all thoughtful people, especially those who have any bent for modern science. The title is perhaps a little unfortunate, until the sub-title is also noticed—'Some of the discoveries of modern research into these matters, their trend and significance.' No one need be repelled by any fear of abstruse technicalities, for it is written in the easiest and most lucid style, and better print could not be imagined. The importance of the issues at stake may be gathered from the Preface, in which the author points out that 'recent biological discoveries have quietly undermined the foundations of Darwinism, and have suggested other evolutionary principles which render it again possible to believe in special creation, and even in the special creation of man.' Further he tries to show 'that a mechanical explanation of the phenomena of life can no longer be accepted, and that the functions and forms of animate things are as certainly the work of mind, as are the words and sentences and paragraphs of a book.' That such a volume—assuming it to be sensible and genuinely scientific—is just now very timely, may be noted by reference to the recent attack upon Prof. Bergson by Mr. H. S. R. Elliott, in an introduction to which Sir E. Ray Lankester declares that 'the materialist and mechanical scheme of nature, including man's nature, elaborated by physical science, is true and trustworthy.' Such an attitude is quite common in not a few high quarters to-day, and the recent discussions at the Dundee meeting of the British Association, in regard to life, have tended undoubtedly to confirm the modern shrinking from any recognition of 'vital' force as distinct from physical or mechanical. Whether, therefore, we accept all the positions of Dr. Macfie or not, it is both interesting and valuable just now to have such a careful and truly scientific statement of the other side. Every page of his book deserves thoughtful heed. The sum and substance of the whole is that 'Creation, then, is more than a big machine, and organisms are supplied with more than mechanical

energy; they are supplied with a particular form of creative energy—vital force. The force in all living things, so far as we can adjudge it, is of the same kind as the force that moves our limbs, and builds our houses, and writes our books; it is not automatic; it is not mechanical; it is original, creative, contingently teleological, and eternally new.' It would be difficult to give expression to a conviction more distinctly opposed to much that to-day passes for assured science. But the author well supports his thesis in chapters upon 'Adaptation and Evolution,' 'Continuous Evolution,' 'Vitalism,' 'Organisms more than Automata,' &c., and in face of the facts which he carefully states it seems impossible to disregard his conclusion that 'Even such a selection of fluctuating variations as Darwin assumed could not explain such achievements of evolution, and the theory of mutations which we must now accept is equally impotent to explain them. We must fall back on the miraculous and the supernatural.' That the author is thoroughly abreast of latest research is manifest throughout. His strong assertion that 'Darwinism is dead' and that even De Vries' theory of mutations can, *per se*, no more explain nature's wondrous phenomena, is amply supported by remarkable instances which merit closest attention. 'The man who is able to believe that such concatenations to an end are mere chance coincidences selected by the exigencies of environment, the man who can believe that such a conspiracy of toward events is a matter merely of chance mutations and lucky hits, seems to us to be beyond the reach of reason. Mutations are just as likely to work together to such an end, as letters tumbled out at random are likely to compose a poem.' There is unmeasured need in these days for such a challenge to mark the presence of mind and will in all nature; and this work may for that reason be earnestly commended to the careful perusal of all who desire to know the truth as to the relations between theology and science.

The Ethical Approach to Theism. By G. F. Barbour,
D.Phil. (Blackwood & Sons. 8s. net.)

In his *Philosophical Study of Christian Ethics* Dr. Barbour showed that the various elements of ethics can best be expressed and unified in the idea of a Spiritual Order. Here he seeks to show that the Spiritual Order 'represents not only the best order that we can conceive and the highest object of endeavour, but also the final truth of things.' The transition from the ethical to the religious point of view involves an ethical determination of the object of religion. The True is in the last resort identical with the Good. There is a growing sense that 'Worship can only be rendered by a moral being to a divinity not only greater and more powerful, but better than himself.' The religious character of Spinoza's pantheism is now freely acknowledged. He is the greatest representative of pantheism in Western thought, but a factor enters into his *Ethics* of whose full import he seems hardly to have been aware. He passes from the essence of a thing to its 'endeavour to persist in its own being, thus bearing witness to the need of some recognition of teleology as soon as we enter the ethical

sphere. This is illustrated by quotations from Spinoza's letters. Dr. Barbour argues that the attributes of the Supreme Being, 'though they may and must infinitely surpass, cannot fall below that intensity of thought and life and goodness which we have known in our highest experience.' 'The unique facts of conscience and the moral constraint of goodness confirm and justify the ineradicable tendency of the human spirit to find God, in Goethe's words, in "the highest that each man knows."' Aristotle helps us to see how we can think of God in terms of goodness. Greek thought culminates in his 'Spiritual Monotheism,' and Aquinas and Dante took his philosophy as the framework of their interpretation of Christian truth. Dr. Barbour's examination of Aristotle's theology brings out the points of contact and difference between his conception and the Christian form of theistic belief. His theory falls short through its 'intellectualism.' 'The goodness which at once judges men and draws them upward is a goodness which includes warmth of emotion, and one above all which is not afraid of suffering and sacrifice.' The argument is intensely interesting, and it is worked out in a way that arrests attention and lights up the whole subject. The book has only 120 pages, but it will bear careful study, and those who read it once will begin it again and find new meaning and suggestion in it the oftener they read it.

The Early Poetry of Israel in its Physical and Social Origins.
By George Adam Smith, D.D. (H. Frowde. 8s. net.)

Principal Smith delivered these Schweich Lectures before the British Academy in 1910. He has added much to them and reserves the right to use their contents in a larger book on Hebrew poetry which he hopes some day to publish. The first lecture throws light on the language, structure, and rhythms of Early Hebrew poetry. It used to be thought that parallelism was the peculiar distinction of Hebrew poetry, but it is not uncommon in the dialects of other Semitic peoples. Our own folk-songs and nursery rhymes, as is shown by many instances, are full of it. The poetry of most great literatures grew beyond the habit of parallelism, but the Hebrews held to it throughout. The second lecture deals with the Substance and Spirit of the poetry. Desert-born and desert-bred, certain themes such as the shifting of the camps, tribal origins and histories, and famous genealogies made special appeal to the poets of Israel. There is a strong combination in the Semite of sensual grossness with reverence. Mr. Doughty likens the Arab to a man sitting in a cloaca up to the eyes but his brows touch heaven. The third lecture shows by translation and comment how the early poetry of Israel reflects the circumstance, movements, and tempers of the nation's life. The songs of Moses and Miriam at the Red Sea, the Oracles of Balaam, the Song of Deborah, and Jotham's fable are lighted up in a way that will furnish preachers with much fresh material for the pulpit. It is a scholar's book and one of the deepest interest throughout.

John Baptist and His Relation to Jesus. By Rev. Alban Blakiston, M.A. (J. & J. Bennett. 6s. net.)

The purpose of this book is in the author's words 'to discover what there is of individuality about the person of the Baptist; to rescue him from the position of entire subordination to Jesus to which our New Testament authorities relegate him; and to appraise the historical character of the relation which subsisted between himself and Jesus, so far as it is possible to isolate this from the theological judgement of the early Christian writers.' This purpose is restated in the Preface to the effect that the book suggests 'that the Prophet's work was spread over a longer period of time, his mission was more independent in character, and his influence upon his own and upon successive generations more far-reaching than has yet been allowed for by students of Christian origins.' The latter statement seems to us the better of the two, but in any case it does not appear from what follows that John's relation to Jesus is any less subordinate than it has always been considered. As to the extent of the Baptist's ministry both in time and influence there is plenty of room in the scanty records surviving to allow a considerable enlargement of this. But while it can scarcely be considered that the book has fulfilled its purpose Mr. Blakiston has given us a clear and thoughtful rescript of the life of John the Baptist. He has read widely and uses his authorities wisely. We thoroughly approve of the plan of giving all critical and lexical matter in the form of appended notes to which the reader is referred. These notes are excellent in character and are full of suggestion to the student.

The Fatherhood of God in Christian Truth and Life. By J. Scott Lidgett, M.A., D.D. Second Edition. (Charles H. Kelly. 6s. net.)

A boon is conferred on theological students by the issue of a new and cheaper edition of this admirable work. Its great merits have been recognized by thinkers of various schools; its author is amply justified in claiming that its interpretation of the doctrine of the Divine Fatherhood 'will not only bear the rigorous scrutiny of thought, but is the foundation upon which the whole structure of Christian teaching should be reared.' In our judgement the treatise has special value because of its protest against sentimental statements concerning the universal Fatherhood of God. The Christian conception expounded fully is seen to be 'eminently comprehensive and virile. . . . It bears within itself the substantial truth of sterner teaching purged from that which is irrational and cruel, disproportionate and unspiritual.' Full justice is done to the emphasis laid upon this doctrine by the early Methodist preachers. Another excellent feature of Dr. Lidgett's treatment of his theme is his insistence upon its practical implications. Alike for its lucid exegesis, spiritual insight, and well-balanced statement of fundamental truth we heartily commend once more this able work.

The Eternal Inheritance: Expositions from the Epistle to the Hebrews. By Rev. J. G. Radford, B.D. (Kelly. 5s net.).

This volume is marked throughout by freshness of thought, soundness of judgement, fertility and aptitude of illustration, and the insight born of sympathy with the unknown author's doctrine of the person and the work of Christ. In substance these expositions are uniformly orthodox and evangelical, and in style they are as uniformly clear and chaste and beautiful. They make delightful reading, and cannot fail to clarify and edify the souls of the devout. The fine poetic touches and allusions here and there impart to them a literary flavour as welcome and refreshing as it is rare in biblical theology. The work is not intended to supersede, but to supplement, the use of critical commentaries, but it is clear that the author's mind, whilst saturated with the best literature of the subject, ancient and recent, works freely beneath its load of learning; nor is it lacking in signs of independent personal research. Under his guidance, Christian workers, and especially Christian leaders, ministers, and teachers, will find in the Epistle to the Hebrews not only a supremely beautiful and striking version of the Everlasting Gospel, but a work of special and peculiar worth at this particular period in the Church's history. Never were its teachings and its exhortations needed more or more opportune than now.

The Text and Canon of the New Testament. By Alexander Souter. (Duckworth & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

The new volume of Messrs. Duckworth's *Studies in Theology* will be of real service to students. The first part, which deals with the text, gives much information that is not to be found elsewhere in such compact form, save in Prof. Lake's admirable little volume in the *Oxford Church Text Books*, and will open up fields of study that are of the greatest interest and importance. Dr. Souter sees how much still waits to be done, and asks why we still lack a scientific edition of the biblical Commentaries of the Venerable Bede, though the materials exist in abundance and are of superlative quality. The Summary of the history of the Canon is compact. The documents are allowed to speak for themselves, and copious extracts are given from them which bring the advantages of a whole library to the reader's door. This is one of the most valuable features of a scholarly piece of work. The bibliography is unusually full.

A Short Syntax of New Testament Greek. By the Rev. H. P. V. Nunn, M.A. (Cambridge University Press. 2s. 6d. net.)

A simple and accurate exposition of syntax for beginners in New Testament Greek. It starts, not at all superfluously, with a sketch of grammatical terminology and the outlines of parsing as applied to English; and so prepares for a systematic but elementary conspectus of the use of cases, tenses, &c., and the construction of clauses in a Greek sentence. The

little book is the work of one who has had experience of teaching, and it should be very useful to all students of New Testament Greek in the days of their foundation-laying.

The Church and Religious Unity. By Herbert Kelly, of the Society of the Sacred Mission. (Longmans & Co. 4s. 6d. net.)

This book is another sign of the times. It will not satisfy either Churchmen or Nonconformists, but it will make all its readers think, and they will understand each other's position better for this careful and candid discussion. Mr. Kelly was boxed up, to use his own illustration, in his watertight compartment till he was 'persuaded, or over-persuaded, to attend the summer camp of the Student Christian Movement at Baslow.' He began earnestly to study the position of the various churches, and the results are given in his stimulating volume. We do not think that he is right when he holds that Nonconformity is emotional, and that its ministry lacks independence, but we are helped by seeing how these things strike such a student, and his recognition of the spiritual influence of Nonconformity shows how broad-minded a critic he has become. His discussion of Episcopacy is refreshing. He does not think that Episcopal government can be regarded as a necessity of the Church, though he holds valid sacraments to be such a necessity, and believes that 'a valid sacramental Presence in communion can be consecrated only by one ordained thereto, and he can be ordained only by one—or several—who have received that special power of ordination by those who had received it before them.' This is a book that will bear close study, and it is interesting to see from his Preface how the Bishop of Winchester regards it.

Beaten Gold; or, Teachings from Poet-Texts. Robert P. Downes, LL.D. (Charles H. Kelly. 8s. 6d.)

The marvel is not that Dr. Downes has written this book, but that he had not written it many years ago. Its whole method and spirit is so harmonious with his genius, that one could imagine that it was born of a pre-established necessity. It is a series of essay-sermons on secular texts, chosen with great discernment from the great poets of the past, and expounding with much illumination and illustration some phase of our manifold life. Dr. Downes is a master in this sphere: he finds a wealth of suggestion and guidance in quite familiar words, he lays bare implications which hitherto may have been hidden, and everywhere he is controlled by a spirit which is entirely practical. He will have nothing of the vision for its delight, or of the rapture for the sake of its pleasure: these things are to be the light of our seeing and the energy of our service. The volume covers a wide sphere, it has many things to say which are wise and inspiring, it interprets life at many points and in some of its darkest places, and it is suffused with a passion of enthusiasm for the things that are best

that is very contagious. It is just the book to put into the hand of a thoughtful young man or woman; its teaching is wholesome, tonic, and strong. It will give sure direction and aid in the upbuilding of a strong and beautiful character.

The Increase of Faith: Some Present-day Aids to Belief.
By F. J. McConnell. (New York: Eaton & Mains.
\$1.)

Bishop McConnell is recognized as one of the ablest men of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and these Merrick Lectures, delivered a year ago at Ohio Wesley University, will add to his reputation. The five lectures are headed 'The Scientific Spirit,' 'The Philosophic Outlook,' 'Social Movements,' 'The Ethical Advance,' 'The Adornment of Doctrine,' 'The Demand for Christ.' Perhaps the first two are the most learned. The way in which the difficult subjects of Science and Philosophy in their relation to religion are handled is masterly in its lucidity and its grasp. The three lectures that follow are easier to read, and have a practical note which adds much to their value. Altogether the book is a distinct aid to faith. Its appeal is to thinkers, and they will find it so cogent and reasonable that they cannot fail to be impressed and helped. 'After all attempts to explain Him away, Christ returns to the thinking of men, and returns more powerful than before.' That is the inspiring conclusion of the lectures.

Antichrist and Other Sermons. Preached by John Neville Figgis. (Longmans. 5s. net.)

Dr. Figgis does not indulge his hearers in soft sayings. He sees that the Church has to 'face a foe contemptuous, resolved, and confident of speedy triumph,' and he calls on Christians to close their ranks, forget their divisions, and march on in the only Name in which they can conquer. The two sermons preached in Leeds speak in no measured terms of the state of our great cities and the lives which many of the toilers have to live. John Wesley would have read the sermon on 'The Love of Money' with warm appreciation. We think that sometimes Dr. Figgis takes too dark a view of things, but he is always forcible, and his words are timely and conscience stirring.

The Rule of Life and Love. An Exposition of the Ten Commandments. By the Rev. R. L. Ottley, D.D. (Robert Scott. 5s. net.)

Canon Ottley has already given us *The Rule of Faith and Hope*, an exposition of the Creed, and he is preparing a third volume on the Lord's Prayer as 'The Rule of Work and Worship.' The present volume is a valuable exposition of each of the Ten Commandments, with an introductory chapter on the Decalogue as the Rule of Life and Love, and

another on its history and liturgical use. The difficulties of interpretation are carefully discussed, and each commandment is explained and illustrated in a way that will materially aid preachers and teachers. The lessons for to-day are clearly brought out, and there is a fine balance that befits the subject and adds force to all that is said. It is a book that can be strongly commended to all Christian men.

The Gospel of Gladness and its Meaning for Us. By John Clifford, M.A., LL.D., D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 4s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Clifford's pastorate in Paddington has covered more than half a century, and no one who reads these sermons will be surprised at the hold which he has kept on young people and thoughtful men and women during all those years. His themes are great, and he treats them as one who has felt it his foremost duty to be a messenger of glad tidings to Christian men. His confidence 'that the joyfulness of God' contains the true interpretation of life has deepened. 'Make up your mind that you *ought* to be filled with all the fullness of the joy of God, and think, plan, and live so as to secure it.' Dr Clifford is a clear thinker who gets to the depths of his subject and brings out its message in a way that bears on everyday life and conduct. Such a memorial of a noble ministry will be greatly treasured.

The Christian 'Why Not?' Series, by Frank Ballard, D.D., M.A., B.Sc. (Kelly, 1d.), deals with such subjects as Atheism, Materialism, Naturalism in a way that will greatly help those who have to answer sceptical objections to Christianity. Dr. Ballard is a master of Christian Evidence, and he puts everything tersely, forcibly, yet reasonably. The booklets run to forty pages without covers, and they ought to be put into the hands of every one who is troubled by doubts or difficulties as to religion. A candid reader cannot fail to be impressed and helped.

The Comfortable Words of the Holy Communion. By Nehemiah Curnock. (Kelly. 1s. net.) This suggestive little book will be a true preparation for 'our Lord's memorial feast.' The four Words are expounded in a way that brings out their riches and makes it easier to trust in the atoning work of Christ. Happy use is made of the story of John Wealey's long quest of peace and the rest into which he came at last. Mr. Curnock's lovely little book will bring abiding blessing to many. *Sunday Mornings at Norwood.* Twenty-two Sermons and Prayers by the Rev. S. A. Tipple. (Allenson. 8s. 6d. net.) These prayers and sermons appeared in 1882, and have now reached a fifth edition. Mr. Tipple was a great favourite with preachers, and this volume will be prized by all who love sermons that are full of high thinking and deep spirituality. It is encouraging to see such sermons reach a fifth edition. *The People's Books* (Jack, 6d. net) have gained a high reputation, and no volume in the series will be more welcome than *The Bible and Criticism*, which sets forth the results reached by the last 160 years of study. Dr. W. H. Bennett takes

the Old Testament, Dr. Adeney the New. A clear account is given of the methods of study and the conclusions reached as to individual books. The way in which a vast subject has been compressed into one small volume which is full of living interest speaks well for the two Nonconformist scholars who have made all Bible students their debtors. *The Wider Gospel*. By M. L. Dodds. (E. Stock. 8s. 6d. net.) Mrs. Dodds argues the case for universal restoration from the promises which point to the gathering of all souls to God. We do not think the writer makes out her case, though she is evidently deeply in earnest. *Cedar and Palm*. By the Rev. W. Ewing, M.A. (Scott. 1s. 6d. net.) A little book of profitable sermons on subjects that lie well within the range of an ordinary congregation. *Exodus*, XX. 18-XL. By F. B. Meyer, B.A., D.D. (Religious Tract Society. 2s.). Mr. Meyer's first volume on *Exodus* has already appeared in the *Devotional Commentary*. The second half of the book is dealt with in the same practical and suggestive style. Mr. Meyer is a careful expositor, and he is always spiritual and helpful. Lay preachers will find the volume useful in their work, and Bible students will be grateful for such unfolding of the message of the book.

The Short Course Series. (T. & T. Clark. Each 2s.) Three more volumes of this admirable little series have appeared. Dr. G. McHardy writes on *The Higher Powers of the Soul*—conscience, reason, memory, will, etc. He views them in the light of the culture that ought to be given them under the inspiration of Christ, and in illustration draws largely upon his own experience and observation. Dr. Jordan extracts the title of *The Song and the Soil* from Ps. cxxxvii, and gives it to seven or eight studies of the missionary idea in the Old Testament; and Dr. Stalker contributes an exposition of the twenty-third psalm, marked by the suggestiveness and literary grace which he has taught us to expect from him. All three are simple, earnest studies, devotional in type and aim, and likely to help any reader in his quieter moods.

Synthetic Studies in Scripture. By Rev. W. S. Caldecott, with Introduction by the Bishop of Durham. (Robert Scott. 2s. 6d. net.)

These forty-four brief studies, about equally divided between the New Testament and the Old, are in aim constructive and conservative, and in substance full of learning and suggestion. The author brings to them an open and a candid mind, and offers many wise solutions of most difficult problems in Bible history and chronology. His suggestions and interpretations are acute, ingenious, and plausible, and most of them are eminently worthy of consideration. He makes out a good case for the combined Pauline and Lucan authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, 'the plan and argument' being, 'in all probability, that of Paul, while the style and actual writing is that of Luke.' Job, he suggests, was the Jobab of Genesis, and Moses the author of the Book that bears his name. He does not bend the knee to 'the tottering theories' of the extreme higher critics, and puts in many a cogent plea for a re-examination of the whole field of historical and textual criticism. The book is teeming with suggestion, and we can heartily commend it to expert and to neophyte alike.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Primitive Christianity and its Non-Jewish Sources. By Dr. Karl Clemen. Translated by R. G. Nisbet, M.A. (T. & T. Clark. 9s. net.)

THIS volume is a marvel of erudition and research. The whole range of literature which deals with the origins of Religion seems to have been covered by Dr. Clemen, and his discussion of the many points raised is discriminating and fair. The work before us scrutinizes the many attempts that have been recently made in the name of the religious-historical method to account for the Christian faith as a modification of ideas which are common to the race, and which appear in different countries or ages in forms peculiar to the tribe or the time. As the title denotes Dr. Clemen does not deal with the dependence of Christianity upon the Jewish religion. That is taken for granted, but outside of that there is a sufficient variety of possible sources to be considered. Those sources are Semitic, Assyrian, Persian, Greek, Roman, Hindu and Buddhist. Having considered these summarily the author proceeds to pass in review the leading ideas of Christianity, such as the doctrine of God, Moral Ideas, the Last Things, the Person of Christ, and the institutions of Christianity such as Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and Church Organization. Details of the gospel narrative are then taken up, and peculiar features of Pauline and Johannine Theology. Each of these in turn is considered in the light of those sources to which they have been referred by critics who have dealt with Parsism, Mithraism, Buddhism, Magdeism, the Epic of Gilgamesh or the Hermetic literature. A great number of the 'origins' so loudly and hastily proclaimed are mentioned only to be rejected as fanciful or not proven, and Dr. Clemen concludes that 'those New Testament ideas that are *perhaps* derived from non-Jewish sources lie mainly on the fringe of Christianity, and do not touch its vital essence.' Even thus the author is careful to state that the results of his discussion are largely hypothetical. The work forms a valuable storehouse of the views of those who would account for Christianity much as they would account for any pagan system of thought or ceremony. It is impossible to follow the author in a brief review through the maze of detail with which he presents us. To some of his critical and exegetical points we are compelled to take exception, but for the student of the religious-historical method the book is one of great value, and apart from its own attitude to this method, offers a valuable bibliography of the literature on the subject. This review should not close without a tribute to the translator, whose work seems to be admirable both in accuracy and lucidity.

Saint Gregory the Great. By Sir Henry H. Howorth, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S. (Murray. 12s. net.)

One of the greatest, if not, as some regard him, the most important name in the long roll of Roman Pontiffs, the father of the mediaeval papacy, a great 'Doctor' of the Latin Church who exerted a determining influence upon mediaeval Christian thought, and was in some sense the real founder of English Christianity, Gregory I presents a subject of entrancing interest to reader and writer alike. While Sir Henry Howorth's biography will by no means supersede Mr. F. H. Dudden's great work upon the same subject, to which indeed Sir Henry Howorth is himself much indebted, and expresses that indebtedness in the form of a dedication, this goodly volume will find a place for itself, and will be welcomed by those who require a book at once less costly and less full than that just named. It may be a little disappointing to some readers to find that the account of Gregory's manifold activities presented by Sir H. Howorth is not complete. There is no mention, for instance, of the mission of Augustine and the rise of the Anglican Church. This the author has dealt with in a companion volume. While Sir H. Howorth's treatment of his subject as a whole is, as one might expect, careful, scholarly, and of first-rate interest, we have noted from time to time certain statements which seem to need correction or reconsideration, as the case may be. Jerusalem, for instance, is grouped along with Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch as one of the ancient patriarchates. This it certainly was not; for the fifth century was well advanced before it ceased to be suffragan to the Metropolitan of Caesarea. A little further on we read that 'the Emperors moved their residence first to Ravenna, then to Constantinople.' This statement may perhaps be correct in the sense in which the author intends it to be read, but so phrased it is liable to lead to a wrong impression of the facts, and might therefore be recast with advantage. On p. 200 we note a manifest misprint or slip of the pen, Job i. 2 being misquoted to the confusion of the context. But these small matters of criticism need detain us no longer. Among the many excellences of the volume we may mention that there is a very full introduction, in which the sources for the history of Gregory's pontificate are discussed with some thoroughness, and a critical account of some recent work in this field given. This will be to students perhaps the most valuable portion of the whole volume. Of very special interest also is chap. vi, the subject of which is the *Patrimonium Petri*, a subject, that is to say, of which even some students have but the vaguest notion. In this chapter the condition, extent, and administration of the Patrimony are adequately dealt with. If there is a matter with reference to which current ideas are even more vague than those concerning the Patrimony in the sixth century it must surely be the Exarchate. What it was, how far it was a reality, and really effective, and what the actual relations between the Imperial Representative in Italy, the Pope, and the Lombards—these and kindred questions form the subject-matter of chap. iv. These two chapters, it need hardly be said, should be read in conjunction with a good historical map, and it is

a matter for regret that the map provided in the volume is quite inadequate for the purpose which it is presumably intended to serve. In his treatment of Gregory as theologian Sir Henry Howorth impresses one as being hardly so much at home as in dealing with other aspects of the great Pope's activity; he appears in this portion of the work to rely to a large extent upon the judgement of others, notably upon that of Mr. Dudden. One serious matter of complaint remains. Our author has provided neither Table of Contents nor chapter headings—a most irritating omission, and all the more irritating because so needless. But, setting that aside, we cordially commend this most interesting and useful volume to all those interested in the study of Church History, upon whose library shelves it should find a permanent place.

French Prophets of Yesterday. By Albert Leon Guérard.
(Unwin. 12s. 6d. net.)

This is 'a study of Religious Thought under the Second Empire,' by an assistant professor in California who was born in France, grew to conscious manhood in England, and has made America 'the home of his choice.' Such a personal record is conducive to a frank and dispassionate statement, and most readers will be astonished at the intellectual activity and the intensity of spiritual interests packed into the twenty-two years of the Second Empire. Victor Hugo, Vigny, Sainte-Beuve were then at their best; Michelet, Quinet, George Sand had fallen little below their highest standard; the new generation could boast of such writers as Taine, Renan, Scherer. M. Guérard moves through this crowded scene with easy mastery. 'Is France, the land of the Crusaders, the eldest daughter of the Church, irrevocably lost to Christianity?' that is the problem on which the book seeks to throw light. Anti-Clericalism, or opposition to the political influence of the Church, is a cardinal principle of the Third Republic. That is explicable enough. 'No democracy can tolerate the intervention of theocracy in its purely secular affairs. On this point French Protestants are unanimous, and the great majority of moderate and tolerant Catholics tacitly agree with the great majority of fair-minded free-thinkers.' The presentation of the French attitude in religious matters is made as objective and dispassionate as possible. The chapter on Catholicism shows in an illuminating way that the Church would admit no alternative but theocracy and free-thought, and France did not choose theocracy. Meanwhile Protestantism was 'too strong to be absorbed, too weak to play a prominent part, an obstinate survival rather than a growing force.' 'Cook and other disciples of Wesley evangelized the South in 1818. The movement assumed great proportions, but it remained decidedly English in its origin and character.' M. Guérard acknowledges, however, that French Protestantism was saved from falling into a decline by cosmopolitan sympathies. His sketches of Coquerel junior and Guizot are of special interest to Protestant readers. All the masters of French thought appear on his canvas. Victor Hugo felt himself to be High-priest of Romantic Humanitarianism. He cultivated popularity 'with a sense of effective advertising

that would have done credit to Barnum himself.' Sainte-Beuve's meta-morphoses are cleverly sketched, and whilst Renan's books are acutely criticized, justice is done to his high character and his patient research. In summing up M. Guérard expresses his opinion that 'if the evolution of French thought continues unchecked, the place held hitherto by orthodox religion will be filled by humanitarian Socialism, both sentimental and practical; by Science in the intellectual field, by Agnosticism in the metaphysical.' That is a dark prospect, but we are persuaded from not a few signs of the times that there are better things in store for the country of the Huguenots. This is a book that Englishmen ought to read.

The Continental Reformation. By Alfred Plummer, D.D.
(T. & T. Clark. 4s. 6d. net.)

It is always a pleasure to read anything that Dr. Plummer has written. We therefore anticipated deriving both pleasure and profit from the reading of his latest volume; and we have not been disappointed. *The Continental Reformation*, originally prepared as a series of lectures to the clergy, and delivered at Oxford, makes no pretence to provide an exhaustive treatment of the great theme which forms its subject; it is rather intended to whet the appetite of the reader for further study. This it is admirably calculated to do; and it is difficult to imagine any one rising from the perusal of Dr. Plummer's book unconscious of any desire to know more of the great events which he handles with so deft a touch. At the same time let it not be thought that the volume is merely suggestive of fields in which the reader may glean to advantage; there is much positive information to be gained therefrom, and it is itself a field whence rich gleanings may be gathered in. In a few pointed words, for instance, the salient points of contrast between the English and the Continental Reformation are clearly brought out; and, though a mass of detail is passed by untouched, the leading actors in the great drama are made to stand out clear and distinct in their strength and in their weakness, their mutual differences at the same time being thrown into sharp relief. Among the more prominent figures it may perhaps be sufficient to name Luther and Erasmus, Zwingli and Calvin. Dr. Plummer, in his summing up, comes to what at the first glance may appear to be a somewhat startling conclusion, viz. that the *immediate* consequences of the Reformation were, so far as its influence upon morality was concerned, on the whole, bad rather than good. This point, interesting as it is, we may not dwell upon at present, but, with the one remark that immediate and ultimate consequences must be clearly distinguished in this connexion, must be content to refer the reader to what Dr. Plummer himself has to say about it. We would also draw attention to the valuable appended matter, more particularly to the series of extracts from the famous *Epp. Obscr. Vir.*, and also to the specimens of Luther's teaching carefully selected for their illustrative value by Dr. Plummer, among which may be found fourteen of the celebrated ninety-five theses. In conclusion, we cordially commend to all those who appreciate a good historical book this pleasant and informing volume.

The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M. Edited by Nehemiah Curnock, assisted by Experts. Standard Edition, Vol. IV. (Kelly.)

This volume of the Standard Edition of Wesley's Journal is as notable as the three that have already appeared for the research lavished on its editorial notes and the care with which the text has been revised. It covers eleven years from November 2, 1751, to the end of 1762, when Methodism was spreading all over the United Kingdom and Ireland. On the first page we see Wesley writing his reply to Bishop Lavington—'Heavy work, such as I should never choose; but sometimes it must be done.' Mr. Curnock has a valuable note on this controversy. Wesley's sermon register, preserved among the Colman MSS., often throws light on his journeyings, and other new material is effectively used. A student will be surprised and delighted to see how many points are explained in this edition. The brief Introductions given to the five 'parts' of the Journal included in this volume are excellent. Mr. Robertson's notable tribute to Wesley from Mr. Oman's *History of England* appears on p. 386. Nothing seems to have been overlooked that would enhance the value and interest of the edition. The Rector of Epworth takes his place of honour in the frontispiece, and a facsimile is given of his letter to John Wesley before his ordination. We are grateful for the eighteenth-century map of Ireland, and a wealth of facsimiles of documents that throw light on the Journal. Portraits of Wesley's clerical helpers and of his preachers, photographs of the Bedford church and the pulpit where Wesley preached his famous Assize sermon, and of other places and objects of interest, are wisely selected and effectively reproduced. It is an edition that will satisfy the keenest critic and give unmixed delight to every Wesley student.

The English Scene in the Eighteenth Century. By E. S. Roscoe. Illustrated. (Constable & Co. 12s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Roscoe has a vast field, and he has rightly made his survey at once broad and simple. He has not burdened his pages with detail or loaded them with references, but has steeped himself in his subject and has made it pass before his readers like a living picture. He takes London as the capital, Bath as the city of pleasure, Liverpool as the seaport, and from these three centres surveys the life of the century. London was in course of transformation from a collection of separate communities into a single city. Mr. Roscoe takes us through the chief streets and gives a really good general view of the capital in the eighteenth century. The Londoner of those days was 'a stay-at-home person.' Only a few vigorous and especially energetic people made tours for pleasure. The London merchant had a 'fixed and undemonstrative pride and a confidence in himself and his city which arose from considerable achievements and from a state of individual freedom.' The tradesman was narrow-minded and vulgar, and sought to imitate those in a higher position. Mr. Roscoe describes the

people, their 'resorts and ceremonies,' and in a chapter on 'The women of the Capital' gives some interesting details as to the fashions and amusements of the time. Bath had its special place in the eighteenth century as the city of pleasure. 'Here were gathered, as nowhere else, a representative collection of Society—the nobleman, the squire, the rich merchant, the affluent professional man, the politician, the author, the player, the gambler, with the various women folk, more or less virtuous, necessarily attendant on so kaleidoscopic an assemblage.' Wesley's invasion of this scene and his encounter with Beau Nash are well described, and Horace Walpole's account of a visit to Lady Huntingdon's Chapel is not overlooked. The sketch of Wesley's work is excellent, and the significance of the 'hostility of the Church of England' to his Evangelism is grasped. Samuel Wesley of Epworth 'differed only from the neighbouring clergy in being both pious and learned.' It is, however, misleading to speak of John Wesley as 'a country curate.' He was really an Oxford don. The illustrations are well chosen, and the book is well written and full of interest.

Wesley's World Parish. By George G. Findlay, D.D., and Mary Grace Findlay, M.Sc. (Hodder & Stoughton and C. H. Kelly. 1s. net.)

This volume seeks to describe the manner in which Wesley's famous saying has been embodied in the work of the Methodist Church during the last century of service on the foreign field. It is issued in advance of the larger Centenary History, and attempts with marked success to sketch the general course of the work and to bring into view its leading personalities. The first chapter gives a brief sketch of the conditions of life in the eighteenth century and the rise of the great Missionary Societies; then we follow 'the adventures of Thomas Coke,' who 'bequeathed to Methodism a world-mission in active operation, and already spread from the Western to the Eastern Ocean.' His three chief successors are next introduced, and we follow the progress of Methodism in the colonies before Coke's death and watch it spreading in all parts of the earth. Many a story of heroism has to be compressed into a few lines, but enough is said to kindle enthusiasm for the work which has cost so many precious lives and involved such great sacrifice. The whole history is here in outline, and we see how the quickening of Church-life at home heightens missionary enthusiasm. 'A fuller and more compelling vision of duty is coming to the Christian conscience,' and the world call to Methodism, of which the Rev. W. H. Findlay writes in the closing chapter, is a tribute to the heroic service of the past and a claim for greater courage and nobler sacrifice. The book is a vivid sketch of a century's work, and it will inspire all who read it to take their share in the Centenary celebrations of this year and equip the Missionary Society for more glorious and triumphant success in its second century of service for Christ and the world.

Scotland and the French Revolution. By Henry W. Meikle, M.A., D.Litt. (Maclehose & Sons. 10s. net.)

Dr. Meikle is Lecturer on Scottish History in the University of Edinburgh, and chose this subject as his thesis for his doctorate. It seeks to describe the political awakening of Scotland and devotes considerable attention to the various reform movements which either originated in the political upheaval of the period or were stimulated by it. After the Union of 1707, and more particularly after the Forty-five, the prosperity of Scotland advanced by leaps and bounds. Linen and woollen manufactures developed, iron mines were opened up, agriculture became science, roads, canals, and bridges were constructed. 'Edinburgh almost outrivalled Paris as the intellectual capital of the world.' The first sign of political awakening came through the American War of Independence. County reform became a prominent question and burgh and ecclesiastical reform followed. Dundas exercised unbounded political power in Scotland as Pitt's benchmark and the dispenser of vast patronage. The French Revolution led to much social and political unrest. A Society of the Friends of the People was formed in Edinburgh in July 1792, and two months later the Government became alarmed at the increasing number of these associations. Paine's *Rights of Man* and the discussions in the press were propagating reform principles. Dr. Meikle gives many particulars as to these societies and papers which show how strongly feeling ran. Frequent riots formed an outlet for the unrest of the times. The first General Convention of delegates from Societies of the Friends of the People, which met in December 1792, was noteworthy because it gave voice for the first time to the aspirations of democracy. Thomas Muir now came to the front. The Ministerialists regarded him as the organizer of the whole agitation. He was transported to Botany Bay for fourteen years, but escaped thence in an American vessel. He became a French subject and formed a plan for setting up a republic in Scotland, but Bonaparte reported unfavourably on the suggested invasion of England, Scotland, and Ireland and Muir died in 1799. The chapter on 'The Church and the French Revolution' opens what will be new ground for most readers. The book is a valuable contribution to the study of a subject which is of great interest and which has been somewhat neglected by historians. It is founded largely on unpublished material and embodies a large amount of patient research.

Lacordaire. By Count d'Haussonville, of the French Academy. Translated by A. W. Evans. (Herbert & Daniel. 8s. 6d.)

Lacordaire is one of the princes of the French pulpit. None of its masters was more richly endowed with the gift of eloquence, save Bossuet, who was a universal genius, superior in eloquence, in controversy, in history. For oratory Lacordaire probably surpassed him. He had a marvellous voice, which 'lent itself to every shade of the thought, to magnificence as well as to sweetness, to irony as well as to tenderness.' His preparation

was 'very internal and abstract. It was the fruit of his meditations of the evening before, sometimes of that very morning; meditations which he mingled with ardent prayers, and which were more mystic than literary.' He led the pulpit out of the tracks which it had pursued for a century and made it a living thing associated with all the movements of mind. Count d'Haussonville sketches his boyhood, his early life at the bar, his triumphs as a preacher at Notre Dame, and his entrance into the Order of St. Dominic. He was the real restorer of the Monastic Orders in France, who declared that 'the oaks and the monks are eternal.' He imposed incredible penances on himself and shortened his life by his austerities. That is not a pleasing side of this biography, but Lacordaire's zeal for religion, his attempt to win the best youth of France for Christianity, his fidelity to conscience, and his matchless oratory, which gained him his place in the French Academy at a time when many of the foremost men in the country had to remain outside, entitle him to lasting honour; and this little record is written with true French grace and felicity. The beautiful set of portraits helps us to understand the spell of the preacher's presence.

Cardinal Manning, The Decay of Idealism in France, The Institute of France. By John E. C. Bodley. (Longmans & Co. 9s. net.)

Each of these essays is a masterpiece. Englishmen will feel peculiar attraction to the study of Manning, with its fine photogravure portrait. Mr. Bodley enjoyed the Cardinal's affectionate confidence from 1884, when he served as Secretary of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes, and spent many an evening with him at Archbishop's House, where he learned something of that passion for the poor which burned in the old man's heart. We see how human Manning was, and how much he prized such a friendship with the young Oxford scholar. 'Nobody here understands Oxford, none of them have quite understood me. That is why I cling to you and count on your coming back to see me; I can talk to you about things that the others don't care about.' The famous convert felt that the Catholics had never understood him. Not long after his conversion he heard old Dr. Hogarth, the first Bishop of Hexham, say, 'Dr. Manning is a very good young man, but he's such a forward piece.' Manning held that Newman was not an orthodox Catholic. He once ticked off on his fingers ten distinct heresies to be found in Newman's most widely read books. Mr. Bodley evidently takes Manning's side. He calls Newman 'the most attractive and most colossal egoist that ever lived.' Manning's devotion to the suffering poor made a deep impression on him. 'If there had been half a dozen Mannings, England would have run some risk of being converted—not necessarily to Roman Catholicism, for in all our years of close intercourse he never said a word to persuade me to join that religion, nor did he show forth its superiority except by life and example—but to Christianity.'

It would have been well for Manning's fame had his young friend

written his biography. The Cardinal once pressed him to take charge of two of his secret diaries in manuscript, but Mr. Bodley was on the eve of a series of journeys in France and Algeria, and was afraid that he might lose them. When he returned Manning had become feebler, 'and in his weakness was beset by indiscreet importunity.' He had spoken and written to Mr. Bodley about preparing his biography, but the task passed into the hands of Purcell with results that set all the world wondering. The essay on *The Decay of Idealism in France* throws light on many things which perplex an Englishman. Mr. Bodley has known M. Clemenceau from his youth, and can testify that he is 'an idealist nurtured on the humanities.' But French idealism is decaying, and the reign of hard facts has begun. To that result the moral effects of the Franco-German War contributed, for pessimism is incompatible with idealism. The withering nihilism of Anatole France has also borne its part. The mechanical age has changed not merely all the conditions of human life, but human nature itself. Some will think that Mr. Bodley's generalizations are too sweeping, but his view is the result of long study and wide experience. The description of *The Institute of France* is the best we have read. It traces the history of the French Academy and the four other academies which make up the Institute, and gives some sketches of famous members and historic scenes. Mr. Bodley himself was many years ago elected a member of the *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, and is thus able to add many vivid personal touches to his sketch. The book is one which no cultivated Englishman or Frenchman can afford to overlook. We notice that Mr. Bodley speaks of St. Mark instead of St. Barnabas on p. 16.

Francis Paget, Bishop of Oxford. By Stephen Paget and J. M. C. Crum. (Macmillan & Co. 15s. net.)

This is as interesting and valuable a biography as that of Sir James Paget. His son Francis wrote in 1885 of 'the continual influence of one of the very greatest and best and most disciplined men in the world.' 'I grudge a year that goes by without a week spent with my father, and in learning from him.' Till he was fifty, Sir James had an uphill fight, then every year saw his fame as a surgeon broaden out, and his prosperity increase. The future bishop never forgot the debt that he owed to Shrewsbury, where he gained a scholar's love of Latin and Greek. They were built into the very structure of his mind. Even as a freshman at Christ Church he was a noted scholar, and when he took his first-class he was elected to a clerical Senior Studentship there. For eight years he continued in residence, doing valuable service as a tutor and beginning to be sought after as a preacher in London. Then he married Mary Church, the brilliant and charming daughter of the Dean of St. Paul's, and for two of the happiest years of his life was Vicar of Bromsgrove. In 1885 he followed Dr. King as Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology; in 1892 he became Dean of Christ Church, and from 1902 till his death in 1911 he was Bishop of Oxford. His brother tells the story with rare skill, such as we expect from his practised pen, and the extracts from the bishop's letters

are of great interest. He was very intimate with the Archbishop of Canterbury. He told his son, 'It's always a sort of moral sea-sick to me to be with him: he bears his great load so gallantly, with so ready a heart for kindness and sympathy, and so clear and steady a head, and so single a will. I can't be thankful enough for his friendship.' Dr. Paget was a warm admirer of Dr. R. W. Dale's books, and says that at the huge meeting about the Congo at the Albert Hall, 'The Archbishop spoke quite admirably: and so did Mr. Scott Lidgett, the ablest Non-Conformist I know.' Yet, though he subscribed to its funds, he always refused to attend the meetings of the Bible Society, 'because I should have to bear part with Non-Conformist Ministers in a joint Devotional Act.' One is sorry for such a spirit, but the bishop's books have made us all his debtors, and the story of his devoted and saintly life is inspiring. The Archbishop of York gives a touching account of their last interview at Cuddesdon. Dr. Paget told him that after the death of his wife he had allowed his work to become an idol and had suffered in buoyancy of spirit through excessive self-concentration upon it. The snare was broken by his friend's sermon that day. Dr. Davidson's Introduction is admirable. He bears witness to the abiding encouragement which the bishop's presence 'never failed to bring, not into my own life only, but into the whole purpose and atmosphere of a busy, sometimes an over-busy home.' Mr. Crum's chapter on 'Work in Three Counties' throws much light on the bishop's character and life.

A History of Preaching. By Edwin C. Dargan, D.D., LL.D.
2 vols. (Hodder & Stoughton. 21s. net.)

Dr. Dargan was a student under Dr. Broadus at the Baptist Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky, and afterwards for eleven years filled the same chair. He became deeply interested in his tutor's lectures on the History of Preaching, and these volumes are the outcome of long study and teaching of the subject. For a few months the trustees of the seminary gave him leave of absence to visit some of the places made interesting in the history of the pulpit, and to read in the great libraries of Europe. The first volume, which appeared in 1905, covers the period 'from the Apostolic Fathers to the Great Reformers, A.D. 70-1572.' The second, which has just been published, brings the history down to 1900. The delay is due to the fact that in 1907, when the second volume was just begun, Dr. Dargan left the seminary and became pastor of the First Baptist Church at Macon, Georgia. He still hopes to write a third volume on Preaching in the United States. The Introduction to the first volume on the place of preaching in history, the historic origins of preaching, and other aspects of the subject, is eminently suggestive, and is followed by an interesting survey of fifteen centuries of preaching. A clear account is given of the chief preachers of East and West, with material for forming an estimate of their special gifts and influence. Chrysostom was the greatest of the old Greek preachers, and by common consent is regarded as one of the greatest preachers of all time. His pupil and friend, John Cassian, said, 'He kindled his zeal in the bosom of his Redeemer.' St. Bernard was the

wonderful preacher of the Middle Ages, whose gifts drew crowds to Clairvaux and made him the most notable churchman of his time. Dr. Dargan's second volume begins with Lutheran preaching after Luther, and leads up to the classic age of the French pulpit, when Bossuet, Bourdaloue and Massillon were in their glory. Due attention is given to Whitefield and Wealey. Dr. Dargan thinks that Whitefield's sermons are not 'as unworthy of their author as they are often reported to be. Though not profound nor wide in range of thought, they are marked by firmness, clarity, and sanity in thinking; by force, clearness, fitness, and often beauty of style; by insight, imagination, pathos, breadth of sympathy, and sincere and fervent feeling.' With his matchless oratory added one can understand Whitefield's power and popularity. Wealey's preaching is described as eminently characteristic of the man. It was evangelical and full of Scripture, 'in thought it was rich, logical, clear, and strong; in imagination not deficient, yet not specially marked; in feeling, intense but not vehement; in style clear and sweet, without notable eloquence or passion. . . . In delivery he was calm, but there was a subdued intensity and glow that powerfully moved his hearers.' Nearly three pages are given to quotations from his sermon on 'The Great Assize,' which exhibits 'his logical order, careful thinking, ample knowledge, good style, chastened imagination, and deep feeling.' The estimates of Spurgeon, Maclaren, and Parker are excellent. We have found no reference to that prince of preachers, Samuel Wilberforce. There are good paragraphs on Hugh Price Hughes, Mark Guy Pearse, and Dr. Watkinson. The book is very comprehensive, and its estimates are marked by good taste and sound judgement. Preachers will find the volumes full of inspiration.

General Booth. By George S. Railton. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2s. 6d. net.)

Commissioner Railton has allowed his old chief to tell his own story. Much of the book is a reproduction of his sayings and writings with connecting lines and words of explanation. It is the story of one who condensed his secret into a single sentence, 'I made up my mind that God Almighty should have all there was of William Booth.' We watch his first days at Nottingham when the passion for souls laid hold upon him. No words could be more impressive than his own: 'My conversion made me, in a moment, a preacher of the gospel.' That was his experience, and he made it the rule of life for his converts. 'I have lived, thank God, to witness the separation between laymen and cleric become more and more obscured, and to see Jesus Christ's idea of changing in a moment ignorant fishermen into fishers of men nearer and nearer realization.' The way in which he was led to his true sphere and the making and progress of the Salvation Army are effectively described from 'the Salvationist point of view.' The chapter of 'Tributes' shows how the General impressed himself on public opinion and how much his never-ceasing crusade against sin and misery won the hearts of Christian men. It is a moving story, and we hope it will inspire many, both in the Army and in all churches, with new zeal for the uplifting and salvation of the degraded and sinful.

John Brash: Memorials and Correspondence. By Rev. Isaac E. Page. (Kelly. 8s. 6d. net.) A wisely-planned volume, perpetuating the memory of a man whom to know was to greatly love and as greatly esteem and honour. It is not a biography: Mr. Page has only sketched in slight outline the life-course of his friend: it is rather a full, varied, and admirable selection from the writings and utterances of Mr. Brash himself. That he was a true saint, in the best and most beautiful meaning of that word, every one who knew him knows, and many who never met him will find out by a perusal of these pages. He was also a judicious reader, a clear thinker, an earnest and effective preacher, a man of tender sympathies, of great simplicity both in character and in faith, and a gracious and helpful friend. *The King's Highway* and the Keswick and Southport Conventions were the public works with which he was most identified, and Scriptural Holiness, the 'Great Commission' of Methodism, was what he literally lived to promote, and—what is more—*did* promote most effectively. He was Christ's man, through and through; absolutely loyal to his Master, and free from bigotry and narrowness, quiet, sedate, serene in spirit—one of the 'blessed' people who 'know the joyful sound' and 'walk in the light.' So this book reveals him. One reads it with a growing conviction that here was a man who knew what the 'one thing needful' is, and lived it. The chapter on Books and Reading comes somehow as a surprise, though it ought not to. We are too apt to think that a saintly man knows only one side of literature. It was the very opposite with John Brash. He kept up the freshness of his ministry by wide reading, and reflection on what he read; was well conversant with English classics, and did not disdain to read the best novelists. His criticisms of books are fresh and suggestive.

The Economic Conditions of Judaea after the Destruction of the Second Temple. By Adolph Büchler, Ph.D. (Jews' College.) Dr. Büchler, Principal of the Jews' College, has made a careful study of the places and the population of Judaea preserved after the year 70. The information given by Josephus is rather fragmentary, but it is supplemented by the Talmudic literature. The landowning Jews seem to have worked their fields as strenuously as before the War, but it is not clear whether they had sufficient cows and asses to work with. Outlaws and robbers increased, taxes weighed heavily on the Jews, and a good deal of the property in Judaea passed into Roman hands. The study is of great interest and is worked out with true skill and much learning.

Middlesex, by G. F. Bosworth, F.R.G.S. (Cambridge University Press. 1s. 6d. net), is a workmanlike little volume on the county, with its general features, its geology, its rich natural history, antiquities, and architecture. In Mr. Bosworth's *East London* and *West London* and this volume the reader will find a great store of delightful information. Hampton Court Palace and Harrow school supply some interesting pages, and the 'Roll of Honour' is a proud one. The series is one of the most attractive and useful on the market.

Messrs. Black have gained room for 25,000 biographies in the new edition of *Who's Who* (15s. net) by increasing the size of the page. It makes the volume look better without being unwieldy. It is a companion that many of us could not possibly do without, and it could not be more accurately prepared. *The Englishwoman's Year Book* (2s. 6d. net) is far the best guide to every branch of woman's work that we have. This is its thirty-second issue, and it is considerably improved and amplified. *The Writers' and Artists' Year Book* (1s. net) gives lists of periodicals and publishers, with a host of details which every writer and artist finds of constant service. *Books that Count* (5s. net) now appears for the first time. It gives brief descriptive notes on about 5,500 works arranged alphabetically under fourteen main sections. It is a guide that will be warmly welcomed and will save those who use it many a weary search for the books they need. Mr. Forbes Gray has edited it with great discernment.

The Methodist Who's Who for 1918 is twice as big as the first modest volume which appeared in 1910. Its list of ministers and laymen includes all branches of Oecumenical Methodism, and a new feature has been introduced in the brief histories of the various Methodist Churches, with statistics and lists of official members, bishops, editors, professors and teachers. The Book Concerns of Methodism are given, with their stewards and agents. It is a volume that has been warmly welcomed in this country and across the Atlantic, and it ought to have a place in every public library. We find its value increases with every issue.

Robert Humphreys. By Edward Rees, J.P. (C. H. Kelly. 1s. net.) This is a choice biography of one of the early Welsh Wesleyan ministers, and sets before us in soul-stirring, zeal-enkindling fashion the labours, the privations, the sufferings and the triumphs of the early days. It is full of romantic and exciting incident, and illustrates throughout the saving grace and providence of God. Mr. Howel Thomas has translated it and supplied a preface.

John Wycliffe, George Fox, and Henry Martyn, by W. H. Harding (Morgan & Scott, 1d. each), are brief biographies in the *Revival Series of Booklets*. They are brightly written and will encourage all who are doing hard work for God and the world.

The Martyrs of the Early Church, by Herbert B. Workman, M.A., D.Lit. (Kelly. 2s. net), sets forth the story of the early martyrs in a way that cannot fail to make a deep impression. Dr. Workman gives a clear account of the causes of persecution, and arranges the narratives into four groups—the martyrs of the Apostolic Age, the Second Century, the third century up to the death of Valerian, and the great persecution under Diocletian. The record is thrilling. It is told in a popular way, but there is no tampering with accuracy or truth. It is an inspiring book for Christian readers.

GENERAL

South America: Observations and Impressions. By James Bryce. With maps. (Macmillan & Co. 8s. 6d. net.)

MR. BRYCE has done service both to the old world and the new by his study of the great republics of South America. It is a book from which there is more to learn of the geography, the history, the social, racial and industrial conditions of a great continent than any other volume that we could name. It begins with a description of the Isthmus of Panama, which brings out the wonders of the great feat of engineering, and gives a most interesting account of the way in which one of the pesthouses of the earth has been made as healthy as Boston or London. Then we move along the Pacific coast till we reach Lima and the fascinating city of Arequipa, which is a stronghold of Romanism. 'The men, as well as the women, are practising Catholics, and attend church regularly, a rare thing in most parts of South America.' The account of Luzco, with its Indian population and its memories of the Incas, is extraordinarily interesting, and no one should miss the description of La Paz lying in a deep drift of volcanic origin. The pages on the Scenery of Magellan's Straits are very vivid. We pass on to Argentina, where business and pleasure are 'the two and only deities.' Combined with 'the raking in of money and the spending it in betting or in ostentatious luxury,' there is an intense passion for the development of the country's resources and the adornment of its capital. Here and in Brazil Mr. Bryce was impressed with the amazing energy of nature. The contrast between North and South Americans in their tastes and their views of life is suggestively brought out. 'No countries have more possibilities of change than those of South America.' European immigrants are streaming into the southern republics. This book will put its readers abreast of these facts, and will help them to understand the peril and promise of this new civilization which will more and more affect the commercial and financial movements of the world.

The Man Furthest Down. By Booker T. Washington. (T. F. Unwin. 6s. net.)

This is the record of a two months' holiday which the distinguished negro leader spent in observation of the lowest classes in Europe. He was greatly assisted by his colleague at Tuskegee, Dr. R. E. Rack, who came over some months in advance of his chief to prepare the way for him and got together the documents and literature bearing on the subject. Mr. Booker Washington was astonished to find how much America has touched and influenced the masses on this side of the Atlantic. 'There are cities within twenty miles of Naples which have lost within ten years two-thirds

of their inhabitants. In fact, there is one little village not far from the city of which it is said that the entire male population is in America.' This emigration has awakened Italy to the value of her labouring classes and has thus laid the foundation of new prosperity. For women in Sicily the journey to America is a real emancipation. The influence of emigration on the masses in Hungary and in other parts of south-eastern Europe is extraordinary. Mr. Washington finds no class of American negroes to compare with the man at the bottom in England. The negro in the United States is not a beggar or a degenerate. He has not lost hope or a certain joy in living. Our visitor thinks that the greatest boon that could be conferred on the English labourer would be for him to have the same opportunities for constant and steady work that the negro now has in the South. The next greatest benefit would be to provide 'schools in which every class could learn to do some one thing well.' Industrial education, such as is being given to the negro in the Southern States of America, would bear the best fruit. Mr. Washington holds that in Europe 'the man furthest down is woman.' He would provide a kind of education that would lift a larger number of women into the ranks of skilled labour. His descriptions of life in Italy, Sicily, Hungary and even in London are appalling, yet he does not lose heart or hope. Italy illustrates the fact that 'the condition of the man at the bottom affects the life of every class above him. It is to the class lowest down that Italy largely owes what prosperity she has as yet attained.' The effort to raise the under-man, or to encourage him to lift himself, has been to raise the level of every man above him. The conclusion is that 'the world looks, on the whole, more interesting, more hopeful, and more filled with God's providence, when you are at the bottom looking up than when you are at the top looking down.' The book is filled with high courage, and no one can read it without feeling that our social problems can all be solved if we are wise and resolute.

Church Bells of England. By H. B. Walters, M.A., F.S.A.
Illustrated by 170 photographs and drawings. (H. Frowde. 7s. 6d. net.)

This book is the first adequate manual on Church Bells. It belongs to a series of archaeological works under the skilled editorship of Mr. F. Bond, and its splendid illustrations make it a very charming guide to a subject of very great interest. In his Historical Introduction Mr. Walters gives much information as to the meaning and derivation of the chief terms used and the earliest bells in existence. Some fifty Irish handbells are in existence. The Blessed Bell of Armagh with its unique inscription in Erse is specially noteworthy. These bells are known as 'clogs' from Low Latin clocca. The bell at Chaldon, Surrey, with its archaic shape and its Gothic lettering, belongs to the thirteenth century. The best bells have a silvery tone, but silver itself would only impair the bell. It is the tin in the alloy which gives brilliance of tone. Mr. Walters gives a clear account of the technical processes including casting and tuning.

A shaving is planed off the interior by steam-power to flatten the note. The smaller bells in a ring are sometimes made a little too thick in order that they may bear the whole brunt of the tuning. Lazy sextons sometimes fix a rope round the 'flight' of the clapper. This checks the vibrations and inevitably cracks the bell. Moscow boasts the biggest bell of the world, which weighs 220 tons. Our Great Paul is 16 tons, 14 cwt., Big Ben is 18 tons, 11 cwt. The chapters on Uses and Customs, on Founders and Foundries, dedications and inscriptions of bells will be read with great interest. The book is full of quaint things, and Mr. Walters tells his story in a way that makes this a manual which every one will find real pleasure in using.

The Cathedrals of England and Wales. By Francis Bond.
(B. T. Batsford. 7s. 6d. net.)

The first edition of this book appeared in 1899. This is the fourth, which has grown from 384 to 514 pages and has been practically rewritten and re-illustrated. It now has more than 200 reproductions from photographs, and ground plans have been prepared for each cathedral on a uniform scale of 100 ft. to the inch. Mr. Bond has abandoned the attempt made in his first edition to arrange the architectural history of each cathedral into four periods, and has thus made his record more true to fact. In the first edition eight pages were given to the Welsh Cathedrals, here there are thirty-four. There are also good descriptions of Birmingham, Liverpool, and Truro Cathedrals. Southwark is added to the set, and the brief bibliographies given at the end of each sketch will be of much service. Mr. Bond has re-visited the cathedrals and has been able to correct many statements made by himself or other writers. Very considerable changes have been made in the accounts of Lincoln, Worcester, Llandaff, Exeter, and Hereford. The book was good before, and we owe it a personal debt; but it is now wonderfully improved and may justly be described as the best single volume on our cathedrals.

Highways and Byways in Somerset. By Edward Hutton.
With Illustrations by Nelly Erichsen. (Macmillan & Co. 5s. net.)

In his Introduction Mr. Hutton surveys Somerset from Beacon Hill, where 'a vast and mysterious plain, blue and grey and gold in the setting sun,' spreads out beneath the traveller, 'and beyond, far and far away, the great broken hills of the West Country.' That strikes the right key for our pilgrimage, and we explore the history and antiquities of Bath, and then pass to the magic of Wells and Glastonbury, Camelot and the Vale of Avalon, learning all that a native of the county can teach of its beauties and its famous stories. The chapter on 'The Quantocks and their Villages' will be eagerly read, and those on 'Exmoor' and 'The Coast' are full of interest. Mr. Hutton knows the ground and writes with evident relish. We wonder, however, where he has been when he

speaks of Methodism as 'a provincial Christianity rank with heresy.' What would Samuel Wesley, jun., have thought of 'the three Wesleys' being, in 1747, 'members of the directing Council, which ruled the whole movement with a rod of iron.' Samuel died in 1789, and he was far indeed from aspiring to be a leader of Methodism. Miss Erichsen's illustrations are a great success. The subjects are well chosen and the work is exquisite.

The Oxford Book of Victorian Verse. Chosen by Arthur Quiller-Couch. (Clarendon Press. 6s. net.)

Exigencies of space compelled Sir Arthur to cut out many modern lyrics from *The Oxford Book of English Verse* which appeared twelve years ago. He has now been able to make amends, and the moderns down to Francis Thompson, John Masefield, Lawrence Binyon and Richard Middleton are generously represented. The collection begins with Landor's *Tinagra*, and allows 'Victorian' to include any English poet born in our time. Those who turn the pages will feel with the compiler a 'reverence and wonder not only at the mass (not easily sized) of poetry written with ardour in these less-than-a-hundred years, but at the amount of it which is excellent and the height of some of that excellence.' We are surprised at the amount of space which Sir Arthur has been able to give to Tennyson, the Brownings, Matthew Arnold, Swinburne, Francis Thompson, and others. It is possible from this one volume to get a fair conception of the treasures of modern poetry down to the notable group of living poets whose reputation will increase with time. The work has been done with discernment and catholic sympathy, and the book will have a great welcome. It is a fitting introduction to the Chair of English Literature which Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch is so happily called to fill.

How England Saved China. By J. Macgowan. With 88 Illustrations. (T. F. Unwin. 10s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Macgowan shows what blessing England has brought to China. Foot-binding is 'a discredited and dying force,' the baby girls of the empire have been saved from death, and medical science has wrought miracles of healing. He and his wife began the crusade against foot-binding in Amoy, where they formed the Heavenly Foot Society. Mr. Macgowan induced Mrs. Archibald Little to devote her organizing ability and social influence to this reform with notable success. The description of the torture inflicted on Chinese girls by this horrible custom will stir the heart of every English reader. Mr. Macgowan found that the destruction of baby girls was widely practised by every class of society, and gives a wonderful account of the way in which a new spirit was infused into the parents till no trace could be found of the existence of such infanticide. Not less interesting is the revolution wrought by the lady doctor with her Western methods. She was a homely little creature, but she moved about the dusty, dreary streets like a sunbeam. Mr. Macgowan thinks

that no one ought to go out as a missionary who does not know how to smile, and when this lady's face lighted it 'took one absolutely by storm.' She became the most popular woman in the city. Mr. Macgowan's plea for missions will make a deep impression. It is a real pleasure to read it, and its illustrations are very attractive.

Manuals for Christian Thinkers. (Kelly. Each, 1s. net.) This is a well-designed series, wonderfully cheap and in substance of so high a quality as to please and help any intelligent reader. On the technical side the little books are charming, attractive in appearance, with a full page of clear and readable type. Each is furnished with an index and bibliographical notes; and so far the contents are of both intrinsic and literary value, and are alive in their style and interest. The first issue consists of three volumes. *The Psychology of the Christian Life*, by the Rev. Eric S. Waterhouse, M.A., B.D., is an attempt to summarize the results of the application of psychological principles to the study of religion. Special attention is given to the questions of conversion and prayer, and very good use is made of psychological materials collected by the author himself and others. In *Miracles*, the Rev. F. Platt, M.A., B.D., draws a fair outline of the Christian view, and combines defence with construction. He suggests a new definition of the term, argues in favour of the substitution of spiritual for supernatural in the usual antithesis with natural, and discusses effectively such adverse views as those recently associated with the Rev. J. M. Thompson's name. The Rev. Henry Bett opens up an almost new quarry in his treatment of *The Hymns of Methodism in their Literary Associations*. He traces many of the hymns to their sources, cites parallel passages for many of the phrases, and explains various archaisms. As a bit of literature the pages he writes are fascinating, while doctrinal relations, especially to Quietism and Calvinism, are not overlooked. It is to be hoped that Mr. Bett will give us more of the same kind.

Life and Adventure in the Land of Mud. By Alfred Hardy.
(Kelly. 2s. 6d.)

British Guiana is our first and oldest colony, but it is practically unknown to Englishmen. Mr. Hardy went there as a Wesleyan missionary in 1889, and tells us everything about it, from its discovery by Columbus in 1498 to the present day. It is a land of mighty rivers, whose muddy waters darken the blue Atlantic for fifty miles from the shore. Georgetown, the capital, has wide streets with canals down the centre and beautiful residences, embowered in tropical gardens, on both sides. The description of the well-kept Sunday and the sketches of the natives are of real interest to English readers. Mr. Hardy had four happy years among the people. Naturalists will prize his capital chapter on the flora and fauna, and many illustrations add to the interest of a fresh, racy, and instructive book, which both young readers and old will find much to their taste.

Contemporary Philosophy. By Rev. R. J. Wardell. (C. H. Kelly. 8s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Wardell has a really wonderful gift of lucid exposition. The most intricate topics, in his hands, are made understandable to the ordinary mind. In this well arranged and, to the thoughtful and inquiring, fascinating book, he has laid beginners in the study of philosophy under real obligation. Under his guidance, though they will want to go much farther than he professes to take them, they will not go astray, and their studies will be greatly facilitated in Natural Philosophy, in Vitalism and the New Idealism, in Pragmatism, Pluralism, and the Philosophy of the Overman. The chapters on Eucken, Bergson, and Nietzsche are specially opportune and helpful, but the whole work will be found of service to all in search of aids to clearer thought and larger life.

The Letters of an Englishman. Second Series. (Constable & Co. 8s. 6d. net.)

These essays first appeared in the *Daily Mail*, and have the life and spirit that one would expect from such a pedigree. But they have a literary grace and a dash of humorous cynicism which make them pleasant companions for the fireside, and they cover such a wide circle of interest that a reader's attention never flags. Sometimes we see the foibles of our contemporaries exposed in a way that provokes a burst of laughter; then we turn to the past to see Wolsey appalled all in red as 'The Spectacular Man.' Shakespeare achieves his triumphs of creation because he suppresses himself. 'He stands apart, impartial and austere. Even his religious faith is kept secret from our prying minds. He is supreme in his very nonchalance.' There are thirty-nine Letters, full of suggestive thoughts brightly put and aptly illustrated. 'The Fireman's Courage' is a fine tribute to our brave Fire Brigades.

An Alphabetical and Chronological Arrangement of the Wesleyan Methodist Ministers and Preachers on Trial. Twenty-second Edition (Methodist Publishing House. 2s. 6d. net.) William Hill began this famous List in 1819 'with a sincere design to gratify his Brethren, the Preachers.' He lived to issue four revised editions. Dr. Waller, who was responsible for seven editions before the present, introduced several important improvements, and his son-in-law, the Rev. Arthur Triggs, has prepared the twenty-second edition with the utmost care. It is a record of every Methodist preacher's college training and his appointments. Complete lists of the Presidents and Secretaries of Conference are given, and a list of the men arranged according to the year in which they entered the ministry. It is one of the books that no good Methodist can live without.

Social Therapeutics. By Stanley M. Bligh. (Frowde. 6d. net.) This lecture was discussed by the Social-Psychology group of the Sociological Society last November. Mr. Bligh's three books show how much he is interested in the subject, and he argues here for close study of

criminal, semi-criminal, and other cases, with a view to some effort to restore them or to guard against moral failure. It is very ingenious, and any light that can be brought to bear on such problems will be heartily welcomed by every social reformer.

The Amateur Gentleman. By Jeffery Farnol. (Sampson Low. 6s.) Mr. Farnol in his new story is true to Kent, though some of its most exciting scenes are in and near London. The innkeeper's son, who has come into a great fortune, is bent on being a gentleman, and gets the world of fashion at his feet for a giddy hour, only to learn that it is better to be a man than a mere society gentleman. The book is full of strong situations, and has two charming heroines and an old duchess who is even more attractive. It is a tale of adventures, with not a few villains, whose language is only too faithfully reproduced; but it has a valet, an ostler, and a little groom that would make the fortune of any story, not to speak of the hero and the two men who had trained him, and the grand horse—The Terror—that is as fine a figure as any man or woman in the book. It shows an advance of power on the writer's earlier work, and its lurid description of the money-lender should be a warning to many.

Driftwood. By Kenneth Weekes. (G. Allen & Co. 8s. 6d. net.) Short stories, impressionist studies, two or three dialogues, an historical sketch of New England colonization and some notes of travel in France, make up a vivacious volume. It starts many a surmise which it leaves the reader to puzzle out for himself, but it has a sense of the wonder of life and a delight in all its beauties that will attract many.

The Sketch Book, by Washington Irving (Frowde, 1s. net), has just been added to *The World's Classics*, with an introduction by T. Balston which adds much to the interest of a book that never loses its charm. It is an edition that any one may be proud to have on his shelves. *Facts and Figures for Social Reformers*, by H. Gifford Oyston (Kelly, 1d.), is one of the *Social Tracts for the Times*, issued for the Wesleyan Methodist Union for Social Service. It deals with the 'daily wreckage of physical well-being' that goes on in many English homes. Facts affecting the social life of the people are given in compact form. It is the work of an expert and will make a deep impression. *The Woman's Foreign and Home Missionary Manual*, by R. E. Smith (Eaton & Mains), is one of the most complete and useful little books for women engaged in such work that we know. It gives a valuable historical sketch, Rules of Order, Appropriate Hymns, Hints as to Raising Money, and everything else that will help workers and speakers. It ought to be very popular. *My Nursery Rhyme and Story Book* (Kelly, 1s. 6d.), is very ingenious and full of quaint humour. The stories are brightly told and the coloured pictures are very effective. Such a companion will be welcomed in every nursery. *Names and Addresses of Circuit Stewards*, 1918. (Methodist Publishing House, 6d.) One of the indispensable handbooks giving the two chief officials of every circuit in Great Britain. *The Doctor's Dog.* By Richard Dailley. (Allen. 1s. net.) This is a poem against vivisection, very painful reading indeed.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

The *Quarterly Review* (Jan.-March) has a biographical study of Cotton Mather, *A New England Puritan*, by Prof. Barrett Wendell, of Harvard, and a searching review of the life and work of *Father Tyrrell*, by his friend the Rev. Alfred Fawkes. Tyrrell's true home, says his friend, was the English Church, and his precise place in the modern theological movement is that of a constructive and conservative critic. 'He was not deterred by fear of consequences; he followed where the thought led. But he was constructive in aim, and conservative in method; like Burke, he viewed history and human nature as wholes.' He also says that Tyrrell 'exchanged English for Latin Christianity on a misunderstanding.' *Mind Cures from the Scientific Point of View* is a study of faith-healing by Sir Thomas Clouston, who says that modern science 'admits the existence of such cures, but it calls in the brain as the direct agent through which they are brought about. It is now able to point out that there are, in the brain, machinery and activities sufficient to explain them. The mind comes in by setting the brain to work. Science emphatically repudiates the mystical, miraculous, and superstitious views of such mind-cures as being unreasonable and often degrading. Such views, hitherto common, result from ignorance and lend themselves to all sorts of quackery and deceit. Science now includes mind as well as life and matter in the scope of its investigation; and by this means only will humanity derive the full benefits which a study of the effects of mind, acting through the brain, will enable us to effect in curing diseased and abnormal states.' Prof. Schiller, in a sympathetic article on *Nietzsche*, thinks it a mistake to pooh-pooh the German poet-philosopher, and to write him down a madman. 'He is immensely suggestive, and stimulates to further progress by his very errors. His work is everywhere incomplete, and sometimes crude; but it is brilliant and intensely alive; and his career was cut short just as his powers were maturing.'

Under the energetic editorship of Mr. Harold Cox, the *Edinburgh Review* is renewing its youthful vigour and variety. The January number opens with a cautious, non-committal article on *Marriage and Divorce*, and arrives at the conclusion that, as this is a provisional age, in which it is not desirable to lay down general social principles for all time, 'legislation should be tentative, not final; it should base itself on history, rather than on the feeling of the hour; and it should follow national characteristics in preference to the theories of the Lamp or the tendencies of alien lands.' Reviewing the Report of the Divorce Commission, it suggests that 'if legislation could be passed incorporating the points of agreement between

the majority and the minority, we should make an immense step forward.' Other articles of note are *New Light on Beethoven*, by Mr H. H. Statham; *De Gustibus*, by Mrs. Alfred Earl, who quotes Talleyrand as saying: 'Show me another pleasure that comes twice a day and lasts an hour each time,' and points out that, according to Milton, cookery was the first of the fine arts to exist in Eden. She traces the subject of eating and of cookery in ancient and modern literature, and brings together quite a fund of entertaining and not useless knowledge.

In the *Dublin Review* (Jan.-March) the editor, Mr. Wilfrid Ward, discourses on both Disraeli and Father Tyrrell—on the former in a long article to be continued in the next number, and on the latter in a brief note on Miss Petre's *Life*. The *Life* is 'profoundly interesting but extraordinarily sad.' Miss Petre, he thinks, has done her work 'skilfully and with fairness,' but he doubts whether we have in the work as a whole 'quite a true picture of Father Tyrrell.' He was 'a man of moods, and his Autobiography is coloured by the circumstances of the time and the sympathies of the correspondent to whom he was writing.' He questions whether we shall have the true Tyrrell of the earlier years before a considerable selection of contemporary letters is made public, and says that 'a true picture of the man calls for some such selection from his writings as would adequately illustrate the distinctive beauty of his mind.'

The two brightest papers in the February *Nineteenth Century and After* are Lord Curzon's *London Beautiful* and Mr. Yoshio Markino's dissertation on *The Post-Impressionist and Others*. London has never been to the Englishman, says Lord Curzon, what Paris is to the Frenchman, and what Berlin is fast becoming to the German. 'If you meet a Frenchman abroad you will find that in his mind La Belle France means as a rule Paris; and that, wherever he builds a town, he endeavours to reproduce, with as much fidelity as he can, the boulevards, restaurants, and cafés, and all the gay and sparkling brilliance of that delightful city. But the Englishman does nothing of the sort. If you meet the Englishman in the remote corners of the Empire and talk to him of Old England, he does not think of London; he thinks about beautiful country villages, about the surroundings of his old home, about the exquisite scenery and the leafy lanes; the last thing he attempts to do anywhere is to reproduce London; his one idea is to get away from it.' Mr. Markino's quaint and charming English is seen to great advantage in his most amusing paper. 'Lately,' he says, 'I met some great art critic whom I am worshipping. The topic of our conversation turned to some of those so-called Impressionists. He told me a doctor—the specialist for the brain—is his great friend. This doctor has had many experiences with lunatic people, and he found out that some lunatics suffer in some certain parts of the brain. Then everything looks to them in the straight lines or cubic shapes. The statement so well coincides with certain pictures by "Impressionists." This is most pitiful and grievous case. I feel a great sympathy with them. I sincerely wish that the medical professionals could cure them by all means, and I earnestly ask the medical professionals—are they quite safe

and do not infect other sound brain people? In fact, once I saw some Impressionists' work, and gazing at it for a few minutes, I felt as if I myself was getting lunatic, so I ran away from the picture.'

Kind for January-March opens with an article interesting to students of Pragmatism on *Rationalism and Empiricism*, by Prof. G. T. Ladd. This is followed by a striking paper on *Alchemy and the Absolute*, by Mr. M. M. Pattison Muir, and the first part of a paper by the Rev. S. Alexander on *Collective Willing and Truth*. There is also a brief paper by Prof. Schiller on *Mysticism v. Intellectualism*, and a very suggestive study of Miss Underhill's book on 'Mysticism,' by Mr. A. E. Taylor, who calls it 'a most illuminating and beautiful work,' and writes a helpful appreciation of it, but points out several of its minor imperfections. He shows, for instance, that, in the statement that Plotinus was a determined opponent of Christianity, and that 'he has left it on record that he attained three times in his life to ecstatic union with the One,' there are at least three mistakes. The number is full of matter for the student of religion and psychology.

Church Quarterly Review (January).—An interesting sketch is given, by his son, of *Benjamin Webb*, friend and correspondent of John M. Neale, whose Romeward leanings were cured by his visits to Italy. He told Mr. Beresford-Hope, 'You do not know how I have been disgusted again with the Papal government. It seems to be one great corruption.' His appointment to St. Andrew's, Wells Street, completed his cure. Webb had no confidence in Neale's judgement of the 'signs of the times.' He was himself 'distrustful of what he would call "gush," constitutionally shy of appearing in public, more ready to criticize than to echo the views of others.'

Hibbert Journal (January).—The public questions discussed in this number are—the part to be played by the newer universities in national education, by the Lord Chancellor; marriage and divorce, by the Bishop of Carlisle; the wisdom of the line taken by the Labour leaders in social reform, by Prof. Hugh Walker; and the needs of discharged prisoners, by R. S. Nolan. On all these topics the principle of an open forum which is characteristic of the *Hibbert* is evenly maintained by the Editor. Theologians will perhaps turn first to Dr. Forsyth's article *Intellectualism and Faith*, in which he discusses the place of mind in religion and urges with his usual vivacity and force that what chiefly concerns us in the study of the universe is not the intellectual riddles it raises, but the moral tragedy implied in the human element and God's way of dealing with it. Mr. G. Coore presents the orthodox Catholic side in the Modernist controversy—one which a Protestant should never ignore. Prof. Overstreet's paper on *The Democratic Conception of God* propounds the characteristically modern thesis that the conception of God now being formed by civilized nations is—ourselves; 'the God that in every act and intention we with all our countless fellows are realizing.' We have left unmentioned other interesting articles, such as Mr. A. Mitchell Innes's comparison of Eastern and Western methods of justice—ably written and most suggestive.

This number of the Journal is packed with interesting matter, the two reviews of Tyrrell's *Life* not being forgotten.

Journal of Theological Studies (January).—The first paper, by Mr. C. H. Turner, is devoted to the *Gospel of Peter* as an independent witness to the Resurrection. The conclusion reached is that the writer was probably acquainted with all four Gospels, and that in his story of the Resurrection he was depending rather upon the Fourth Gospel than on the lost ending of St. Mark. Consequently this apocryphal fragment adds nothing to the canonical testimony. The inquiry is conducted with learning and skill and a careful translation of the fragment is appended. Another article, by Dean Armitage Robinson, deals also with the Resurrection. It contains a criticism of a part of the article by Mr. Streeter in the *Oxford Essays* recently published, entitled *Foundations*. The essayist accepts the fact of the Empty Tomb, but apparently disclaims the idea of miracle, and propounds a kind of 'objective vision' theory, not unlike that of Keim. Dean Robinson, in comparing the new with the orthodox doctrine, holds that 'the possible gain from the metaphysical point of view is altogether outweighed by the loss from the historical point of view,' and rejects it accordingly. Other notes and articles are on the Odes and Psalms of Solomon, the testimony of Ignatius and Polycarp to St. John's writings, and a review of the philosophy of Plotinus by Dean Inge.

Holborn Review (January).—Some of the chief articles are *Lay-Preaching in the Light of History*, by John Naylor; a *Nature Year Book*, by Joseph Ritson; a *Professor Among the Prophets* (Mr. L. P. Jacks), by P. T. Fisher; *Christian Truth in the New Order of Life*, by Arthur Wood; and a Temperance article on *Hugh Bourne, the Man who Fought the Serpent*, by J. T. Goodacre. Dr. Peake's survey of Recent Literature on the New Testament contains some wise criticism of critics.

The Expositor (January and February).—Dr. G. Adam Smith enters into competition with Butler, Newman, and Robertson by an academic sermon on Balaam. His standpoint is his own, and well he maintains it. Dr. Denney's protest against those who strive to make Christianity independent of history, and either replace it by a kind of absolute idealism or in other ways minimize the significance of the historical Christ, is timely and useful. Prof. Vernon Bartlet puts points both new and old in his *Historic Setting of the Pastoral Epistles*, and Dr. Garvie reminds us that the doctrine of the Trinity in the New Testament is religious rather than metaphysical. In these two numbers Dr. Kennedy brings to a close his long, thorough, and able examination of the influence on St. Paul of current Mystery Religions. In them he has rendered valuable service, which all careful students of the New Testament in modern light will appreciate, and ere long no doubt these papers will be republished in permanent form.

Expository Times (January and February).—The chief article in the January number—after the Editor's Notes, which can never be relegated to a second place—are *The Unrighteous Steward*, by F. Beames, B.Sc.,

who illustrates the parable from the customs of the trader-banker in Syria and Mesopotamia, and concludes with the sentence, 'High dividends are not compatible with the kingdom of heaven.' The Great Text Commentary deals with 2 Chron. vi. 8, 'Thou didst well that it was in thine heart.' Dr. J. S. Banks writes on modern Christology and *à propos* of a volume by Dr. Faut. Dr. John Kelman pursues his *Pilgrim's Progress*, reaching the death of Christians, the account of which he considers forms 'one of the greatest passages of English literature and religious biography.' In the February number Rabbi Moses Gaster writes on *The Feast of Jeroboam and the Samaritan Calendar*, and Sir W. M. Ramsay on *What were the Churches of Galatia?* Dr. A. R. Gordon's sympathetic study of Herder recalls a notable pioneer in the study of Old Testament poetry.

The Constructive Quarterly (March).—Mr. McBee has produced a first number of great variety. It is both fresh and strong. M. Goyau's paper, *The Church of France To-day*, shows that her separation from the State has brought new zeal in church-building and in social work. Mr. Arthur Henderson holds that the relations between the forces of Religion and Labour in this country are improving. Bishop McConnell deals suggestively with *The Significance of Conversion in the Thinking of To-day*. We believe the *Constructive Quarterly* will do great service to all the churches.

AMERICAN

Harvard Theological Review.—The first article in the January number is by the late Prof. Henry S. Nash, of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass., who died last November. It is an historical study of *The Nature and Definition of Religion*. Famous definitions are discussed, and a definition, which is really a description, is in the end adopted: 'Religion, as a matter of feeling and thought, is for us the consciousness of intimate and friendly relations with the unseen powers and tendencies of the universe. As a matter of will it is an assured confidence regarding the moral quality and the moral end of history.' Prof. Josiah Royce contributes a masterly article on *George Fox as a Mystic*. 'His untutored theology, despite its unconsciousness of philosophy, was nearer to becoming an Idealism, in the modern sense, than to being a Mysticism in the classical sense. His vision of God, despite all his quaint interpretations of Scripture and all his capricious private intimations of supernatural guidance, remained nearer to being a revelation of truth than it would have been, had he sunk deeper into the mystic trance. And, above all, the Light taught this unresting soul how to labour amid all the storms and the lurid hatreds of his day, not in vain, but humanely, valiantly, and beneficently.' Writing on *The Present Position of New Testament Theology*, Prof. Ernest F. Scott discovers reasons for believing that 'Conservative and Radical scholars are gradually throwing off their old attitude of mere antagonism.' Alien influences are now seen to be secondary. 'Extreme views are becoming less and less tenable, and the essential originality of the Christian movement is steadily asserting itself.'

Bibliotheca Sacra.—In the January number there is a thoughtful article on *The Springs of Beneficence*, by O. W. Firkins. 'The assertion that we are unselfish does not mean that we do more for our neighbour than for ourselves, but that we do more for him than he does for his neighbour or for us.' There is food for reflection in the sentence: 'Among the unselfish acts of greatest difficulty are those which come too seldom to acquire the facility of routine, yet too often to maintain the inspiration of novelty.' The Rev. G. F. Wells discusses *Christian Union in Problem and Practice*, appealing to the churches to 'cease their practice of duplication, misdirection, and waste of opportunity.' Some good things on *The Christian Church and Democracy* are said by Dr. A. A. Berle. He claims that 'a democracy that is genuine, and not itself a form of tyranny, must coincide with the fundamental law of Christ'; he also holds that 'when Christianity has held sway and has held to its own fundamental law, it has been the natural progenitor and custodian of democracy.' Dr. H. W. Magoun begins a series of articles on *A Layman's View of the Critical Theory*, urging that there is much to be said on phases of the subject that have been almost entirely neglected by writers on the Pentateuch. Dahse's *Materials for the Textual Criticism of the Hexateuch Question* is described by Mr. Harold M. Wiener as 'the most important contribution that has come from Germany for many years.' This favourable judgment is, however, consistent with the fact that more space is given to points of difference than to points of agreement.

American Journal of Theology (January).—The Editor has provided a substantial repast this quarter. Three of the leading articles are of front-rank value—*The Dogmatics of the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, by E. Troeltsch of Heidelberg; *The Liberal Movement and Missions*, by Prof. Moore of Harvard, and *The Nature of Primitive Christianity*, by Prof. Shirley Case of Chicago. It is well that an authoritative description of the theological position of an influential school in Germany should be given such as that furnished by Prof. Troeltsch, its representative in dogmatics. Some of the issues raised by this school need to be sharply defined, and it is to be hoped that a clear distinction may be drawn in controversy between the sound and the unwarrantable assumptions of the 'religious-historical' critics. The second article points an old moral—the practical ineffectiveness of 'liberal' Christianity. What has it accomplished as a religion in Home or Foreign Missions towards the regeneration of the world? Prof. Case's views upon primitive Christianity as 'never a static quantum, but a constant growth,' not 'a donation to humanity, but a spiritual attainment to be realized anew by each successive generation,' seem to us to contain a mixture of truth and error which a reader would do well to disentangle. Prof. Bacon gives an interesting account of the Leiden Congress for the History of Religions, and the critical reviews are numerous and able.

Princeton Theological Review (January).—Four strong articles, covering a hundred pages, constitute the first half of this number. The first, by J. G. Machen, is on *Christianity and Culture*, and contains some sound

advice to ministers in days when culture is a mighty force, either as 'subservient to the Gospel' or as its 'deadliest enemy.' We do not like the antithesis as thus expressed. Prof. Ritchie Smith continues a series of articles on the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, dealing in this instalment with the internal evidence. Prof. C. W. Hodge's dissertation on *The Witness of the Holy Spirit to the Bible* contains a fine elucidation of the true Reformation position on this subject. The article on *Dr. Watts's Renovation of Psalmody* is the third of the L. P. Stone lectures on hymnody delivered by Prof. L. F. Benson at Princeton in 1910. Amongst the reviews in 'Recent Literature' the veteran Prof. Warfield deals at great length and very hardly with Dr. H. R. Mackintosh's *Person of Christ*. He considers the postulates of the book to be 'as unacceptable to Christian feeling as they are repugnant to right reason and in contradiction to the whole drift of revelation.' Clearly the ancient spirit of theological controversy is not yet extinct; Prof. Mackintosh's hair's-breadth variations from orthodoxy are seen through a strong magnifying glass.

The Methodist Review (New York) (January-February).—*Germany Revisited*, by Prof. Armstrong, gives impressions of the Fatherland after twenty-seven years' absence. *A Poet Chrysostom*, by Bishop Quayle—'not to be secretive' as the writer says—is Francis Thompson. The newly appointed bishop has written an extraordinary review of a poet who well deserves study. Other articles are *Absolute Truthfulness*, by Chancellor E. E. Brown; *Arthur Hallam and In Memoriam*, by A. J. Lockhart, and *Twice Born Men—a personal Testimony*, by W. H. Burgwin. The last article, which deals with practical evangelism, impresses us more than many a florid and ambitious literary effort.

Methodist Review (Nashville) (January), contains several articles as weighty as they are interesting—*Henri Bergson and His Philosophy*, by J. C. Granbery; *Can Socialism be Linked with Christianity?* by S. B. Chown; *Jonathan Edwards and John Wesley*, by Bishop Hendrik, and *A Résumé of the Philosophy of Evil*, by Ivan Lee Holt. The influence of the Lord Jesus Christ has indeed exercised 'a lifting power' through history, but that is no reason why an article on the subject should be entitled, with lack both of grammar and good taste, *The Leverage of Our Lord*. The reviews of books are excellent, some of them a little belated.

The Review and Expositor (Louisville) (January), amongst other articles contains one by Rev. H. W. Clark on *The Idea of Immanence*, and another entitled *Fifty Years of Negro Freedom*, by Mr. Booker Washington. An interesting feature is *Expository Notes* by Dr. A. T. Robertson.

FOREIGN

In the *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* (Jan.-March) there are two valuable dissertations—the one on the evolution of Greek thought from Thales to Aristotle, by M. D. Roland-Gosselin, and the other

by Prof. W. Schmidt on the chief phases of the history of Ethnology. The aim of the latter is to show the bearings of Ethnology on the science of comparative religion. It is apologetic in purpose, and is a very striking contribution to current controversy on the origins of the great religions of the world. Forty pages are devoted to a survey of current philosophical literature, special attention being given to works relating to the psychology of religion, and almost as many to the recent literature of Biblical Theology. In the latter section, quite a little library of English, French, and German studies of St. Paul is analysed and appreciated from the liberal Catholic point of view.

In the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for January 15, M. Emile Faguet has a brief but brilliant and illuminating study of *Symbolism*. The symbolist poets, he holds, represent a reaction against the Parnassian school, and especially against Leconte de Lisle. The Parnassians looked at things scientifically. In their view 'states of mind were states of mind, and external facts, external facts.' Any comparison between the two must needs be purely allegorical. The Symbolists, however, felt this conception to be cold and narrow, and therefore accepted the pathetic fallacy. M. Faguet proceeds to show how this theory affects both the contents and the style of Symbolist verse. A poet writing about external facts, he says, 'need never obtrude his personality, but a poet who makes facts reflect feelings must needs be introspective. That is why the Symbolists are always talking about themselves.' The article is of most value to the student of modern French poetry, but much that it contains is applicable to certain recent schools of English prose and verse.

Religion und Geisteskultur.—Throughout 1918 there is to be a discussion in this quarterly on the subject of *The Secret Religion of the Educated*. In the January number Judge von Zastrow writes a lengthy article, and the Editor—Dr. Steinmann—will reply in April. Further reference to what promises to be an interesting controversy will be made in this review. Von Zastrow begins by expounding the modernism of a layman, his aim being to show that although his liberalism involves a breach with traditional Christianity, it is a legitimate development of the teaching of the Reformers. He claims for himself and his friends that 'they are Christians and, as such, intend to remain in the Church.' It may be said that 'hero' is the highest designation which Von Zastrow applies to Jesus Christ. On this subject, as on other questions raised, the reply of Dr. Steinmann will be awaited with interest. To this number Dr. Bruno Jordan contributes a philosophical essay on *The Noological Basis of the Religious Life*. His main positions are that all attempts to base religion on personal experience must inevitably lead beyond the limits of the Ego; that the more profound is the study of personality, the more certain will be the recognition of metaphysical realities; pursuing these pathways of thought, Dr. Jordan finds that this metaphysical reality must either be identified with the transcendental God, or rest on Him as its basis. The article contains traces of the influence of Eucken, and closes with a quotation from the Jena philosopher to confirm the statement that whilst religious life must

develop itself within each personality, that experience results from the activity of a power that transcends the personality. Dr. Emil Ott answers the question 'Is Religion a Duty?' To those who deny the reality of religion on the ground that they are not conscious of religious needs, a practical reply is given. It is granted that in this respect, men vary, but it is pointed out, that in many ways the fount of religious feeling may be dried up; hence it is a duty to remove, especially from young people hindrances to the free expression of the sense of religious need. The longest article in this issue is by Dr. E. Lehmann, who summarizes and criticizes 'Hans Voichinger's System of Idealistic Positivism.' The trend towards Idealism in modern philosophy is further illustrated in a Review of recent literature by Pfarrer Hermann Maas, who takes pains to show that idealistic thinkers have exerted a powerful practical influence on the thought and on the activities of their own and later times. The movements which led to the War for Freedom are traceable to Kant, Fichte, and Schleiermacher. The comment on some recent biographies of great philosophers is that they supply abundant proof of the truth of Fichte's saying: 'A man's choice of a philosophy depends upon what kind of a man he is,' with which may be compared a sentence of Jacobi's: 'The philosophy of religion is a witness to the religion found in men.'

Theologische Rundschau.—In the January number Dr. E. W. Mayer reviews several modern works which deal with 'The Origin of Religion.' At the outset reference is made to those who maintain that the basis of religion is to be found in the intellect. This is the position of Richter, the Leipzig philosopher who died last year, shortly after the publication of his *Philosophy of Religion*. He does not deny that, in religion, emotion and volition play a prominent part, but he asks: 'How can we be conscious of dependence upon God, how can we fear, love, trust, and obey Him, unless we have previously formed some idea of God?' The opposite view, represented by writers like Th. Häring, is that religion has its roots in feeling and will. 'Emotional experiences are able to generate ideas, with which in turn emotional impulses may be associated, such as fear, love, and trust.' To those who find it more difficult to contend for the authenticity of religious ideas if they originate in feeling and not in reason, Dr. Mayer says that ultimately it will be found that even those who recognize the necessity of intellectual conceptions, are compelled to appeal to the activities of feeling and will when attacked by sceptics. This modern renewal of an ancient discussion does but emphasize the importance of each of the three factors in religion, namely intellect, feeling, and will. In the latter part of his article Dr. Mayer proceeds to show that the theories of Tylor and Herbert Spencer are no longer accepted by ethnologists. It is not disputed that at some definite period polydæmonistic worship obtained; but what is denied by the majority of investigators is that in such worship religion had its origin. Dr. Rudolf Knopf makes honourable mention of Ramsay's *Historical Commentary on I Timothy*. It is distinguished by 'great learning and acumen.' Consideration is given to the various reasons which have led to the doubting of the epistle's authenticity, which Ramsay upholds, though he is not blind to the difficulties involved.

Theologische Literaturzeitung.—In No. 8 there is a Review in English by Prof. F. C. Burkitt of Prof. H. F. Hamilton's work, entitled *The People of God: an Inquiry into Christian Origins*. The special value of this book is rightly said 'to lie in the characterization of the essence of Mono-Yahwism and its contrast with Greek philosophical monotheism.' There is also the interesting statement that the book is 'an illustration of the energy and determination with which convinced Anglicans, however thoroughly they may have assimilated the methods and conclusions of historical criticism, continue to hold a really supernatural theory of religion.' Dr. E. W. Mayer, in reviewing two books on 'Personality' says that in these days, when 'personality' has become such a favourite expression, there is need to remind many who make use of it that it is really a 'formal conception' and is filled by different individuals with very different contents. He expresses approval of a book by Dr. A. Richter in which different types of personality are distinguished, and in which Nietzsche's ideal of personality is condemned, the writer inclining to Eucken's view. Another work, by Prof. Skupnik, considers the pedagogic aspects of the subject; it urges teachers to remember the difference between individuality and personality and to make it their aim so to train their pupils that they shall become personalities.

Analecta Bollandiana. Tomus XXXII. Fasc. I. (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes.) This number contains a Latin poem in honour of Saint Edmond of Canterbury, who became Archbishop in 1284, and was compelled by his quarrel with Henry III to take refuge in the Cistercian Abbey at Pontigny, which in the previous century had welcomed Thomas Becket. Edmond Rich died in 1240, and was canonized in 1240. An interesting note is given on the four lives of the Saint, and on the manuscript in the Vatican Library, where the poem is written by some contemporary hand in the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. This number also gives a Life of St. Willfrid by Goscelin of Canterbury, who died about 1008. Wulfhild was Abbess at Barking after 996, and this MS. Life was found in Trinity College, Dublin. There are other matters of great interest to students in this learned work.

Romans, edited by R. St. John Parry, B.D. (8s. 6d. net), and *Second Peter and Jude*, edited by Montague R. James, Litt.D. (2s. 6d. net), have just been added to the *Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges*. Dr. Bebb of Lampeter had undertaken *Romans*, but was unable to complete the task, which devolved on the general editor. He gives a close exposition of the text and of the sequence of thought, leaving discussions of theological subjects to larger commentaries. The Introduction is very full, and the notes seem to meet every difficulty of the young Greek scholar. The additional notes on various words and passages are especially valuable. The Provost of King's deals clearly with the connexion between 2 Peter and Jude. He gives reasons for regarding 2 Peter as later than Jude, and as having borrowed from it. Both Epistles, he concludes, 'may be genuine: Jude almost certainly is.' The whole subject is admirably dealt with in this scholarly Introduction. The notes are careful and suggestive.