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# THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

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OCTOBER 1913

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## THE METHODIST MISSIONARY CENTENARY

World Missionary Conference, 1910. Reports of Commissions I and IV : *Carrying the Gospel to all the Non-Christian World* ; and *The Missionary Message in Relation to Non-Christian Religions*. (Edinburgh : Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier.)

*Religions and Religion : A Study of the Science of Religion, Pure and Applied*. The Fernley Lecture for 1918, by James Hope Moulton, D.D., D.Theol. (London : Charles H. Kelly.)

### I

**O**CTOBER 6, 1818, the birthday of the Foreign Missionary Society, was a day of crisis for our young and struggling Church. It meant the acceptance by Methodism of its world-calling, its coming to the proper consciousness of itself in relation to mankind ; then it embraced its larger destiny as the minister and witness unto all men of the salvation of God which it had received. The event was not arranged to order, not brought about as the result of ecclesiastical management and preconcerted plan ; the demonstration of October 6 was the irrepressible outbreak of the Methodist spirit, of the heart of Redeeming Love toward the world beating within the people's soul.

The birth was the issue of a long gestation, and had its travail-pains. If ours arrives late in the train of missionary centenaries which has marked the closing of the nineteenth and the opening of the twentieth century, this is not because our people entered late into the foreign field, nor because Methodism was for the first time in 1818 contemplating operations overseas. Its eldest daughter, in the United States, by this date already exceeded the mother's stature; and Dr. Coke on retiring from his office of 'General Superintendent of Missions' reported, besides, some fifty missionaries out on the field, with 17,000 converts in the churches under their care. The Society established on his departure took over the foreign missions as a prosperous 'going concern.' What happened in 1818 was that Methodism adopted missions as its collective charge, its accepted and normal responsibility; what had been hitherto a half-private undertaking of Dr. Coke and his friends, now became in the most explicit way the task and the honour of the entire Church.

Except the brave little Moravian community, to which the founders of Methodism owed much, no other Protestant Church so early assumed a missionary character or sent its 'branches' so quickly 'over the wall.' The world-expansion of Methodism was latent in its genesis. The early Methodists set out, when the providence of God led them to other shores, like the first believers 'scattered abroad' from Jerusalem; they 'went everywhere preaching the Lord Jesus.' Plain Methodist laymen—soldiers, emigrants, traders—were our original missionaries. The tides of commerce and the storms of war had carried the seeds of the Methodist gospel far and wide before the close of the eighteenth century.

'The growth of Methodism on colonial soil resembled that of the British Empire, the extension of which came about in the first instance through sporadic private adventure, this being followed by local association inviting the fostering care of the mother country, through which the dependencies

have been reared to adult nationhood' (*Wesley's World Parish*, p. 81). The evolution thus indicated, spreading over a longer period elsewhere, was summed up within twenty years in the older American colonies, under the forcing influence of the War of Independence. In 1766 or thereabouts a pair of Irish local preachers, Philip Embury in New York and Robert Strawbridge in Maryland, opened their commission, the former soon assisted by Captain Thomas Webb. Their work grew so rapidly that in 1769 Wesley sent two of his Preachers to take charge of the infant Societies; two years later Francis Asbury was dispatched, who became the Methodist apostle of the United States, remaining by his charge throughout the war and casting in his lot with the Republic. The conflict over, John Wesley, by an ecclesiastical master-stroke, commissioned Thomas Coke, whom he ordained 'General Superintendent'<sup>1</sup> for the purpose, to found in conjunction with Asbury the self-governing community which has grown into the mighty Methodist Episcopal Church. Throughout Greater Britain this story has been rehearsed, with other names and in a more gradual fashion.

Appointed by Wesley 'General Superintendent of Missions,' Coke became 'the curate of Wesley's world-parish.' His Oxford breeding and clerical rank gave him a social status such as no other of Wesley's lieutenants possessed; and the private fortune he inherited was utilized for his adventurous plans. A storm diverted him, on his second American voyage late in 1786, to Antigua, where he reaped the harvest of Nathaniel Gilbert's labours (commenced in 1760). He found numerous open doors for the gospel in the West Indies. The condition of the negro slaves powerfully affected Coke's susceptible nature; and these islands became the most cherished, and by far the most productive, field in his far-spread diocese.

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<sup>1</sup> This title, to Wesley's chagrin, was promptly translated by the practical Americans into 'Bishop,' reducing eight syllables to two!

His Superintendency embraced British North America, to which the stream of Loyalists driven from the United States brought a new population; amongst them scattered Methodists were found, who supplied the nucleus of our first Societies in these colonies. Dr. Coke laid plans for Western and Southern Africa, realized after his death. He repeatedly attempted, despite the Revolution and the consequent wars, to plant Methodism in France, and supplied the gospel to the French war-captives in English prisons. He successfully organized Irish and Welsh missions in the Celtic tongues. He induced the Conference to establish 'missions' in neglected regions of England, which soon, for the most part, grew into self-supporting circuits. For thirty years this indefatigable, indomitable little Welshman was the factotum of Methodist missions—treasurer, collector, secretary, director, all in one. *India* had haunted Coke's dreams from the beginning; he died on the Indian Ocean, in the night of May 2-3, 1814, conducting our first missionary party to the Indian shore.

The British Conference consented to the Eastern venture with extreme reluctance, in view of the distress prevailing at home and the sore plight of the Connexional funds. Nothing was done to fill Coke's place, or to meet the prospective expense of the new enterprise. A London committee had been in existence for some years, formed to advise and control (?) Dr. Coke; but its powers were limited. By the year's end, however, Dr. Coke was able to leave England satisfied that the Methodist people meant to stand by him and by the missions he bequeathed to them.

Coke had seen the cloud arise, 'small as a man's hand,' which swiftly covered the sky. Visiting Leeds in June, 1818, he had conversed with a group of laymen, who suggested the formation of 'a Missionary Society,' which should make the missions 'a public cause.' James Wood and George Morley, the ministers of the Leeds Circuit, entered warmly into the proposal. Mr. Wood, a revered Ex-president,

removed from Leeds at this Conference, but continued to lend his influence and counsel to the project. Morley, succeeding to the Superintendency, promptly took the initiative. At this juncture *Jabez Bunting* came upon the scene. Though second preacher of the Circuit, and numbering but fourteen years of service, Conference had made him District Chairman. Bunting had volunteered to join Coke's missionary band; since he might not go, he had vowed to serve the foreign cause at home. He associated himself at once with the circle of Leeds enthusiasts, and gave his marvellous powers of organization and leadership to their undertaking. Within a month the preparations were complete. A public meeting, in the principal Leeds chapel, was announced for October 6, at which the plan for the Missionary Society was to be launched.

Not the Leeds district alone, but Yorkshire by this time was astir with the movement. Thomas Thompson of Hull, Member of Parliament, presided over the meeting; amongst the crowd of speakers, William Dawson of Barnbow made the crowning deliverance. This was the first public gathering held in a Methodist chapel for any purpose beside that of Divine worship—the institution in fact of the Methodist platform; and it was an unqualified success.

The Auxiliary Missionary Society was thus constituted, and its machinery set to work through the Circuits. Other Districts followed suit during the subsequent months; 'the missionary fever' ran through the Connexion. Criticism of Bunting and Morley had not been wanting—their proceedings were unprecedented and unauthorized. But by the next Conference £10,000 was in the missionary treasury; the action taken had caught the imagination, while it stirred the heart, of the whole Church. The Conference could do nothing but thankfully approve Bunting's campaign, which had saved the situation. By the year 1818 the system of the 'General Missionary Society,' embracing all the District Auxiliaries and furnishing a complete administration, had

been developed; the yearly income approached £20,000, and our foreign missions were set on their permanent basis.

## II

We have dwelt, as the season demands, on the birth of the Missionary Society and the significance of the happenings of a hundred years ago. Let us trace in outline the intervening history.

We may divide the story into three nearly equal periods. The first, extending from 1818-46, was *the heroic age* of the Society. Three mighty men predominated in its home affairs. To the side of Jabez Bunting there rallied *Richard Watson* and *Robert Newton*—a combination rarely surpassed in any Church. These famous chiefs, under God, 'made the Missionary Society, and the cause they espoused was the *making* of them.' While Bunting, whose 'brain,' as some one has said, 'was for thirty years the focus of Methodism,' supplied the directing will and organizing faculty of the movement, from Watson came its illuminating ideas and loftier inspirations; but it was Newton's glorious voice and captivating eloquence that won the people's heart, and raised the missionary platform to its long unrivalled height of prestige.

Under such leaders, the first- and last-named of whom held the foremost rank for nearly forty years, it is no wonder that the Society's income rose swiftly and continuously, in 1846 nearly touching the level of £100,000. In town or country, the Missionary Anniversary became the outstanding event, apart from the weekly round of Methodist observances. The flame of enthusiasm was fed by tales of missionary exploration and encounters with savage hordes and cannibal chiefs, of martyrdoms and hairbreadth escapes, of gospel triumphs won over the wildest forces of demonism and ferocity. One new province after another was occupied, as doors opened and the Society's revenue swelled. Coke's great work for the West Indies culminated in the Emancipa-

tion of 1838, in the struggle for which British Methodism took a vehement part. Our Colonial Churches grew steadily towards adolescence. Amongst African negroes, or Hottentots and Kafirs, or American Redskins—most of all amongst the Maoris, Friendly-Islanders, and Fijians of the South Seas—wherever our missions reached the ruder heathen peoples during these fruitful decades, they made swift advance; their work was rich in signal conversions and incidents of pathos and heroism. Only in the Far East—in Ceylon, and still more on the Indian continent—was there comparative failure; here costly labour had to be expended for a long-delayed but rich reward.

By the year 1846 the Church-membership overseas exceeded 100,000, and 400 missionaries were busy on the field—a six-fold increase since Coke's day.

The middle third of the century was the time of *strain and testing*. Our Church was convulsed by the Reform agitation, culminating in 1849, which bereft Wesleyan Methodism of a third of its membership and a fifth of its Missionary income. A retrenchment ensued, calamitous, especially in Western and Southern Africa, to the operations abroad. A missionary Church is under heavy bonds to keep the peace at home; quarrelsome Methodists should understand that they are working mischief at the ends of the earth and closing the door of faith to the heathen, while they scandalize the unbeliever at their own gates.

The straitness of missionary funds hastened the emancipation of Colonial Methodism. Under the skilful guidance of John Beecham (a statesman amongst missionary secretaries), the Affiliated Conferences of Australasia, Canada, and Eastern British America were formed, in the years 1854-5 (the French District had been declared a separate Church a little earlier, for political rather than ecclesiastical or economic reasons; South African Methodism came of age thirty years later). These daughter Churches received



yearly diminishing grants from the parent Society, taking over the care of the Polynesian and American-Indian missions respectively. The surrender of the fields just named was a sacrifice for our Society, especially in the way of popular interest; on the other hand, the relief thus afforded enabled it to undertake fresh and urgent tasks, in China (1852), Italy (1860), and other quarters.

The Indian Mutiny of 1857 formed an epoch in missionary work. The British conscience was awakened by this thunder-stroke. The Church was compelled to give thought and prayer to India; and a lively interest now attached to work that had been done, and expenditure laid out, half-grudgingly, as upon ungrateful soil that one was under obligation to cultivate. The problem of India's salvation was faced in earnest; the great Oriental creeds, and the conditions of evangelism in this unique field, began to be studied with the zest and thoroughness they demanded.

Our pitifully small and struggling missions, along with those of other Churches in India, were strengthened in numbers and equipment. A new heart came into our workers, who felt that the sympathy and intelligence of the Church were now behind them. Progress began to be made, more visibly with every decade, in this most arduous of mission-fields, where heathenism confronts the armies of God like a fortress built by the toil of ages, that can be won only through patient and skilled, but often uneventful and wearying siege.

*The Women's Auxiliary* at this stage came into existence. Commenced in 1858, in response to an appeal from India, this arm of the service has been mainly, though by no means exclusively, employed in the East. Given sufficient resources, the Women's Auxiliary would gladly extend its desired help to every missionary district. As Christ gains a hearing in non-Christian lands, the value of womanhood rises. Light penetrates the darkened home; female education begins to be coveted; and lady-missionaries are im-

peratively in demand. Our work halts as if on one foot, until the Methodist sister takes her place by the man-missionary's side; and women's work must advance, in Indian or African regions, *pari passu* with that done for the other sex.

Along with the enlistment of the woman-missionary, the middle age of Methodist Missions witnessed a great development of educational activity, the beginnings of medical work (the combination of teaching and healing, as in the ministry of Jesus), and the setting on foot of organized literary production upon the field. In the last agency—an indispensable complement of education—the Churches learnt to co-operate, and 'Christian Literature Societies' have been formed for India and for China.

Thus, as it often happens in the discipline of life, the time of external stress and storm proved a time of internal enrichment and deepening. The centre of gravity in missionary interest was shifting from the barbarous heathenisms to the more civilized and intellectual, from the easier conquests gained in open and adventurous warfare to the war of slow sieges, of trained and concentrated effort. 'Problems of world-evangelization' were emerging, which to those of the earlier time were 'as the higher mathematics to the simple rules of arithmetic.'

The Missionary Jubilee signalized the recovery of Methodism from the wounds of the great disruption. Our Church addressed itself to its world-task with fresh hope and courage. £100,000 was the mark proposed for the Jubilee Fund; it yielded a sum not far short of £200,000, which served substantially for the consolidation of the foreign work. Still more cheering was the rise in the annual income of the Society, which marked the years preceding and following the Jubilee of 1868. This advance continued until 1876, when the home revenue stood at £124,000—an increase of more than one-fourth upon the yield of 1846. Our foreign Church-membership at this date amounted to nearly 80,000,

to which sum should be added, for comparison with 1846, the constituency of the Affiliated Conferences, reaching in its total a far larger number than the above.

The last period of the century, running from 1876 to the present time, the missionary reviewer prefers to pass over lightly. During the later 'seventies there began the long stagnation in the Society's income, from which it has only just recovered. The Fund touched bottom, about 1898, at the figure of £100,000, where it had stood thirty years earlier—at a level but slightly above the high-water mark of 1846. These figures tell their own tale.

The most favourable designation one can give to the recent age of Methodist history is that of *home-absorption*. The slump in foreign-missionary interest coincided with the raising of 'the Bitter Cry,' with the consequent 'Forward Movement' (which had a strictly domestic reference), with the establishment of the City Missions in home Methodism and the new philanthropies they involved. The Churches awoke with a start to the appalling condition of the slums and 'the lapsed masses'; they found themselves shamefully behind in provision for the dwellers in the East-ends and industrial quarters of our huge manufacturing towns, crowded and hard-driven 'as sheep without a shepherd.'

English Christendom had ample resources for both Home and Foreign Missions, and should have 'done the things' newly incumbent upon it without 'leaving the other undone.' The wealth of the country was growing at a fabulous rate—Methodist hands gathering their due share of it. The scale of living rose in all classes of society; we learnt to spend more and more on our private conveniences and luxuries, and to spend more and more on Church-plant and the adornments of our worship at home. Meanwhile, the country was increasing its foreign obligations, in the moral as well as the commercial sense; by vast annexations, in Africa and Asia, England assumed responsibility for un-

counted millions of heathen and Mohammedan peoples. But it seemed during this time of dull vision as though 'Israel did not know, and His people did not consider' God's movements in the world outside these shores. A great community seldom cares intensely about more than one thing at a time. 'The brother whom one has seen,' in his all-too-patent and clamant need, preoccupied the Methodist field of view, while the woes of distant heathen brothers lost something of their former power of appeal.

The concentration on local interests and the shrinkage of world-sympathy, observable in Methodism toward the decline of last century, were part of a wider reaction. 'The condition of the people' had become the burning question of the hour. The 'Little Englander' asserted himself in all directions, and a 'splendid isolation' was affected in international affairs; the Colonies came to be regarded by many politicians as more of a burden to the mother-country than a glory. Matthew Arnold described the England of this mood in unforgettable lines—

The weary Titan, with deaf  
Ears, and labour-dimmed eyes,  
\*            \*            \*            \*  
Staggering on to her goal,  
Bearing on shoulders immense,  
Atlantéan, the load,  
Well-nigh not to be borne,  
Of the too vast orb of her fate.

This is not the temper in which great things are done for God, or for humanity. It was but too natural that missionary zeal drooped in the atmosphere of the time,—through sheer languor and weariness of heart.

Before the century closed, new breezes moved in the air of England. Instead of Arnold's exquisite threnodies, we were listening to the rough trumpet-notes of Rudyard Kipling, with their dash of the salt spray and their ring of empire and exploit. In sympathy with the revived world-interest stirring the British pulse—and more definitely in

response to the signal blessing that attended our newest missions in the Transvaal and Indian Haidarabad—the Missionary Fund began to rise once again, in 1894. The Conference of 1906 displayed an outburst of hardly suspected enthusiasm towards this great cause. The Society's income rose in the following year by a fifth of its total; and though the height of this spring-freshet has not been maintained, the frost surely had broken up, and a permanently higher standard of missionary contribution has been created, to which the Centenary festival is bound to give emphasis and elevation.

Our Centenary has come at the right moment. It follows a train of unparalleled events, calculated to deepen in all reflecting minds the sense of the world-tragedy and to enforce anew on British Christianity its duty toward the non-Christian races. It follows the Edinburgh Conference, which drew together the Protestant forces of Christendom and opened an era of co-operation in the world-work of the gospel. That assembly left behind it the assurance of a reinvigorated life coming to the Churches from the mission-field, and the conviction that God has henceforth little blessing for any Church that will not lay itself out for the salvation of His world.

### III

Turning from the chequered past to the greater future, we find foreign missions in this Centenary year entering on a profoundly interesting phase. The modern crisis is, to begin with, a matter of *geography*. The survey of the globe is practically complete; our explorers must penetrate the Antarctic desolations to reach any undiscovered region of the planet. Over almost every acre, 'the field' for Christ's sowers is mapped out. The Edinburgh Conference, through the report of its First Commission, was able to take stock of the entire business of world-missions—attempted or untouched. We know at last the full scope of the mandate,

'Go ye into all the world, and preach the good news to the whole creation.' For the first disciples, 'the world' meant little more than the countries visible around the Mediterranean shores; for us it means the Five Continents and the Seven Seas! This fact, in itself, is epoch-making. Responsibility is measured by knowledge, and, for the believer in the Christian's God, is matched by power.

The present-day situation is a matter of *politics*, in the large connotation of world-citizenship. With the dwindling exception of the Mohammedan States, and the Yellow peoples of the East, the entire mundane population has been brought under the sway of Empires of European blood and Christian civilization. Japan awakened to the superiority of foreign arms and science just in time to save her nationhood; she in turn has awakened China, 'the sleeping giant' of the ages. India is being welded by British rule into a nationality of incalculable possibilities, impregnated with ideas of liberty and manhood that work like a ferment in her blood.

Along with European domination, commerce and the new means of transit like shuttles on the loom of time are weaving the lands, ever more rapidly and closely, into a single tissue. No people is playing so large a part in this assimilation as our own. The British trader, traveller, magistrate, is 'God's minister for this very thing'; he toils 'to gather up all things on the earth' into a unity, which is bound to be ultimately, in some sort, religious, while it is political and economic. Before our eyes the world is fast becoming one market, one polity; by the same token, it must become one kingdom of God—or of Satan!

All history shows the religious bond to be vital to society. The Roman Empire instinctively sought a common faith, and found it in the debasing Caesar-worship; it adopted Christianity too late, and too partially, to save it. The Mohammedan Empire of Turkey could not subsist with an unconverted Christianity in its midst; it has fallen as 'a

house divided against itself.' India must be Christianized within the next century and qualified to take her place as a sister in the family of the British Empire, or she will rend herself from us by some new and bloodier mutiny. The world-society that is forming demands a world-religion; the one conceivable world-religion is that of Jesus Christ. The missions of commerce, science, and European order that are transforming the earth, require as their complement the universal mission of the gospel.

A final word remains to as the bearing of *current religious thought* on the future of missions. Every one is aware of the change of attitude that has come about in regard to the relations of the heathen to 'the judgement-seat of Christ.' For better or worse, we are less dogmatic than our fathers were on eschatological questions. We no longer think of those outside the pale of gospel-faith as consigned *ipso facto* to a hopeless eternity. We lay more stress than formerly on the sayings of Jesus respecting the 'other sheep not of ' the Church's 'fold' whom He 'must bring,' and the 'few stripes' due to offenders who 'knew not their Lord's will'; we are very sure that the Master of men will not expect to 'gather where He has not strawed.' Our appeals turn on the actual misery of those in heathen darkness, their moral degradation and exclusion from the blessings of humanity; on the claims and demands of our Divine Master, and our indebtedness, as receivers of God's grace in the gospel, bound therefore to be its transmitters; on the honour of Almighty God outraged by the world's idolatry and sin, and the loyalty due to His rule. We should be mean and insincere indeed if these altered sentiments made us less keen for the salvation of men than when our single thought was

To save poor souls out of the fire,  
To snatch them from the verge of hell.

The science of Comparative Religion, largely created by

missionary research, has made for tolerance and discrimination. Hidden veins, or scattered fragments, of divine truth gleam out in false religions; testimonies to the One God, and to the Way of Salvation revealed in Christ, are forthcoming from creeds the most alien from our faith. Neither the heathen peoples, nor their traditional beliefs, are found on closer scrutiny to be a mere *massa perditionis*.

In arriving at this broader position, we are reverting to the standpoint of the New Testament and the best minds of early Christianity. Toward such a readjustment the learned and fascinating Fernley Lecture of the present year brings timely help; Dr. James Moulton throws a brilliant light on the missionary problem by showing, with his rare knowledge of pre-Christian religions, how far was the religion of Israel from being hermetically sealed against Gentile thought—how, in fact, the true faith showed its sovereign inspiration by its power to gain from antagonistic creeds and to appropriate truth touching it from whatever side.

This discovery, which we owe to the historical criticism of Scripture, bears importantly on modern missionary work. The teaching of the Bible, having its roots not in Israel only and in the centuries that ran from Moses to Malachi, but in the whole ancient world, has affinities with the whole modern world. It has its message for every race and type of human thought; it has secret allies, if they can be reached, in every camp that it assails. Revelation has sifted out from human life and turned to its account 'weak and beggarly rudiments,' which it has fused into a purer product by its renewing fires and wrought into its own construction. This transcendent power of attraction, conversion, and assimilation, the Fernley lecturer argues, lives in 'our faith' to-day, operating on ideas and principles as well as upon men. Such interaction is bound to take place, upon a growing scale, between Christianity and Mohammedanism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and even Fetishism and Animism, as



it took place between Judaism and Zoroastrianism, between Christianity and Hellenism in the first ages.

The way of thinking Dr. Moulton opens to us has perils which we must discern and avoid. In nebulous and indolent minds it generates an optimistic indifference, a loose latitudinarianism, which paralyses the very nerve of missionary action. On the other hand, if depth goes with breadth of mind and spiritual intensity with comprehension, an immense gain comes to us when we realize the organic connexion of Christ and Scripture with the whole life of mankind. We may stand with Paul in the Areopagus, claiming Greek poets and philosophers as his fellow witnesses to Christ. We descry breaches in hostile walls that formerly presented an unbroken front, or ladders let down to the Christian assailant from their top. Our ears detect the stifled conscience speaking for Christ at the back of Islam or Heathenism; we catch presages of the Redeemer in every form of belief through which sincere men have felt after God and sought reconciliation with Him.

The Fourth Edinburgh Report, upon *The Missionary Message*, encourages the hope that the work of the twentieth-century missionary will be increasingly that of rescue and reconstruction, rather than of mere destruction; that the soil of natural religion affording a root-hold for Christianity, will be found underlying all the corruptions and horrors of heathen life; and that from the overthrow of idolatrous images and shrines stones will be gathered to build the 'holy temple in the Lord,' to which all races and realms must contribute and where all peoples at last will find their home.

GEORGE G. FINDLAY.

## EGYPT'S IMPENDING FATE

*Despatch from His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Cairo respecting the Arrest of Alexander Adamovitch.* 1918.

*Reports of His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General on the Finances, Administration, and Condition of Egypt and the Soudan.* 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, and 1913.

*Modern Egypt.* By the EARL OF CROMER. (Macmillan.) 1911.

*The Coptic Congress.* 1911.

*The Making of Modern Egypt.* By SIR AUCKLAND COLVIN. (Nelson.) 1909.

*New Egypt.* By A. B. DE GUERVILLE. (Heinemann.) 1906.

### I

A RECENT event of dramatic intensity has once again directed the world's attention to the anomalous position Egypt occupies in the comity of nations. A political refugee was carted off from Alexandria to his native country and made to suffer there for his convictions, without Great Britain, despite its past record of befriending those striving for freedom, being able to do anything to prevent the outrage. The circumstances as recapitulated by Lord Kitchener in a Parliamentary White Paper (Cd. 6874), issued on July 15 last, were, briefly: A Russian named Alexander Adamovitch, living under the name of Alexander Kornelson and posing as a German subject, was denounced by the captain of a Russian steamer to the Russian Consul at Alexandria as an anarchist who had been the ringleader in the insurrectionary movement amongst the seamen at Odessa the year before, and who was in the habit of boarding every ship that arrived at Alexandria bearing the Czar's

colours and inciting the sailors to revolutionary actions. On the verbal application of the Consul the accused man was arrested by the Egyptian police and incarcerated in a local prison, subject to the order of Russia's representative. After being seriously injured in attempting to escape, he was finally removed to Odessa, where he was put in chains and solitary confinement in the Central Jail.

The spectacle of a European being taken into custody by the Consul of his country resident in Egypt is too common an occurrence to merit notice. However, the fact that Adamovitch had committed no moral crime whatsoever, but was being hunted down by the emissaries of the Czar purely on account of his political convictions, coupled with the fact that Great Britain has always taken pride in affording asylum to such refugees, led to an agitation on behalf of the victim. But all efforts to save him proved unavailing, forcefully revealing the fact that though a British garrison holds the land of the Nile within the hollow of its hand, and though the British Agent and Consul-General dominates the Egyptian Administration, yet Britain is unable to shield Europeans sojourning in the country of the Pharaohs from the wrath of their Government if it takes exception to their political propaganda.

This ugly situation is due to the fact that as affairs to-day exist in Egypt, European and American residents enjoy perfect immunity from arrest by the local police. They may not be taken into custody without the consent or without the actual presence of their respective Consuls, unless caught in the act of committing a crime, in which instance the Consul must be immediately informed, and the person who has been arrested must be turned over to him within twenty-four hours of his apprehension—in most cases the Consul going at once to claim the prisoner.

While the police may enter a public place to arrest an offender, the private residence of an alien is sanctuary, and they must gain the express permission of the foreign occupant

or secure the presence of the Consular delegate before they can claim their quarry. Even one who has been caught in the act and has taken refuge in a foreigner's domicile cannot be apprehended until the Consul's deputy has been brought. The most the constables can do is to surround the house and prevent the escape of the hunted man until that functionary arrives. If he has fled to the house of a foreigner of another nationality, Consular delegates of both countries must be on the spot before the arrest can be made.

It will be readily realized that, hampered by such restrictions, the Egyptian police find it very difficult to perform their functions. It is especially harassing because most arrests of this kind have to be made for offences against local laws and regulations. The offenders can and do hide behind their extra-territorial rights. When the Egyptian authorities, after obtaining the necessary consent, do arrest aliens who have broken the laws of the land, they are forced to turn them over to their respective Consuls, who may punish them or let them go, just as they see fit.

It has come to pass that, while it is not specifically designated in the treaties that the local police shall arrest and detain offenders at the behest of the Consuls, still this is the unwritten law, as such co-operation appears to be the only way whereby the complicated and lengthy provisions of the 'Capitulations' can be carried out. Thus, when a Consul wishes to have any individual arrested, he notifies the police of his desire, either verbally or in writing, or by deputing a delegate to attend to the matter. It is not necessary or customary for the Consul, in making this request, to specify the offence the man has committed, and the Egyptian police have not the authority to make inquiries into the matter. It is enough for them that the one in question is wanted by the representative of his nation. They unquestioningly arrest the person and turn him over to be dealt with by the Consular Court, receiving a receipt for his person. From this point forward, the prisoner's

fate depends entirely upon the Consul's will. He may imprison him, expel him, or deport him to his homeland for trial there, or set him free.

In the old days, each Consulate had its own prison, and the detained men were incarcerated there. But at present few such places of detention exist in Egypt, and it is the common practice for the Consuls to turn the extra-territorial prisoners over to the local authorities to be locked up, generally requesting the police who have brought them to the Consulate to escort them to the prison, sending along a letter of explanation to the Governor of the jail. There they are placed in a section especially set aside for this purpose, the Consul paying two and one-half pence (one *piastre*) *per diem* for each cell so occupied, and also being responsible for the food, which is brought in from the outside, the amount and quality of it being dependent upon the discretion of the Consul, the only interest the prison authorities take in the matter being to see to it that sufficient nourishment is provided. Once in jail, a prisoner may be kept there indefinitely, the Consul being the only arbiter in the matter. There is no one in Egypt to whom he can appeal against the judgement of the representative of his country.

The procedure governing the adjudication of civil questions in which foreigners staying in Egypt become embroiled amongst themselves, or with the natives of the soil, are no less anomalous. The Egyptian courts have no jurisdiction over real estate disputes between members of the foreign colony (subjects of European countries or citizens of the United States of America), nor have they any authority over civil quarrels between the aliens and Egyptians. Such questions must invariably be referred to the 'Mixed Tribunals,' presided over by judges nominated by the nations which consider themselves to be above the control of those who administer Egyptian affairs. These jurists are a law unto themselves. No check of any descrip-

tion is placed over them. There is no appeal from their decisions to any higher court, or to any Government, or to any international Committee. Even a minority of their own body cannot appeal against the judgement of the majority. They alone decide the nature and extent of the powers exercised by them. They are absolutely uninfluenced by public opinion. The Egyptian Government is helpless to interfere in their interpretation of the law, and has not been able to effect even slight reforms by addressing themselves to the Powers in an attempt to have them agree to the modification of the regulations concerning the 'Mixed Courts.'

It needs no stretch of the imagination to conjure up the irregularities resulting from such a system. The enjoyment of extra-territorial rights by a portion of the population invariably has proved vicious, wherever such privileges have been ceded, and their disappearance has very rightly been hailed by those who had to concede the rights as a worthy recognition of their success in making their administration stable.

## II

One way whereby Egypt may rectify this disorder is for Great Britain to get the Powers to invest the Occupation authorities with the legislative power now independently wielded by each separate nation; and immediately to create a legislative assembly in Egypt for the purpose of framing the laws to which foreign residents must submit. Another method would be to make Egypt an integral part of the British Empire, which would automatically ameliorate this sad state of affairs.

Both these plans have been tried in Oriental countries. Within living memory Japan has taken recourse to the first measure, brought its legislative and judicial functions up to a satisfactory level, and persuaded the Powers to cede back

the jurisdiction over their subjects resident in Nippon. The other course has been followed in India and other Asian dominions of the Empire.

Of the two proposals, the first has the merit of being patently less drastic. It further has to recommend it the support of no less a personage than the Earl of Cromer—the maker of modern Egypt. It does not suffer from the serious drawback attached to the second suggestion, which involves the retraction of the promises that Great Britain has more than once solemnly given, that its occupation of Egypt would be temporary, and that evacuation would take place as soon as the country could safely be left in charge of its natives. However, the Powers attach too much importance to their extra-territorial privileges, and at least some of them are much too jealous of Great Britain's dominant position in Egypt, to be willing to sacrifice them for the sake of straightening out the Egyptian tangle. Yet it must be remembered that two European nations have important stakes in northern Africa: and anything that may make the position of one Occidental Power in this region easier may be hailed by the others, who may hope, on the strength of the precedent thus established, to secure eventually similar advantages for themselves. During recent years such considerations have enabled Great Britain to make arrangements which have considerably lessened the harassment of the Anglo-Egyptians at the hands of their European rivals (notably the French). When these circumstances are taken into consideration, one can reasonably hope that the less violent line of action may dispel the vagaries created by the 'Capitulations.'

### III

But granted that the chaos created by the ceding of extra-territorial rights is removed by Great Britain obtaining the necessary concessions from the Powers to enable it to exercise jurisdiction over foreigners sojourning in Egypt,

the still greater anomaly of Nilotic affairs being nominally in the hands of the natives, while real authority is exercised by the British, still remains to be dealt with.

Few outsiders who are not intimately acquainted with Egyptian affairs fully realize the disadvantages connected with this duplex administration.

Judged from the externals, the constitution of the Government is native. A Council of State presided over by the Premier and composed of the other members of the Ministry (the heads of the various departments) all Egyptians appointed by His Highness the Khedive, carry on the administration in his name. The Ministry is assisted by a Legislative Assembly consisting of thirty-nine members, whose powers are entirely of an advisory character, the drafts of new laws being prepared by the heads of the departments, and submitted to the Council for discussion, and, after being finally sanctioned by the Khedive, becoming operative. The Ministry and Legislative Council, augmented by forty-six other members elected from amongst the people, constitute the General Assembly, which exercises the important privilege of veto over proposals for fresh imposts, and which must be consulted about public loans, about building irrigation canals and railways, and about the classification of land for purposes of taxation.

Viewed from the inside, this elaborate machinery appears to be purely ornamental in character, the administration, in reality, being carried on by the British official coterie, whose head is His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General and Minister Plenipotentiary, who has his delegate in each and every department of state. The position of these deputies, as betokened by their official designation, is extremely modest—that of mere 'advisers'; but they are counsellors whose 'advice' the counselled Ministers must follow. The native holders of the various portfolios know this too well to take a course contrary to the one that has been pointed out to them by their British colleagues. Since



the Britons control the appointment of the Ministers, they can see to it that natives subservient to the will of the Occupation authorities shall alone be employed in positions of trust, and therefore the chances of active antagonism are reduced to the minimum. But when lack of available persons or diplomatic considerations have compelled the British Agent to permit Egyptians of somewhat obstinate character to be installed in high offices, and they have not hesitated to take an independent stand on questions of moment, the recalcitrant functionaries have had to resign their portfolios, which have been given to men who saw the wisdom of conforming to the wishes of the dominant Power.

To sum up the situation bluntly : the Ministers have to pose as authorities wielding great power, while, in reality, they merely append their names to schemes elaborated by others—plans with which they do not necessarily sympathize, and which they may not even fully understand. The Advisers, from the Consul-General down, have to appear to be exercising subordinate functions, although, as a matter of fact, their will is supreme.

This make-believe, which goes on in Egypt day after day behind a transparent fictional fabric, would be farcical were it not extremely demoralizing both to the natives and the British. The sense of manhood in the Egyptian officials is constantly crucified. The Occupation officers lose much of their time and vitality in the act of simultaneously wielding authority and attempting to conceal the fact of their dominance.

For one thing, such a double life subjects both the Egyptian and British officials to ceaseless irritation. In the very nature of things, differences cannot exist on matters of principle, which are settled by the Occupation authorities with a finality that brooks no question. But the British could not keep up the farce for a day if they were inexorable in the same degree in regard to details. This provides

the opportunity for controversies to arise, petty in character, but highly exasperating. Only superhumans—which, despite their skill as actors, neither the Egyptians nor Anglo-Egyptians pretend to be—could avoid clashing in such a situation. Therefore, though officially it is noised abroad that the dual government works without friction, in actual, every-day life there is much tension of feeling on both sides, which few natives or Britons seek to disclaim when they are not talking for publication.

#### IV

The complexities of the Egyptian Government are rendered somewhat more complicated by the fact that the Sultan of Turkey exercises suzerainty over the land of the Pharaohs, and his flag floats over the country. The Khedive is his vassal (*vali*), pays him tribute, and the people over whose destinies he and his line preside are Turkish subjects. All coinage must be issued and all taxes levied in the name of the Sultan. The Khedive has not the power to enter into treaties with foreign countries, to make international conventions involving peace or war, to cede any territorial rights, or to appoint an ambassador to represent him at any European Court. A Turkish delegate looks after the interests of Egypt at all conclaves of European Powers assembled to consider questions in which that country is vitally interested. There have been a few exceptions to the latter rule; but in no case has an Egyptian delegate been permitted to vote on any question, even though he may have been accorded the privilege of taking part in the discussions. The Egyptian Army, the ruler of Turkey dictates, may not exceed 18,000 men, unless the Caliph is at war and calls upon the Khedive's forces to help to fight Ottoman battles, when it may be augmented to suit the exigencies of the circumstances. The same military ranks must be maintained in the Egyptian as in the Turkish Army; but the highest the Khedive can grant is that of Colonel: and

lacking the permission of the Sultan he may not construct any iron-clad ships. He is not allowed by the world-leader of the Islamites to grant any higher civil title than that of second-class *Bey* (*Sanick*). Thus, it will be seen, in the real sense of the word, Egypt is not a self-contained dominion, nor is there any such thing as Egyptian nationality separate from the Ottoman Empire.

The Sultan, in his capacity of Caliph of the Mohammedans, nominates a deputy (Grand *Cadi*) to control the Moslem religious courts in Egypt, which are known as *Mehkemeh Sharaiyeh*. All controversies involving personal issues, such as guardianship, marriage, divorce, religious trusts, or succession, come before these tribunals for settlement. The law of Mahomet (*Shara*) is the basis of their code, which, being sacred, may not be administered by the laity, much less by a non-Moslem. Its judges are men supposed to be deeply versed in the Koran, and they perform their judicial functions absolutely independently, the foreign 'Advisers' having nothing to do with the affairs of the Mohammedan Courts.

## V

All these anomalies notwithstanding, the British Occupation has, in a single generation, worked wonders in Egypt. To find justification for this apparently florid statement, it is only necessary rapidly to recapitulate the condition in which Great Britain found the land when it superimposed its authority over it in 1882, following the bombardment and capture of Alexandria, and the defeat and imprisonment of the insurgent Arabi Pasha, who died a few months ago; and the state of affairs in that country at the present time.

In the early 'eighties of the last century, Egypt was insolvent, and its European creditors were bullying and harassing its Government. An armed rebellion headed by Arabi Pasha menaced the very existence of the Khedivate. While a few powerful officials and landlords prospered by sucking the blood of the peasantry (*fellaheen*) the common

people were politically and financially helpless. All except those who hid under the wing of privilege were exploited by labour *corvée*. Neither sacerdotal nor secular learning could exist in such a foul atmosphere. Great, thriving industries were conspicuous by their absence. Through lack of proper management, the water of the Nile, which was literally the life-blood of the land, was allowed to go to waste to such an extent that agriculture was in a decadent state. When entangled in civil disputes or charged with criminal offences, the Egyptian could not be sure of a fair hearing (being denied the right of producing witnesses to testify in his defence) much less of even-handed justice.

It is from this vile morass that the Occupation authorities have endeavoured to rescue Egypt—and their attempts have been crowned with such abundant success that to-day the country of the Pharaohs presents an altogether different aspect. Its insolvency is a thing of the past. European creditors no longer ruthlessly plunder its coffers. The country now borrows money from its former tyrants at rates of interest so low as to make the mouths of other Oriental nations water. Peace prevails in the land, rarely disturbed by factional riots, none worse than those liable to break out in the best-regulated Occidental lands. The native Army and constabulary have been re-organized on an efficient basis. The hand of the official and the landlord no longer flays the peasantry. The cultivator has been freed from the thralldom of forced labour. A net-work of irrigation canals, which, for mammoth dimensions and engineering skill, is the wonder of the world, has brought much desert land under cultivation and given the farmer (*fellah*) the opportunity to grow rich harvests which before were beyond his wildest dreams. The work of the scientific expert in saving crops from pests has further added to the prosperity of the countryside. Agricultural banks have helped to save the small holder from being fleeced by the usurer. Private capital has poured into the country to develop trade and

industry, and an increasing number of Egyptians are engaging in business and professions. The Occupation has not been able to insure justice to the native when he becomes involved in legal difficulties with a foreigner, nor has it been able to interfere with the workings of the religious courts. But in general civil and criminal matters he stands a much better chance of being justly dealt by when his quarrel is with one of his own countrymen than he ever did before. In the matter of education, the expenditure incurred by the State in enlightening the rising generation has vastly increased, the number of schools and scholars has risen, and for the first time in the history of the land provision has been made for training male and female teachers, for imparting technical and agricultural instruction, and for sending selected scholars to Europe to complete their education. According to the latest official figures, in 1912 there were 4,204 educational institutions, with a total attendance of 256,685; of whom 229,159 were males and 27,476 females. The initial steps have been taken to give Egypt the benefits of Western medical and sanitary sciences.

## VI

In the end years of the last decade, the Occupation authorities, under the lead of the late Sir Eldon Gorst (who succeeded Lord Cromer as the British Agent at Cairo on May 6, 1907), formulated and put into operation a scheme to advance Egypt along political lines, as theretofore the progress had been purely of an administrative nature. The measures adopted were 'modest and not adventurous,' to use their author's own words,<sup>1</sup> but they were calculated to develop self-government along all lines. Space forbids detailing the reforms; but, broadly speaking, they were:

(1) To encourage the Egyptian ministers and officials

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<sup>1</sup> *Reports by His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General on the Finances, Administration, and Condition of Egypt and the Soudan in 1910.* Egypt No. 1 (1911) (Cd. 5688), p. 2.

to take more responsibility and initiative in the affairs of their country.

(2) To give increased privileges and a better status to the Legislative Council and the General Assembly, which were constituted shortly after the Occupation of Egypt by the British, to voice non-official opinion.

(3) To develop the Provincial Councils so that they may be a real factor in local government, especially in regard to education.

These concessions were granted at a time when the articulate Egyptians were making a loud outcry for self-government: and some of them showed an inclination to welcome the three-fold measure as a small step towards autonomy. But the Extremists published far and wide their opinion that Sir Eldon Gorst's scheme was a sham and did not give the Egyptians any effective control over their governmental affairs. The Nationalist party—which had been organized by the late Moustafa Pasha Kamel not long before—insisted upon complete independence from the British yoke. Not a few radicals thought that the Occupation had begun to show the white feather under their persistent agitation, and that further concessions could be wrung out of His Britannic Majesty's Agent and Consul-General: and they set up an active propaganda to abuse Anglo-Egyptian officials and all the Egyptians who saw fit to support them.

This agitation found an echo in the Legislative Council. Some of the members made 'repeated demands for full constitutional government . . . (and) acrimonious attacks on the Government in connexion with the Budget.'<sup>1</sup> In a word, the Legislative Council, in the opinion of Sir Eldon Gorst, proved to be 'not a body contributing to the work of Government through reasonable discussion by partisans of one view and the other, but a body as a whole animated

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<sup>1</sup> *Reports by His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General on the Finances, Administration, and Condition of Egypt and the Soudan in 1910.* Egypt, No. 1 (1911) (Cd. 5658), p. 2.

by a violent hostility to the other parts of the political organism, the Council of Ministers and their British Advisers, and deliberately setting itself to thwart and impede them and render the business of Government impossible.'<sup>1</sup>

The unreasonable hostility culminated in the General Assembly vetoing the proposal to extend the concessions granted to the Suez Canal Company, largely because such an action would hurt the British interests and susceptibilities.

This open agitation was supplemented by a subterranean propaganda, conducted by the younger patriots of Egypt, to subvert the constituted authority of their land by any means, fair or foul. These Extremists used the 'People's Schools'—maintained by the Nationalist Party in cities and towns to educate Mohammedans in the principles of Islam and the duties which Moslems owe to their co-religionists—as breeding-places of sedition. Of the nature of night schools, these institutions afforded the opportunity to grown-up men (all followers of the Prophet, for Copts and other Christian Egyptians were debarred) to congregate and listen to lectures delivered by the Islamic *literati* (*Ulema*), not a few of whom, it is declared, preached that the alien control of the land was wicked, and that Egypt could not rise until the Faithful presented a united front against the foreign aggressors.

Naturally, the British set out to repress the agitation. The Administration also put into operation a measure which authorized the executive to deal summarily with the agitators. The law really pertained to 'any person well known to be in the habit of making attempts on life and property.' Under its provisions, the residence of any person known as a suspicious character, or any one who had been convicted of a criminal offence by

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<sup>1</sup> *Reports by His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General on the Finances, Administration, and Condition of Egypt and the Soudan in 1910. Egypt, No. 1 (1911) (Cd. 5688), p. 2.*

the tribunals of the land, could be placed under police surveillance for a period not exceeding five years. If a man thus under official supervision failed to furnish security for his future good behaviour, or if he infringed the rules to which he was subjected, he could be deported to some spot in Egyptian territory which might be selected by the Minister of the Interior, and indefinitely detained there, the length of his detention depending entirely upon the discretion of the authorities. During the four months immediately following the enforcement of this law, the Government deported 160 people who failed to furnish the required security to an oasis in the desert, where, along with their families, they were forced to live and earn their living as best they could.

But despite the official attempt to curb the Nationalist propaganda, the anti-British agitation led, in February 1910, to the assassination of Boutros Pasha Ghali, who, since November 1906, had figured in the rôle of Prime Minister of Egypt, by Wardani, an Egyptian Nationalist. The murderer's party paid for his defence out of its campaign funds, and used every effort to arouse the sentiment of the populace in his behalf.

This outrage, besides complicating political issues, brought about religious complications. The victim had been a native follower of Christ—a Copt—who had risen to the highest position that an autochthon outside the Khedive could occupy, despite the fact that members of his community, which is a small minority (706,822 against 10,269,445 Mohammedans), and which, for centuries, has been politically subjugated to the Moslem majority, find it hard to secure high executive positions. The assassination, therefore, dealt a blow to the Copts—at least, they construed it in that light. Oil was poured on the flames by some of the Nationalists (who are Islamites by persuasion), seeking to explain the outrage on a fanatical basis.

To make matters worse, the Copts, quite apart from the



murder of the most prominent personality amongst them, were in an ill-humour. They felt that in the grant of the modest privileges conceded by Sir Eldon Gorst, their minority interests had not been protected. They argued that they should be accorded representation on a much larger scale than their numerical strength would vouchsafe them. This agitation derived considerable force from the fact that during the closing years of the first decade of the present century, the British-Indian authorities had accorded preferential electoral rights to the Mohammedans of Hindustan, and the leaders of the Egyptian believers in Christianity felt that what was essential to protect the interests of the Indian Islamites was required to safeguard them from the preponderating vote of the Egyptian Mussulmans. Some opine that the Coptic demand was really due to the fact that, from the beginning of British occupation, they have felt that the Christian controllers of Egypt's destiny should favour the Christian above the Moslem Egyptians—a pretension which has been hugged by them through a generation despite the fact that the Britons have never lent it their support. The sum total of all these tendencies was that the Moslem-Copt question became acute. Since the future fate of the country depends, to a great extent, upon the settlement of the differences between these two communities, it is necessary to stop to inquire into their nature.

## VII

The strife existing between the Copts and their Moslem fellow-countrymen is not racial in character, for both, broadly speaking, are the same, being descendants of the ancient Egyptian race. The difference in religion, though unquestionably great, has not prevented the members of the two communities from adopting the same style of dress and similar manners and customs; nor has it interfered with the growth of fellow-feeling in them. Now and again, to be

sure, the sudden development of sectarian issues has inflamed the minds of the rival religionists. The Mohammedan peasants have never liked the fact that the Copts have amassed money, acquired land, and grown very wealthy by being thrifty and driving usury hard, while they themselves have remained poor by living 'not wisely but too well' and refusing to let money out on interest. But as a rule they have continued to dwell peacefully side by side, and have interchanged social amenities and worked together at their various common tasks. Some Islamites have not hesitated to repose their trust in Copts, while the Christian Egyptians have returned the compliment by confiding their business affairs to their more worldly-wise Moslem friends. At marriage ceremonies and funerals, the two sections have been in the habit of assisting each other, arranging the ceremonials, and even borrowing money for the bride's dower from friends on the other side of the sectarian fence. Coptic women often wail at a Mohammedan burial service, and Islamic ladies mourn at the funerals of native Christians.

However, amongst the literate Mohammedans and Copts residing in the cities and towns, of late years the ties of fellow-feeling have become very much strained. This tendency, unfortunately, is daily becoming more accentuated. The leaders of the two communities have formed separate parties and have declared that their interests not only are diverse, but that they are positively antagonistic. In a word, the quarrel is of a political rather than a religious nature.

The Copts are convinced that they are not enjoying their just proportion of the higher governmental positions, nearly all of the posts of responsibility going to Moslems. They aver that their educational institutions do not receive their proper share of monetary support from the Provincial Councils (which, under the existing system, handle the funds for village schools). They feel that they do not possess electoral privileges adequate to protect their minority interests. They

also complain that the Mohammedans, considering themselves to be members of the ruling race, assume an arrogant bearing towards them, or, as a well-known Copt recently put it, 'the Mohammedans regard the Copts as the Negroes in the United States [are looked upon] by the white people' of the land of the Stars and Stripes.

This political agitation has, in the very nature of things, stirred up sectarian strife, and the Egyptian Christians are emphatically voicing their religious grievances. For instance, they point out that since the Mohammedans observe every Friday as a public holiday, the Sabbath is not a day of rest, but that, on the contrary, the courts of law and other offices are open on Sundays, making it necessary for rich and poor Copts—ministers of the Gospel not excepted—to attend to legal and other business on the Lord's day. They also claim that their Moslem countrymen of the 'new' type are Pan-Islamites first, and then Egyptians—in other words, that they feel more bound to their Turkish, Persian, Russian, and Indian brothers in the faith than to the native Christians of their own land.

The Mussulmans, on the other hand, are ready to hurl accusations at the Copts, who, they say, finding that the dominant Power of the country are Christians, have set up a hue and cry in order to curry favour with the Occupation authorities. They make the charge that the Coptic leaders are carrying on their propaganda from selfish motives, and are seeking to secure governmental posts by artificially manufacturing discord between Christian and Mohammedan Egyptians.

It is clear to any impartial observer who has studied the situation on the spot, that while, like all minorities afraid of being completely overwhelmed by the majorities pressing hard upon them, the Copts are hypersensitive and allow their pride to be wounded where no offence whatsoever is meant, and for this reason they assign animus to Mohammedans where they intend nothing of the sort, the fact

remains that some of the Coptic murmurings are not entirely due to their vivid imaginations. The contention that the superior governmental positions are monopolized by the Moslems to the displacement of the Christians is largely substantiated by facts. Curious to say, the Copts are excluded from the higher grades of the administration, while the lower ranks are largely filled by them. For instance, the railway, telegraph, and post offices are full to overflowing with native Christians, who also, in a much larger proportion than their numerical strength would warrant, hold clerical positions in the various departments. But the really important posts in the Administration held by natives, and even the head-masterships of schools, are almost altogether in the hands of Moslems. In some instances the injustice of the existing state of affairs has been very vividly apparent when it has happened that a Copt, acting immediately below the head master, has not been promoted to the next higher post when it fell vacant, but has been transferred to another institution to act in the same old capacity, but with higher pay.

The Mussulmans, as a rule, explain that the reason why many of the superior offices are filled by them is because they are called upon to perform religious as well as temporal tasks. Now, it happened that while Nubar Pasha—an Armenian Christian—and Boutros Pasha Ghali—a Copt—were acting as Prime Minister of Egypt, the elaborate ceremony connected with the return of the holy carpet (*mahmal*)—which for years untold has been annually sent to Mecca to be blessed, from whence it is received back with great pomp and circumstance, in which the Prime Minister takes a prominent part—had to be performed thrice, and these Christian officials discharged the functions of untying the rope from around the neck of the sacred dromedary which bore the precious burden, and kissing the carpet—duties reserved for the Premier—precisely as any Mohammedan would have done. These incidents showed not only

remarkable adjustability in the Christian Premiers who were called upon to perform the ceremonial as a part of their official routine, but also in the Islamites, who forbore from interpreting their act as desecrating.

The Moslems also aver that the Copts, while making splendid public servants in the subordinate grades, do not possess the executive ability requisite for the heads of the higher offices. But the Christians declare that the very fact that two of their faith could be found capable of filling the position of Premier, and also the fact that before 1882, when the British occupied the land of the Pharaohs, many Copts filled high governmental posts, shows that they have the administrative talent necessary for offices of diplomacy and trust. Indeed, they point out that the entire executive authority of Egypt was in the hands of two men of their community in the days of Mahomet Ali Pasha—Moallim Ghali being in charge of financial and Basileos Bey of administrative affairs. They add that during Ismail Pasha's time Aiad Bey Hanna was in control of the war office; Wahta Bey el Gizawi, Arien Bey Tadros, and Dimian Bey Gad looked after the finances; Wasif Pasha Azmy was Chief Master of Ceremonies at the Court of the Khedive; and Ghirgis Bey Wasfy was the head of the Khedivial Household—and all of these officials were Egyptian Christians.

But this evidence notwithstanding, both the Egyptian Mohammedans and the Occupation authorities agree that the Copts as a rule lack executive ability. Sir Eldon Gorst, in the last report he issued, took pains to elaborate the theory that the Copt is not a 'man of action' nor is he capable of commanding the 'ready obedience of his subordinates and of the population.' Lord Cromer, in his *Modern Egypt*, directs many a shaft at the devoted head of the Copts.

## VIII

To sum up the events that have been narrated: the immediate effect of the grant of a few modest privileges of

self-government led to bitter agitation against the agency which had proved responsible for the Egyptian resurrection, and also to quarrels amongst the two sections of Egyptians, the Moslems and Copts.

Only political blindness could have produced such a situation; and the consequences of this Egyptian folly are sad to contemplate. The Occupation authorities have been compelled to take rigorous action to suppress lawlessness. The police have been active in hunting down secret societies. Writers and publicists have been prosecuted and punished, and, in some cases, they have been driven out of their homeland. A 'strong' man has been placed in charge of the Occupation, and Anglo-Egyptian officials have taken solemn vows not to show such 'weakness' as that displayed by the late Sir Eldon Gorst. In a word, the hands of the Egyptian clock of self-government have been set back; and though Lord Kitchener, in his last report, states that the non-official element in the Egyptian Assemblies is not obstructive like it was immediately after Sir Eldon Gorst made his concessions, yet there is no immediate prospect of the furtherance of Egyptian autonomy. Indeed, there is every indication that a dire fate may befall the General Assembly, which, on account of its right of vetoing certain financial proposals, is the only organized body of Egyptians that can oppose the will of Great Britain.

In the meantime, all the anomalies that have been noted continue to exist, with the result that Egyptian progress is hampered. Will Lord Kitchener of Khartoum possess the patience silently to put up with them? The question is of immediate interest, for there is reason to believe that the British Agent has the future of Egypt on the anvil. Only a prophet, however, can foretell what is in store for the land. All that a student of contemporary affairs can do is to review the correlated circumstances.

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

## THE EVANGELICAL SUCCESSION

**P**ROFESSOR G. G. FINDLAY has pointed to Paul, Augustine, Luther, and Wesley as the spiritual ancestors of Methodism. 'These four immortal names mark out the channels along which "the faith once delivered to the saints" has come down to us. Each of them illustrates the unity of doctrine and experience which makes a living theology. These cardinal witnesses to the gospel of God stood at four great junctures in religious history; Paul at the transition from Jewish to Gentile Christianity; Augustine at the passage from the Roman Empire to the Middle Ages; Luther at the heart of the Protestant Reformation; Wesley at the springs of the Methodist Revival.'<sup>1</sup>

It is the characteristic of these four men that the starting-point of their theology was neither in philosophy nor in dogma, but in their own inner religious experience. The truth flashed in upon Paul in a vision on the way to Damascus, so that, although from his intercourse with the other Apostles he must have had a close acquaintance with the gospel tradition, he was able to say, 'Neither did I receive it from man, nor was I taught it, but it came to me through revelation of Jesus Christ.' 'It was the good pleasure of God . . . to reveal His Son in me.' The story is well known how the revelation first came to Augustine, after long quest, when he read Paul's words, 'Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying: but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof.' 'As I reached the end of the sentence,' he says, 'the light of peace seemed to be shed upon my heart, and

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<sup>1</sup> Address delivered at the Methodist Occumenical Conference, Toronto, 1911.

every shadow of doubt melted away.' It was thus that he rediscovered the Pauline doctrine of salvation not through works but through faith. Luther was an Augustinian monk, but it must not be deduced from this that he had inherited the evangelical theology of Augustine. 'His teachers might be Augustinian Eremites, but they had not the faintest knowledge of Augustinian experimental theology. They belonged to the most Pelagianizing school of mediaeval Scholastic; and their last word always was that man must work out his own salvation.'<sup>1</sup> Luther exhausted all the resources of asceticism in order to find peace, but in vain. He was put on the right track by Staupitz, the Vicar-General of his Order, who showed him that the way of salvation lies through personal trust in God through Jesus Christ. In the end the light came suddenly as he was reading Paul's Epistle to the Romans, in his cell. It was only gradually that he saw the bearing of this revelation upon the doctrines and practices of the Roman Church, but henceforward his personal experience of Jesus Christ was the central fact of his religious life and thought. Wesley, like his three great predecessors, had sought peace long and anxiously through external works of righteousness. The light came to him as he heard one read from Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans, concerning 'the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ.' The passage was probably the following: 'To fulfil the Law is to do those things which the Law commands with a cheerful and willing heart. Such a cheerfulness, readiness, willingness and ardent affection, comes by the quickening Spirit, and His lively impulsions and agitations in our hearts. Now the Spirit is given by faith in Christ. Faith comes through the hearing of the gospel, through which Christ is preached to us, to have died, to have been buried, and to have risen again from death for us.'<sup>2</sup> In that moment, there was given to Wesley

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<sup>1</sup> Lindsay, *History of the Reformation*, i. p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Dr. Findlay, *ibid.*



an assurance of his salvation through simple faith in Jesus Christ. His doubts and struggles were ended, and he sought no longer for a righteousness of his own, 'even that which is of the law, but that which is through faith in Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith.'

It was the great achievement of Paul that he made coherent the connexion between the Jesus of history and the heavenly Christ. He set them in their right relation to one another by identifying them. By this it is not meant that he introduced a new element into Christianity, or anything that was not already present in the Synoptic tradition. But it was he who first worked out in a developed form a statement of the relation between the facts of Christian experience, and those of the historic revelation in Jesus; and it was he who unified elements in the gospel which might have been set in antagonism to one another, as indeed they were by certain Gnostic sects. When Paul fastened upon the consciousness of the growing Church the conviction that Jesus of Nazareth was the pre-existent heavenly Christ, who emptied Himself, and took upon Him the form of a servant, and was found in fashion as a man, he freed it for ever from the danger of regarding Jesus as a mere Rabbi, a teacher of a new way of righteousness. To Paul Jesus was God manifest in the flesh, so that in His grace he saw God's grace. The Cross brought with it the stupendous revelation, not only of God's hatred and condemnation of sin, but of His forgiving love and mercy. God was seen to be active for man's redemption; He was 'in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself.' Nor did the revelation end there. In the resurrection and ascension of Jesus, Paul saw a pledge and token not merely of Christ's victory over death, but of His continued mediation of divine grace to men, through union with Himself and through the sanctifying energies of His Spirit.

The starting-point of Paul's thought was the question, How can a man appear righteous before God? His vivid

sense of personal sin strengthened the belief which he received from Judaism, in the universal corruption and inherited depravity of the human race. There is no need to discuss here the precise form of his doctrine of Original Sin; it is sufficient to point out that he believed man to be in bondage to sin, unable to free himself either from its power or its guilt. The *Apocalypse of Ezra* shows that there were those in Judaism who were realizing that no man could be justified before God by the works of the Law. The Law brought the knowledge of sin, but it left men impotent to realize the ideal which it embodied. It was along this path that Paul approached Christianity. The revelation of God as being not an arbitrary Taskmaster, but a Father, who is full of grace and desires men to be reconciled to Him—this revelation lifted the burden from his soul, and showed him how man might be justified before God. The proof of the divine grace is in Jesus Christ, whose death, resurrection, and ascension are not only an irrefragable assurance of the forgiving and sanctifying love of God, but also typify inward spiritual processes experienced by those who surrender themselves to Christ. ‘We were buried therefore with Him through baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life. For if we have become united with Him by the likeness of His death, we shall be also by the likeness of His resurrection; knowing this, that our old man was crucified with Him, that the body of sin might be done away, that so we should no longer be in bondage to sin’ (Rom. vi. 4-6). Because of this Paul is able to say, ‘there is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus.’ When we cast ourselves in faith on Christ, we are not only reconciled to God, but we open our hearts to His sanctifying power, so that germinally we are new creations. There is still much in us that is unrighteous and which can only be overcome by progressive sanctification, but the new life

born within us has such transforming power, that, ideally and potentially, we are already conformed to the image of His Son. We are accounted righteous before God not for anything that we are of ourselves, but for what we are potentially as experiencers of the renewing grace of Jesus Christ. In this sense, then, justification is the imparting as well as the imputing of righteousness. The Law is not made void; on the contrary its fulfilment is made possible, since we are brought under the power of the sanctifying energies of the Spirit of Christ. We are not justified by keeping the Law; we keep the Law because we are justified. 'Being therefore justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.'

It was the merit of Augustine that he rediscovered and reaffirmed these aspects of Pauline teaching. The absorption of the Church in the development of its organization and in controversies centring round Christology, had led to the emphasis of ordinances, meritorious works and orthodoxy of belief, to the neglect of the doctrines of grace. Augustine was enabled to restore these to their proper place, because, although he was endowed with great philosophical gifts, he did not approach Christian truth from the standpoint of speculation, but from that of his own inner experience. 'He knew his heart to be his worst possession, and the living God to be his highest good.'<sup>1</sup> His theology was the product of his religious life. The progress of his long quest for peace is traced in his *Confessions*, which reveal more clearly than his ordered treatises the depth of his comprehension of the theology of grace. When he came to build up a system of theology upon the foundation of his experience, his insight sometimes failed him, because of his inability to shake off influences from the past which still clung to him. Every stage through which he passed left its marks upon him, and the Manichaean and Neo-Platonic phases of his experience, as well as the Catholic tradition,

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<sup>1</sup> Harnack, *History of Dogma*, v. 64.

all played their part in shaping his constructive thought. Moreover, the exigencies of the Donatist and Pelagian controversies drove him, for the sake of logical consistency, to extremes to which otherwise he would probably not have gone, with the result that it is often possible to quote the earlier and the later Augustine against one another. The consequence is that his system embraces conflicting tendencies, which found their synthesis not, as he supposed, in his thought, but in his deep religious experience. The long struggle through which he had passed made him sceptical of the powers of the reason, and caused him to take refuge in the authority of the Church and its traditions. The fact that his knowledge of the divine grace had come to him subjectively did not hinder him from exalting the sacraments as objective means of grace, and thus lending countenance to a system of religion which is the antithesis of evangelical. Although light and peace had come to him through simple faith in Jesus Christ, apart from any merits of his own, he found a way of reconciling this experience with the Church's doctrine of merit, by asserting that our faith and our merits are alike the gift of God. 'When God crowns our merits, He is only crowning His own gifts.' While the disclosure of the divine truth had come to him through the Scriptures, and there are passages in which he seems to recognize their authority as supreme, yet there are numerous other passages in which he subordinates the Scriptures to the Church and its traditions. He held a theory of election which not only tended to make void the free and universal grace of God, but also nullified his teaching as to the Church and the sacraments, for when the elect are determined by divine decree, the need for objective means of grace ceases. He carried his conceptions of total depravity and human inability to such extremes in the Pelagian controversy as to necessitate a doctrine of *irresistible grace*, which robbed salvation of its moral character by depriving man of any part in it.

Augustine is therefore the historical starting-point of

systems which afterwards found themselves in violent antagonism, but which alike sought their inspiration in him. 'As preacher of faith, love, and the dispensation of grace, he has dominated Christian piety up to the present day. By his fundamental sentiment "*Mihi adhaerere Deo bonum est*," as also by his distinction between law and gospel, letter and spirit, and his preaching that God creates faith and a good will in us, he called forth the evangelical Reformation. By his doctrine of the authority and means of grace of the Church, he carried forward the construction of Roman Catholicism; nay, he first created the hierarchical and sacramental institution. By his biblicism he prepared the way for the so-called pre-Reformation movement, and the criticism of all extra-biblical traditions. By the force of his speculation, the acuteness of his intellect, the subtlety of his observation and experience, he incited, nay, partly created, scholasticism in all its branches, including the Nominalistic, and therefore the modern theory of knowledge and psychology. By his Neo-Platonism and enthusiasm for predestination he evoked the mysticism as well as the anti-clerical opposition of the Middle Ages. By the form of his ideal of the Church and of felicity, he strengthened the popular Catholic, the monachist, state of feeling, domesticating it, moreover, in the Church, and thereby rousing it and capacitating it to *overcome* and *dominate* the world, as contrasted with the Church.'<sup>1</sup>

But despite this conflict of ideas, the great fact remains that Augustine lifted away from men's hearts the burden of uncertainty and foreboding fears, and showed them how they might attain to an *assurance* of salvation through faith in the divine grace manifested in Jesus Christ.

In the development of Church life and thought in the Middle Ages, the external and sacerdotal elements in Augustine's thought submerged the inward and evangelical.

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<sup>1</sup> Harnack, *op. cit.*, v. 108. I have to express my obligations to the whole chapter.

The power of the Papacy was consolidated; the hierarchy extended the range of its authority; elaborate penitential systems were set up; the adoration of saints, images, and relics increased; the monastic ideal was exalted, and the celibacy of the clergy firmly established, with the result that the religious was divorced from the secular, and that different standards of morality were set up for the clergy and laity; and doctrines of merit and of the *opus operatum* almost obscured the evangelical truth of the unmerited grace of God which goes forth in forgiveness. The doctrine of justification by faith was still held to be the teaching of the Church, but it was so hidden from view by the elaborate apparatus of merit and works, that so far as the mass of the clergy and laity were concerned it had ceased to count, like an antiquated piece of furniture stored away in the lumber-room. At the same time it must not be supposed that the doctrines of grace were wholly forgotten during this period. On the contrary, they were kept alive by the Mystics, and by many humble and pious souls. They were, however, outside the main stream of Catholic life and thought, until Martin Luther rose and compelled the Church to face once more the ever-recurring issues of faith and works, of grace and authority, of inspiration and organization.

Luther did not consciously or deliberately set out as a reformer either of the Church or of dogma. The changes which he introduced into theology and Church organization were the outcome, not of a radical temper, but of his religious experience. In other words, the Reformation was not in the first place a theological or ecclesiastical movement, but a religious revival. Luther was conscious that God's forgiving love in Jesus Christ had redeemed him, apart from any merit of his own; that was the germ-cell of the Reformation. The thought that was operative with Luther was not so much the heinousness of sin, as the awfulness of the divine wrath. Doubtless the latter implied the former, for

there is no fear of the divine anger save where there is a deep consciousness of sin. But the idea that dominated the spiritual quest of Luther was salvation from wrath rather than present salvation from sin. God seemed to him to be an angry Judge, and he only found peace when the truth dawned upon him that Christ reveals God as a loving Father, who freely forgives those who take refuge in His atoning work. Henceforth he counted himself a saved man, not on the ground of any moral transformation wrought within himself, but because God had freely forgiven him for Christ's sake. Luther did not grasp the full content of the Pauline doctrine. According to Paul, the divine grace, appropriated by faith in Christ, not only brings the consciousness of forgiveness, but moral renewal, involving salvation from sin as well as from wrath. Justification includes not only an imputing but an imparting of righteousness. The assurance of salvation carries with it the consciousness of a moral transformation wrought within us by divine power, as well as that of the divine forgiveness. But the important fact was that Luther stood for the validity of inward assurance, as opposed to that which was sacerdotally mediated.<sup>1</sup> Like Augustine, he was not free from inconsistencies. He held the Augustinian doctrine of the will, and the theory of election which sprang out of it. It is easy to see that such a doctrine undermines that of assurance, since no man can be assured of his salvation until he knows whether he is one of the elect, which in the nature of the case cannot be till after death. But Luther was not afraid to be inconsistent, and never allowed his theories of election to cloud his consciousness that he was a saved man, or to shake his belief that others might enter into a like experience.

The condition of acceptance with God, as Luther conceived it, is faith. This is not intellectual belief in dogma, but the human response to the revelation of divine love in

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<sup>1</sup> See McGiffert, *Protestant Thought before Kant*, pp. 24 f.

Jesus Christ. But it is not the outcome of any effort of our own; it is the gift of God. Justification is therefore by faith, and by faith alone. Meritorious works have no part in the process. It must not, however, be supposed that Luther was blind to the necessity of those good works which prove the reality of repentance and the divine quality of the new life in Christ. What he meant was that such works were the free and spontaneous product of such experiences, not a condition of their birth. 'Believers,' he says, 'are a new creature, a new tree. Therefore all those modes of speech which are customary in the law belong not here, as: "a believer should (or is bound to) do good works." As it is not proper to say "the sun should shine," but it does this of itself unbidden; for it is made for this; so a good tree of itself brings forth good fruits; three and seven are ten already, they are not first bound to be ten. To say of a sun that it *ought* to shine, of a believer that he *must* do good, is ridiculous.'

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This teaching made an irreparable rent in the web of mediaeval theology. The assertion of the doctrine of justification by faith, with its corollary, the universal priesthood of believers, won back for the individual his rights as against the organization, and made institutions, forms, and ordinances no longer the masters, but the servants of the soul. It is true that Luther taught that there is no salvation apart from the Church, but the Church is the whole congregation of faithful souls. He did not mean 'that there is no salvation outside a particular institution, but simply that God saves men only through the word, and the word is known and proclaimed only where there are Christian believers, or in other words only where there is the Christian Church.' The Church is a necessary means of salvation 'because it teaches the gospel, not because it conveys grace.'

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Fisher, *History of Christian Doctrine*, p. 275.

<sup>2</sup> McGiffert, *op. cit.*, p. 48.



Luther placed the seat of authority in the Scriptures, but his method of handling them gives little excuse for the bibliolatriy which has so often narrowed the vision of the Protestant Churches. The Word of God meant more to him than the mere letter of the Scriptures. It was the revelation of God's redeeming grace in Jesus Christ, which he had experienced in his soul, and of which the Scriptures were necessarily an imperfect expression. He attached most value to those writings which throw most light upon this revelation. That is to say, although in theory he regarded the Scriptures as the seat of authority, in practice his interpretation of and submission to the dictates of the authority were to a large extent governed by his religious experience. He was not always consistent, however, and at times regarded the Scriptures and the Word of God as identical.

It was the achievement of Luther, then, that as Harnack has said, 'he set up the evangelical faith in place of dogma.'<sup>1</sup> This does not mean that he emptied the gospel of its intellectual content and reduced it to mere feeling, but that he realized that what is primary is the experience of saving truth, and that all explanations of it are of secondary importance. But unfortunately both he and to a greater extent his followers came to regard certain statements of doctrine as essential to faith, with the result that faith became increasingly identified with orthodoxy of belief. 'The result was that orthodoxy increasingly overshadowed everything else, and, instead of enjoying greater freedom in religious thought, Protestants were more completely in bondage than their fathers had been.'<sup>2</sup>

Wesley returned to Paul more completely than either Augustine or Luther. To begin with, he was freed from the antinomies of their necessitarian theories, and was able to preach the gospel of the *universal* grace of God without

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<sup>1</sup> *History of Dogma*, vii. 228.

<sup>2</sup> McGiffert, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

involving himself in theological inconsistencies. His preaching and his theology were of one piece. His confident proclamation of a universal gospel had the effect not only of kindling the fires of evangelical passion, but of establishing the doctrine of assurance on firmer foundations. Assurance is, of course, born of inner experience, not of any metaphysical doctrine of the will; but predestinarian theories, which leave us in doubt as to who are elect and who are not, cannot fail to shake the consciousness of acceptance with God. Indeed the uncertainty might be greatest where the spiritual experience is deepest, since it is the saint who counts himself the chief of sinners. In resolutely contending for the universality of God's grace, and the freedom of all men to respond to it, Wesley extricated the gospel from a metaphysical entanglement which was limiting its power, and brought the Church back to the certainties of religious experience which Paul had verified and expounded.

Further, Wesley conceived of the grace of God as bringing the assurance of moral renewal as well as of forgiveness. Dr. Findlay has said, 'Augustine dwelt with predilection on the first three chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, on the seventh, and on the ninth to the eleventh; Luther revelled in the paragraphs extending from the third to the fifth; John Wesley understood the sixth and the eighth as scarcely an interpreter before him.' Now chapters six and eight are those in which Paul emphasizes the moral renewal that accompanies the assurance of forgiveness in the act of justification. The thought of the moral and spiritual renewal that accompanies the disclosure and acceptance of God's grace in Christ runs through all Wesley's preaching. 'This then is the salvation which is through faith even in the present world; a salvation from sin and the consequences of sin, both often expressed in the word *justification*; which, taken in the largest sense, implies a deliverance from guilt and punishment by the atonement of Christ actually applied to the soul of the sinner now believing on Him, and a deliver-

ance from the power of sin, through Christ *formed in his heart*. So that he who is thus justified or saved by faith is indeed *born again*.<sup>1</sup> Such teaching, rightly comprehended, has no point of contact with the antinomian spirit, but finds its logical development in Wesley's doctrine of Christian Perfection, which is simply a statement of the depth of the grace of God which, beginning with pardon and moral renewal, carries on its perfect work by the sanctifying energies of the Spirit. The consciousness of assurance is a product of the same process. The intimate and transforming presence of the Spirit within us begets in us the assurance that we are children of God—an assurance which is confirmed by the bringing forth of the fruit of the Spirit.

Finally, Wesley rescued faith from ecclesiastical and dogmatic entanglements. As we have seen, Augustine, and still more Luther, were forced by their experience to move in this direction; but they were fettered by their training and by the thought categories of their age, and each of them became the source of narrowing as well as of liberating influences. Wesley reached a higher stage of emancipation. Much as he valued the forms and ordinances of the Church, he did not place them in a central position, but regarded them as 'smaller points.' He was thus saved from exalting participation in objective means of grace into a ground of assurance, and from seeking any other ground than the inward witness of the Spirit. Nothing could move him from the rock on which he had set his feet—that the Christian life and thought begin and continue in an inward experience of the forgiving and transforming grace of God mediated by Jesus Christ, and operating through the Spirit. So with dogma. He was more concerned with experience than with doctrinal interpretations of experience. 'Orthodoxy, or right opinions, is at best but a very slender part of religion, if it can be allowed to be any part of it at all.' 'I will not quarrel with you about any opinion. Only see that

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<sup>1</sup> *Works*, v. 2.

your heart be right toward God, and that you know and love the Lord Jesus Christ; that you love your neighbours, and walk as your Master walked; and I desire no more.' Wesley's followers have not always shared this attitude, and doubtless there are those who think that he expressed himself too strongly in these words. But it must not be assumed that he under-estimated the value of theology, and had no regard for the importance of right thinking. The contrary is the case. His unflinching defence of salvation by faith, and of the universality of God's grace are illustrations in point. But his supreme concern was with what he conceived to be the *facts* of the New Testament revelation, rather than with the forms in which those facts might be stated and explained. He believed that the Christian life begins not in subscription to a creed, but in obedience to the heavenly vision of God's love in Jesus Christ; and that right thinking is more likely to follow upon a genuine Christian experience than *vice versa*. It is not for experience to force itself into the iron moulds of dogma, fashioned in bygone ages; it must rather create its own moulds of plastic material which shall expand with the growth of Christian life and thought.

To the present writer it seems clear that a great deal of the weakness of Evangelicalism to-day is due to the fact that in its attitude to dogma it is nearer to Augustine and Luther than to Wesley. In other words, it clings to inherited thought-forms which served a useful purpose in their day, but which are not elastic enough for the expression of an experience into which many new moral and intellectual elements have entered. It is easier to tarry in the tents of dogma than to follow the leadings of an ever-growing and widening experience 'o'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent.'

H. MALDWYN HUGHES.

## CAVOUR AND HIS TIMES

*The Life and Times of Cavour.* By WILLIAM ROSCOR THAYER. (Constable & Co., 1912.)

*Cavour.* By the COUNTESS E. M. CESARESCO. (Macmillan, 1898.)

**T**HREE names stand out in the host of patriots to whom Italy owed her national freedom—Mazzini, sometime the soul and inspiration of the forces of freedom; Garibaldi, later their sword; and Cavour, throughout their brain. There is probably in English no finer pair of complementary biographies of a foreign statesman than the Countess Cesaresco's *Cavour*, and Mr. Thayer's recently-published, monumental *Life and Times of Cavour*. They are complementary as an exquisite miniature and a life-size portrait are complementary: indeed, so perfect is the Countess Cesaresco's miniature, and in so few respects is it possible to improve on her method or to differ from her judgements, that, without the least disparagement of Mr. Thayer's fuller work, it might almost be called an enlargement of the 'precious little volume.' Mr. Thayer, in his eleven hundred closely printed pages, gives, what a smaller book could not, a background to the central figure in a detailed account of his period, and shows him surrounded by his colleagues in the great business of Italy's freedom.

Camillo Benso di Cavour was born at Turin on August 10, 1810. Though he never regarded seriously the legend of his house that a Saxon pilgrim, a follower of Frederic Barbarossa, stayed in Chieri on his way back from the Holy Land and there married the heiress of the Bensos, there can be no doubt that Cavour's character was the result of a mingling of races. Italy may owe more than she knows to the Saxon vigour that revived the Benso line. However

that may be, Cavour, the leader of Italian Liberalism, who wrote, 'I am Liberal, and very Liberal, desiring a complete change of system,' was an aristocrat of bluest blood. Well for Italy that he was. No bourgeois could have fought on equal terms with Count Buol, or have won to his side Lords Palmerston and John Russell, or have made Louis Napoleon his tool.

Cavour's experience in the army of Piedmont as a lieutenant of engineers was not happy. The opinions of his relatives and of the circle in which he moved, full as it was of spies and eavesdroppers, were hostile to the young Liberal, and he had to struggle against a lapse into apathy as a convenient half-way house between an acceptance of the current Absolutism and a parade of sentiments that would have brought upon him the 'bloodiest reproofs.' In such stress his character was formed. He was soon sent to the distant fortress of Bard, where he was practically an exile on account of his advanced views. He was probably right in thinking that this was done at the instigation of Charles Albert. When that prince had succeeded to the throne, and had been long enough on it for him to resign his commission without the appearance of a slight to the king, Cavour sought and obtained an honourable discharge. During the months of exile he had acquired a considerable knowledge of British political history, and the five years in the Engineers had given him that self-mastery without which in after years he could never have dominated others. His liberalism was then, in essence, what it was in later days when he was expressing in effectual action the principles arrived at in those formative years. This period of conflict closed with his one and only love affair. *L'Inconnue* died of her love for Cavour, and in dying blessed him who had inspired it. Cavour had it not in him to return the almost idolatrous passion she lavished on him; but her love raised him from despair, gave him self-confidence, and enriched and matured his thought.

With his resignation of his commission Cavour's training for his life's work was only just begun. For fifteen years he managed the family estates, a term interspersed with much travel, a large proportion of which was in England, where he formed many of the friendships that in later years he used in Italy's service, and studied in detail British industrial and political institutions. Cavour was the most thorough of farmers. He led the van in the introduction into Piedmont of improved agricultural and industrial methods. These brought him wealth, and their success demonstrated to his countrymen the reasonableness of his conviction that 'in the great task laid upon the nineteenth century—the diffusion of Liberty—economic and industrial reform must be the basis of the new political structure.' During these years of experiment and travel, Cavour's reading was extensive, and his literary output, in the shape of articles on political and social questions, considerable. In this period he founded and became first editor of *Il Risorgimento*, whose name was prophetic of the Resurrection to which the paper largely contributed. Men could not bring themselves to trust the sincerity of this 'aristocrat masking as a Liberal,' and Cavour's wealth, hard-earned by his daring and successful ventures, made him the butt of Radical maligners. His practical experience of agriculture and of business stood him in good stead when he had to fulfil the ministries of Home Affairs and Finance in the days 'when all the ministers were called Cavour.' He entered the Cabinet in 1850 through the 'little back-door' of the Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture, which he speedily proved to be the main gate to the nation's prosperity. Commercial treaties were soon made with France, England, and Belgium. In after years—for example, during the early days of the war with Austria—men saw the value of the network of railways with which Cavour covered the face of Piedmont, though they protested when he dared to impose the heaviest taxation the country had ever known. 'Despotism can afford

to exact less tribute than free governments, because it gives less in return.'

The great crises of Cavour's life are so well known that there is no need to dwell upon the consummate skill with which he won for Piedmont a place in the esteem and in the councils of the first-rate powers of Europe, or to recount the moves in the great game in which Louis Napoleon's hand was forced till he fulfilled Cavour's master-will and came into Italy to drive the Austrians out. Never before has the intricate story been so clearly told as in Mr. Thayer's crowded pages. The reader can think out with Cavour, as with a chess-player who is anticipating his opponent's play for moves ahead, the chain of events that led to what Napoleon had forbidden, the annexation of the Central Italian Kingdoms. One can see step by step the skill with which he used the sympathy and moral support of England to get Louis Napoleon out of the Italy where he was no longer needed. As great as was Cavour's permissive attitude towards the Expedition of the Thousand was his refusal to allow Garibaldi, the popular demi-god of the Sicilian epic, to set up a dualism in Italy by founding a dictatorial democracy in Naples. Through all the conflict with the powers of Europe, when for Italy Cavour often withstood the world, there raged the fight with Rome. In this Cavour's watchword, repeated with Catonian insistence, was the phrase he breathed in dying to the brave friar who risked the papal ban by administering the last rites of the Church to the statesman who had sought to purge it of its temporal power: 'A Free Church in a Free State.' He saw that the Roman question underlay the Italian, and Cavour was never satisfied unless dealing with fundamentals.

Mr. Thayer prefaces his first mention of the conflict with Rome with an appeal for a broad, historic view, 'the view of sympathy rather than antagonism.' 'It often happens that lower forms persist from age to age: their hold on life being tenacious in proportion as it is rudimentary,



they survive with ease changes of climate and surroundings which kill the more highly developed organisms that require a very nice adjustment to outer conditions in order to exist at all. Unless we approach Roman Catholicism and the immemorial religions of Asia in this way, we shall never fathom, so far as the human mind can fathom, the deeps of history.' Mr. Thayer goes on to deprecate the view of Macaulay that the decadence of Latin Europe and the rise of England, Holland, and Germany since the Reformation, were due respectively to the Catholicism of the former and the Protestantism of the latter. Mr. Thayer does not tell us what are the other manifestations, greater than her Protestantism, of the spirit that has been embodying itself in England in the past ten generations, and we feel that he has too lightly relegated to a subsidiary place among the influences at work on a people, the part played by the national religion, whether in their rise, their maintenance of their position, or their decline and fall. In his desire to deal fairly by Rome, our author has done less than justice to the Reformation that set England free and built up her greatness.

No one could denounce more unsparingly than Mr. Thayer the state of the Roman Church in 1850, its functions perverted, the very notion of service forgotten, ancient ideals lost. The Church had passed through the religious stage which exhibited sacrifice and service for the salvation of sinful souls; gone also was the theological stage in which Hildebrand had set up the theocracy as the ideal system; the Church was in the political stage, or, in other words, in the maw of the Papacy, using spiritual weapons to maintain and extend temporal power. Never for two centuries had the Jesuits so entirely made the cause of the Papacy their own. They poured new life into its veins, and laboured to aggrandize the Pope, for they saw that it would be easier to manipulate an individual than a Council.

Cavour approached the question of the Church, the Curia, and the Temporal Power, neither as a theologian nor

as a moral reformer. Even when he might have played the latter rôle, in dealing with the bill to reform religious corporations, his attitude was legal. The theory on which his government acted was that the State controlled all property and all corporations, lay or ecclesiastical. He was debarred from speaking on the matter as a religious man, for personal religion was a necessity he did not know. 'He believed so intensely the truths which his reason approved as final, they were to him at once so definite and so demonstrable, that he felt no need of a faith based on the supernatural.' Even had religion been for him more than duty and the assent to a Higher Law, Cavour, the statesman, would never have discussed the relation of State to Church on other than purely legal grounds. He wished to leave the spiritual authority of the Church untouched and apart, but Liberty demanded that the Church should leave the State free to do the work for which it existed. The ultra-montane were the ultra-mundane, and to the Papalist 'spiritual' and 'temporal' were terms to be juggled with : on occasion they were synonymous. But Cavour held the two severely apart. Unaffected though he was in his private life by religious appeal, he saw that the spiritual powers of the Church would gain everything and lose nothing by the shedding of the worldly power that should never have been assumed. He therefore risked the appearance and the charge of ridiculous simplicity when, pleading in the Chamber that Rome should be the capital of United Italy, he appealed to the conscience of the Papacy and assured the Church that only by being free could it save and solace and sanctify. Cavour idealistic is a nobler spectacle than the Papacy, of the earth earthy.

Mr. Thayer's work has given the final lie to the charge of inconsistency that his detractors have so often flung at Cavour. From first to last he was a Liberal, and from the beginning his Liberalism meant *Italia Una*. His enemies blamed him because he did not, at the Congress of Paris and on other such public occasions, trumpet forth his faith

in and desire for a united Italy. With one of those happy American parallels in which his book abounds, Mr. Thayer reminds us that, just so, 'Abraham Lincoln, who refused to declare, until he could do so safely, that he was bent on the abolition of slavery, was abused and misinterpreted by Abolitionists—although the whole course of his career had proved his abhorrence of slavery.' Not only Cavour's youthful letter, in which he dared to dream that some day he would awaken to find himself Prime Minister to the King of United Italy, but his whole life, shows him ardently pursuing the ideal of Italy Free and Italy One. He could not preach this ideal to Napoleon at Plombières, or 'the emperor would have driven him to the nearest railway-station.' Even when he had to consent to the severance of Nice and Savoy in order to save the body politic, which only by such loss could be compacted into one, and when he wished to delay the annexation of Naples to the Centre and the North so that the Two Sicilies should not become an integral part of the new kingdom till they had gained stability and could be relied on to form part of the firm foundation of the structure he was rearing—even in these events, which drew down upon Cavour the most bitter accusations of Piedmontese littleness, we see now that he was, what he once declared himself, Italian of the Italian, foremost of the Italianissimi.

Cavour's life is a study in opportunism. His was not the opportunism of the drowning man clutching desperately at a straw, but rather that of the undaunted swimmer, breasting the current and making steadily for some friendly point of rock, whence to start on a new stage of his course to his determined end. In his struggle against the swirl of events Cavour would sometimes allow himself to be borne back, though it was not long before his real advance became evident to those who watched. Cavour's power to compel every circumstance to yield its maximum of advantage was unmatched. When Austria sequestered the real and

personal property of the political exiles from Lombardo-Venetia, and Count Buol, speaking for the forty millions of the Austrian Empire, read little Piedmont a petulant lecture against interference, Cavour recognized that war would be foolish : he therefore recalled the Piedmontese ambassador from Vienna, and reviewed the case in a memorandum that went the round of the Courts of Europe, bringing universal condemnation upon Austria's high-handed infringement of the law of nations, and advancing Italy appreciably on her way to freedom. There did not seem to be much for Piedmont, or Italy, to gain from an entrance, without conditions, upon the Crimean War : but Cavour saw that there was a possibility of winning credit for Italy in Europe by showing that Italians could fight and die like heroes. He took all risks and won the credit. The spotless, winsome, and versatile Massimo D'Azeglio might have made a more charming representative of Piedmont at the Congress of Paris, but only Cavour's opportunism could have worked and watched and waited through all its meetings till, at last, Louis Napoleon agreed to the discussion of the general Italian situation at an extra session, a session in which Naples was stigmatized by England and France before Europe, and the Clerical Government was denounced in Clarendon's tremendous outburst, in language that any Italian prophet of patriotism might have envied. Almost the greatest stroke of opportunism in Cavour's life was what Mr. Thayer's styles his 'legitimizing of the Revolution,' by taking under his protection the National Society and using Garibaldi and the Hunters of the Alps. Unable to arrest the Sicilian Expedition, Cavour determined to control it and to make it his servant. These are but a few examples of the high opportunism of Cavour. With him opportunism meant that, 'having dedicated his life to certain principles he would seize every means, use every tool in endeavouring to make those principles prevail.' Mr. Thayer has drawn many interesting contrasts between Cavour and Bismarck.

What writer on either has not? None is more striking than that he draws in respect of their opportunism. Bismarck made 'unnatural alliances with political opponents for the sake of passing an unessential measure,' Cavour caused men's wrath to serve him, and girded the remainder of it upon him to carry out those very purposes which it was designed to thwart.

Through such opportunism Cavour won his highest achievements of statesmanship. It must also be admitted that he occasionally fell into ways that were doubtful and dark. In business and in private life he was the most upright of men, and as a rule, to use Dante's words, inscribed on the bust presented him by the Tuscans after the Congress of Paris, 'He defended Italy with open face.' He could claim with a clear conscience that, as a politician, he always obeyed the penultimate command of the Decalogue; but there were blemishes in his political history, and he knew it—blemishes that he regarded as inevitable with diplomacy what it is. The world has recently been surprised by the offer to Dr. J. R. Mott of the United States' Ambassadorship at Peking. When every Christian nation has such a man as its representative in every capital, statesmen will be able to say, without the sting that Cavour put into the dictum, that truth is more paying than falsehood. One has to confess that Cavour took diplomacy as he found it, and employed its accepted methods. It is with no slight tinge of regret that Mr. Thayer remarks, 'He could no more dispense with the methods of diplomacy, than a general who hoped to win could abandon modern artillery and revert to arquebuses.' It is pleasant to be able to say this, at least, that whatever Cavour's lapses from the noblest opportunism, 'he would be the first to welcome a happier era in which diplomacy had the habit of perfect straightforwardness and crystalline candour.' Mr. Thayer's attitude, which must be that of most fair-minded students of Cavour, reminds one of the explanation that the author of *Vittoria*

makes to his readers: 'He who tells this tale is not a partisan: he would deal equally toward all. Of strong devotion, of stout nobility, of unswerving faith and self-sacrifice, he must approve; and when these qualities are displayed in a contest of forces, the wisdom of means employed or of ultimate views entertained, may be questioned and condemned; but the men themselves may not be.'

Possessed of all the gifts of the consummate politician, Cavour had very few of his graces. His declaration, made in the Chamber a day or two before his end, that, had he his own way, he would abolish all chairs of rhetoric, was more than the feverish utterance of a man worn out and appointed to die. He had none of the rhetorical arts and he scorned rhetorical devices. 'Cavour, like Dante, was a man of verbs and nouns,' and they are the means of persuasion rather than the adjectives in which Italian orators then revelled. Cavour's first great speech in the Sub-Alpine Chamber, on the bill to abolish ecclesiastical courts, was a sample of all his masterpieces in his absolute confidence that reason would recommend his words, in his meticulous presentation of the inconveniences as well as the advantages of the measure advocated, and in his generosity to his opponents. The secret of his power to persuade men was his conviction that 'Time is the powerful ally of him who is on the side of reason and progress,' and that Truth, with Love, is invincible. He relied on nothing but the reasonableness and the truth of Liberty, whose son he confessed himself, and to whom he owed all he was. Thus it was that Cavour never felt himself so safe as when he had Parliament behind him. 'Better the worst of chambers than the best of ante-chambers.' When he was appealed to, after the annexation of the Two Sicilies, to allow a temporary Dictatorship till the newly liberated country should be raised to the level of Piedmont, with her greater experience of political and social institutions, he refused. Instead, he 'turned the stream of National Government into every section,' saying

'The salvation of Italy resides in Parliament.' It was his confidence in Parliament as the servant of Reason and Liberty that gave him assurance in the last conflict with Garibaldi, a conflict he refused to wage on any other arena than the floor of the Chamber. Count Metternich declared of Cavour that he was the one diplomat in Europe: the statesman was never more diplomatic than when he flatly refused to deny Liberty by doubting Democracy and democratic symbols.

What Cavour was in his parliamentary style, he was in private life, simple, unassuming, sincere. In private, as in public, relations personal preferences were never allowed to become prejudicial. His naturalness was unaffected by the international greatness to which his statesmanship had raised him. To the humblest of the people he was 'Papa Camillo.' But his was not the humility that feigns ignorance of great qualities that all the world sees and applauds. At the time of the Rattazzi Bill for the reform of religious corporations, when it seemed as though Piedmont might lose Cavour, he wrote, 'Without believing myself indispensable, I confess that in the actual circumstances a change of ministry might have had unpleasant consequences.' After Novara he had written to Madame de Circourt: 'If my advice had been heeded, if I had held the reins of power, I would, without an effort of genius, have saved the country, and at the present moment have had the Italian flag floating on the Styrian Alps.' Truly 'meekness (of a sort) was as foreign to him as vanity.'

The history of the Risorgimento is very largely a history of Cavour, but his latest biographer has acknowledged with ample generosity the help given to the cause by Cavour's colleagues. If we can imagine these volumes with the central figure removed, they would still be of value for their account of the characters whose genius and devotion contributed to the result Cavour achieved. For his information as to English contemporary politics Mr. Thayer has

freely used Queen Victoria's Letters. In the fore part of the group gathered about Cavour stands Louis Napoleon, not always a willing ally. 'The truth is that he was a doctrinaire of the less common sort, being intermittently importuned by his principles as periodic drunkards are by their craving for drink.' Victor Emanuel's absolute conformity to his plighted word and his saving common sense, respects in which he stood alone among the Italian princes, have full meed of praise given them, as have Mazzini's prophetic inspiration and Garibaldi's matchless charm and unexampled daring. Yet nowhere have Mazzini's limitations as a prophet, the madness of his revolutionary schemes, his fall from true patriotism to jealous diatribe against that 'materialistic idolater,' Cavour, been so ruthlessly exposed as in Mr. Thayer's pages. In the same way this sober record, while recognizing as fully as Trevelyan's glowing pages how completely Garibaldi personified and commanded the patriotism of the day, exhibits most clearly 'Garibaldi as he was, human to the core, a paradox of pettiness and glory.' The only man against whom the impartial historian of the rise of Italy can throw no stone is Ricasoli, the Iron Baron of Tuscany, who against all advisers, from Mazzini to Cavour, would tolerate no separate Central State in Italy. Tuscany must be welded into a Unity in which only Italy was. 'As long as Italy honours her great sons, Ricasoli shall be revered. Without him the unification of the kingdom would have been long delayed. To be single-minded in a high cause is much; to have courage is much; to have character above suspicion and proof against every temptation is more: having all these, to succeed is to be a benefactor of the race.' With the history of such men and their deeds set before us in fair perspective, we may, for all their faults of method and errors in execution, echo Lord Palmerston's dictum that henceforth no one need bid us look at the works of the *ancient* Romans.

W. ERNEST TOMLINSON.



## CHRIST

## THE WORLD'S FAILURE THE WORLD'S FOUNDATION

I know  
 How far high failure overleaps the bounds  
 Of low success.

LEWIS MORRIS.

**T**HE cosmos culminated, or reached its supreme budding point in Christ, who was at once its final flower and its supreme Failure. In a very true way, the course of the world, the pathway of progress, has been, more or less, negative. Life, thought, has carved out of the universe all that it required for its immediate purpose, by the repudiation and denial of the rest. Nor indeed could it well have been otherwise. To achieve anything to react with effect on the environment, we must sacrifice much, ignore much, dare much. Formula succeeds formula, each growing more and more comprehensive and taking in new lodgers, but the biggest is only partial. And the process appears rhythmical, often returning on itself. There are no straight lines in Nature, and none in Greek Art, and none in the evolution or epigenesis of life. The resistance of the medium or materials positively and permanently forbids this. Life *splashes* its way along. Bergson postulates an original impetus, but he does not tell us whence comes this 'tremendous internal push' so convenient for his theory. And this would do nothing whatever, unless it accumulated a reservoir of strength, by breaking on barriers and against obstructions that must be overcome. It illustrates the old stories of the irresistible force and the insuperable obstacle—with this difference that the force is really irresistible, but the obstacle is not really insuperable. The dams on the channel of the advancing tide arise only to retard for a time, and not to keep back the stream of

progress. They permit at these resting stages, a sort of breathing-space in which the life may absorb more of the medium in which it works. And as the stream moves on, it takes the colour of the soil, the thought and feeling through which it passes. At every halt on the road something seems added, something new and true and vital. Outworn, outgrown ingredients, mere accidents, are discarded and dropped by the way. But the stream never stops entirely, and even at the dams is moving still if only by a temporary recoil. And the greatest successes were, and always will be, the greatest failures. Because in time there can be no assignable or conceivable limit, and life means movement, just as immobility means death. Erect a limit, if you will, and the tide (the eternal process) flows over it and goes on. Life, thought, or the cosmic consciousness, refuses to be bound or shut up in water-tight compartments, or confined in the mould of any ephemeral conception. We all recognize now that even Christ was obliged to speak in the provincial language of His time, and therefore His own authentic original message was so far a failure, misreported as it must have been by His disciples. It had to be re-interpreted and re-stated, and will be till the very end. It contained, as we have received it, no finality in its temporary form, severely conditioned as it was, and filtered through the intelligence of inferior minds and prejudiced ideas. St. John and St. Paul, no doubt, really reflected more accurately something of Christ's Mind, and that became distorted in the very act of record. But even the imperfect and fragmentary and mutilated Gospel that we have answered the end proposed. Had the message been the triumph which its early missionaries expected and desired, if it had met with no fruitful resistance, it would have died at once, in its very birth from the sheer fatality of its success. Each advance in the outlying Graeco-Roman or Oriental or heathen worlds would have involved a practical defeat. Lightly come, lightly go.

Believers must buy their experience in the dearest markets, for nobody values a gift that costs nothing. It might even have been accompanied by a surrender of something congenial and an acceptance of something uncongenial. Whereas the competing religion or faith had to be baptized into Christianity and not Christianity into it. Though the Gospel could have done nothing, until translated into the thought and feelings and terms or symbolisms of the particular civilization or barbarism. It was never quite as the Quran or the Sword, but it carried a sword though wreathed about with olive branches. Resistance could not face the non-resistance, the mission of submission, opposed to it. But this applies alone to the Martyr age of the Early Church, before the new religion had degenerated into a fashion or a formula or a habit. Then indeed in the Apostolic and Epi-Apostolic age, the motto might have been '*Orbis vincitur parendo*,' the world submits to its servant. 'Life is Tendency.' And Christianity being the natural religion of the human heart, necessarily recognized this fact. It inaugurated at once a new life and a new tendency. Greater far than any mere plan, or series of co-adaptations, it put itself at the centre of everything and worked on and outwards with infinite variables and invariables, so to speak, towards the circumference. It bore along with it a double function, in disintegrating at the same time and by the same act reintegrating, and gave the needed dynamic push with which to continue the work. Just as albuminoid foods repair the machine of the body, and the carbo-hydrates supply power. And, as the reserve fund of glycogen in the nervous system automatically recruits itself from the blood upon the least expenditure, so likewise the liberation of spiritual energy in its very giving out renews itself for further and larger uses. But, even at the end of the second century or earlier still, Christ would scarcely have recognized His child in the Church. So many pagan ideas and ideals had been baptized into His Name, but alas! not always into His

Spirit. Gnosticism and the Mystery cults almost re-wrote the Gospel. And the philosophy of Philo and Alexandria, of Greek speculation and Oriental thought, all combined to give it a colour and a form foreign to its nature. Above all the people, the working population, demanded and enforced a popular version or perversion, and they got it with a vengeance. Heathen and pagan gods and goddesses, re-labelled and re-dressed but never altogether disguised, arose from the grave as Christian saints, and the ancient shrines were far too profitable and powerful not to be transformed into Christian sanctuaries. The extremity of Paganism became the new religion's opportunity. And clever missionaries, who cared more for quantity than quality, for heads than souls, could not and did not lose their chances. They met the organized resistance by detecting elements of truth in the most alien cults and opposite creeds. And a confession of impotence secured a temporary advantage and apparent victory. When whole nations were nominally conquered and won over to the faith, the invocation of force and the appeal to the secular arm, and the sanctified persecution which inevitably arose, only made matters worse. An institutional State religion bore a very remote resemblance to the original Christianity of the first century. It had been paganized, captured by the Government and turned into a Government department. Christianity was growing fast into Opportunism, in which morality and religion possessed little in common. There existed forms and formulae, established by a dominant hierarchy, but nearly empty of all spiritual significance. The name progressed and flourished by leaps and bounds, but the thing, the vital and vitalizing content had wellnigh perished.

But we must remember, the language did not exist in which Christ could have adequately framed His thoughts and ideas. The ocean could not be contained in a shell. Even now where is the tongue that would satisfy such requirements? Words, as the Oriental knew well, were

powerless to reveal or suggest what might only be intimated by symbolism. Ordinary speech, then as always, was so steeped in materialism and so built upon spatial metaphors, that a complete Gospel could never have been really proclaimed. But what the language could not do, the Spirit could and did. And the written records simply remain to attest the failure. Intuition came as a redeeming faculty, to save the truth from being overlaid by rubbish and eventually lost. Let us look for a moment at the so-called homing instinct of animals and savages. A dog will find its way home, even to the North of England, out of London's very centre, though it has been carried all the way. Transport a savage from his habitation, and put him down a hundred miles away, and yet by an unerring knowledge he will soon work his way back. Now we need not suppose for a moment that he possesses a particular faculty that directs him. But animals or savages alike probably have no disturbing idea of space or even objects, as they appear to men who have civilized and intellectualized away their elemental and original powers. They stand close to life, and the undifferentiated consciousness before the two parallel streams of instinct and intellect began to diverge. They are still immersed in the central stream and nearer the ultimates. So they enjoy a kind of vision unknown to us, that within limits seems infallible. And the intuition, which disdains the circuitous processes and elaborate pathways of reasoning, Christianity has fortunately kept to the end. Though the result of every new resistance was a kind of composition of forces, a compromise, a giving and taking. The obstacles appeared to be rather negotiated than fully faced and overcome, outflanked and outgeneralled, when the frontal attack failed. But the accommodation reached did more than any triumphant victory. Christianity learned to incorporate itself in all fine influences and interests, in all fine directions. It retained, as its guiding clue, the intuition, the vision. Failure alone rendered this possible.

At each fresh epoch, something was dropped by the way, and something taken up. The *plus* and the *minus* balanced each other. An overwhelming crushing conquest would have been far worse than any defeat. Stagnation and death must have followed. But the power of infinite variability in the Gospel germ, the principle of the Cross, ever proved able to adapt itself to every fresh emergency. This *divinae particula aurae*, this universal law of vicarious sacrifice, this one vital cosmic law, passed from readjustment to readjustment, for ever old, for ever new. But without resistance, without failure, there could be no fruitful or permanent gains. As the old wise French proverb teaches—*on apprend en faillant*. As a matter of fact, most people learn far more from their mistakes and the miscarriage of their enterprises than from their victories. Bacon knew and recorded this. The victories tend to make men only too careless and satisfied, and invite them to rest on their laurels. There can be no greater misfortune than the acceptance of any finalism. The everlasting Way stops for no triumphs of time. It buries its dead (yes, and its conquests, that enter into the foundations) and continues the work, the pilgrimage, the life process. Man, like God, can be nothing less than the Prisoner of Eternity. And at Calvary, Christ revealed in the very fact of the Cross, that failure whether splendid or otherwise would be the mark of His people and His progress. *He saved others, Himself He cannot save*. What indeed is the meaning of vicarious sacrifice, if not the failure of self? So, in every new loss and surrender, Christianity is actually rechristened.

It is not the ostentatious things that count, and do most in the evolution of spirituality, but the grains of mustard seed. A green leaf stands between us and universal death. But for the saving and sustaining chlorophyll, which accumulates as in a reservoir the life which it draws from the sun, where were we? The function of the plant carries on the ceaseless task of creation. But this is dynamic.

And when religion becomes a habit, it stands condemned as useless and unprogressive, a static stultification. If it degenerates into a fashion, a pious formula with which to conjure, a ceremony, a social plaything, a label, an institution, a piece of magic, it cannot inspire and direct souls. Crystallization is its grave. It has descended to the level of national furniture, the ornament of drawing-rooms and churches. No static religion was ever possible, dogma and decay spell the same thing. Look at the nervous system, with its infinite possibilities of cross-roads and partings of the way, and escape-vents for the choice of freedom, so to speak. It has room for boundless dynamic deviations. We arrive at points where the road appears an open question, to the right or to the left. A system it is, but not a rigid and inflexible system. So with the flowing life of religion, any fixity would be fatal. The more fluid it is, the more aggressive and progressive, the more flourishing and forceful. Discontinuities help and do not hinder its course, and each new break or solution of the straight line only means a fresh creation in some fresh creed, some fresh dominant ideal and vitalizing idea. *Humani nihil a se alienum putat*. Every new resistance contributes something to the energy of the movement, which cannot perhaps be exactly measured but displays itself in increased powers of work. Some element or jewel may be extracted from the most hostile and hopeless quarters. The apparent enemy will be turned and transformed into material for future benefits or even present uses. Nothing comes amiss. The least promising ingredient goes into the great crucible, and comes out a shining tool or weapon for service. Christianity's creative principle has transmitted from shape to shape, from epoch to epoch, a potential of variation or variability which admits no final defeat, and by a transvaluation of values turns the defeat into an actual triumph. That which prevails by the power of love and gentle submission, overcomes by its utter meekness, and recoils only

to leap forward, and is broken on the rock of resistance but to be made whole and more complete. It possesses a spontaneity, a freedom, a faculty of independence and attraction, a tendency towards the infinite, a genius for attachment by the dissociation of adverse systems, with a view to utilize all that can be utilized. Christianity has always been the enemy of the good, simply because it brought a better—and always will be the enemy of the better, because it brings the very best possible for the time. Confronted by the resistance of stereotyped thought and standardized feeling, by all the conservative armies of ignorance or bigotry and established stupidity, it has traversed the ages leaving behind it a track of truth. Too often, alas, it has yielded for a season to the meretricious lures of earthly emoluments or worldly power, and subsided into the grave of petrified creeds. But only to re-arise for some cardinal crisis at the inspiration of a new baptism by persecution, or some revolutionary reform. We know now that the same chrysalis, just as it is subjected to different temperatures, produces different butterflies. And so with certain of the crustaceans, the admixture of more or less salt gives birth to strongly contrasted varieties. In like manner, it is the boundless and eternal adaptability of Christianity, with a life that is metabolism, which enables it to transcend all opposition, and express itself in a multitude of fresh forms, just because it must be patient of everything and hospitable to all, and changes with changing times and places and peoples.

It has often been asserted by critics, and rashly conceded by theologians, that Christ gave us nothing new excepting Himself. There could not be a more ill-founded aspersion, a worse slander. Christ bequeathed to His disciples, and thence to the world for all time, the very key to a perpetual novelty. He left us the principle, and the power, of an infinite creativeness, His own Divine prerogative. This accompanies His eternal gift of spiritual



life, by which we are enabled to actualize the impossible and realize the ideal. Thus in every conspicuous failure that marks the course of Christianity, we find eventually energizing forth from the ruins some novel conception or aspect of the Cross, alike new and true. The stream for a moment retreats to its stronghold in the everlastingness, among the intuitions and origins, the supra-consciousness, to renew its life and drink again at the vast vital fountain-head of all. Death cannot really touch it with its passing eclipse. Individually and socially, by the double movement, as we have shown before elsewhere, through the individual in society and society in the individual, the stream recovers itself and returns with an overwhelming and onward impetus. A fresh curve begins, in some cosmic movement, such as the awakening of a new democracy with a spiritual spaciousness all its own, and the Cross resumes its progress along and over the helpful interruptions it meets. Everything helps somehow, whatever the outstanding appearance. Trifles, rubbish, antagonisms, indifference all contribute to

A largesse universal like the sun.

Just as the blue stone (kyanos) was manufactured in Cyprus, before the Mycenaean tribes reached the island, from a by-product of copper, so the refuse and waste and epiphenomena of every age, equally with the grand results, were forced into the mould of Christianity and obliged to leave something valuable behind. They went into the fiery furnace and came out consecrated and spiritualized. We do not know, but we fully believe that our religion has also enlarged the brain, and added new cells to it. New ideas must impress their traces outwardly, no less than inwardly. And the universal sympathy, the evidence of a deeper life, which Christianity has always displayed, finding fresh affinities everywhere, insures its wider and wider extension still. It arouses and takes up lapsed intelligence

and restores to it meaning and vitality, it stirs the stagnant reservoirs of feeling, and brings from sleep the old latent instincts and intuitions. We know but little so far of our dormant psychical powers, and it seems the business of the present century to discover their possibilities and turn them to practical uses. And these we can only learn by frequent attempts and frequent failures. But every fall is a fall upwards.

Failure? Dear God, it cannot be;  
We only fail and fall with Thee.<sup>1</sup>

F. W. ORDE WARD.

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<sup>1</sup> On the occasion of his last jubilee, in 1896, Lord Kelvin, as Professor of Natural Philosophy, said: 'One word characterizes the most strenuous of the efforts for the advancement of science that I have made perseveringly during fifty-three years. That word is "Failure."'

## A PROTESTANT OF THE SECOND CENTURY

**T**HE great heretic of the second century, Marcion, has been the subject of singularly fluctuating treatment in the course of the last hundred years. Advanced critics of the Tübingen school made great play with his name; they saw in his heresy the logical development of Paulinism, and used his theology to buttress their view of the fundamental opposition between Petrine and Pauline parties in the Church. Other critics (such as the author of *Supernatural Religion*) imagined that his 'Gospel' could be used to prove the late date of the canonical Gospel of St. Luke, and at the same time to discredit the Acts as a first-century historical authority. This campaign has now collapsed, and Marcion has been visited with an equally undeserved neglect, though just now there are signs that interest in him is reviving. Dr. F. J. Foakes-Jackson, in his Hulsean Lectures (1902-8), has given us an interesting and lucid study of 'Marcion and his Relation to Modern Thought,' but he confines his attention to the treatise of Tertullian 'Against Marcion.' On the whole he is fair, though here and there he appears to give a too conclusive judgement for Tertullian.

One or two difficulties face us at the beginning. We only know of the heretic from his orthodox assailants. These are fortunately many; for Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Tertullian, Origen, Epiphanius, Ephrem, and Ebnik all join in the hue and cry against him. This fact alone demonstrates his widespread influence; his heresy seems to have spread through the East like a prairie fire. An inscription in a Syrian village east of the Jordan has been deciphered, dated A.D. 318, telling of the existence of a synagogue of the Marcionites; this is more ancient

than any dated inscription referring to the Catholic Church. His enemies bear witness that Marcionite churches were to be found in every province of the Empire in the third century. Tertullian, writing forty years after Marcion's death, says : ' Even as wasps make combs, so do Marcionites make churches.' The survival of some lingering remains of the Marcionite Church can be traced as far as the tenth century ; but it is evident (from the newly discovered Syriac palimpsest of Ephrem ' Against Marcion, Mani, and Bardesanes ' ) that it was soon lost in the turbid flood of Manichaeism which swept along the channel Marcionism had made. The very attractive simplicity of Marcion's own teaching was elaborated by his disciples, and it is important to distinguish between Marcionism and Marcionitism—between the doctrine of the founder and the doctrines of his disciples under Persian and Manichean influences.

Marcion himself is extremely important from two points of view—that of Church history, and that of New Testament criticism. His heresy stands as a great protest against that hardening both of Church organization and of doctrine which undoubtedly took place in the second century. The second century made the Catholic Church ; it found her persecuted and yet free, it left her organized, strong, and indeed well on her way to the conquest of the Empire. Yet we rise from the study of Irenaeus and Tertullian with the feeling that something vital has departed from her. Organization does not always involve degradation, but it certainly does involve adaptation, and therein lies its danger.

In all the attacks upon Marcion we are bound to confess that the orthodox answers on points of detail are, in general, conclusive ; nevertheless in the mind of a modern Evangelical Christian they leave a profound dissatisfaction. Marcion is beaten in argument, but he retains our sympathy. At any rate, we feel, his gospel was what it claimed to be, a gospel—not a philosophy or a coherent system, but a gospel

of salvation. Organizing and systematizing may be inevitable and necessary, but the process of hardening must be carefully and even jealously scrutinized. Indeed it is well that such hardening should be violently attacked, and even repudiated by some elements in the Church. For so long as the mind of man remains one-sided and Truth many-sided, there must and will be heresies. The best in them is from God, and our business is to learn what He has to teach in each of them in turn. The failure of the orthodox Fathers of the second and third centuries seems to us, as it did to Marcion, to be measured by and exposed in their marked inability to appreciate the theology of St. Paul. They would have repudiated this inability; indeed they accepted him and expounded his epistles verse by verse. At the same time, while they could appreciate his epistles in detail, they did not rise to his great comprehensive ideas. To this effect Harnack writes: 'The history of Pauline theology in the Church, a history first of silence, then of artificial interpretation, speaks loudly enough.'<sup>1</sup> They kept the letter, but the restless spirit of St. Paul slipped out of their hands, anxious as they were to do him justice, and took hold of Marcion, as later it took hold of Augustine, Luther, Wesley. Marcion did obviously succeed for a time, and in a fashion, in satisfying the cravings of men for a gospel—a gospel not of law or of evolution, but of pure grace, new, supernatural, and gloriously surprising. Tertullian answers Marcion point by point with extraordinary incisiveness and ingenuity, and often with such pungent humour that we are almost roused to applause by his happier retorts. We feel that Marcion's gospel is being reduced to tatters, and the process is exhilarating; but even in the tatters there is spirit and life, and the surviving and abiding impression is that Tertullian has not really answered Marcion—perhaps, indeed, he never can.

We need say little about the facts of Marcion's life. He

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<sup>1</sup>*History of Dogma*, i. 288.

was born at Sinope on the Black Sea, nor does Tertullian allow us to forget the fact. If any one can be damned by his birthplace, Marcion was. 'Nothing in Pontus is so barbarous and sad as that Marcion was born there; fouler than any Scythian, more roving than the Sarmatian gipsy, more inhuman than the Massagetæ, more audacious than the Amazons, darker than the Pontic cloud, colder than its winter. . . . Nay, more, the true Prometheus, Almighty God, is mangled by Marcion's blasphemies. . . . What Pontic mouse had ever such gnawing powers as he who has gnawed the Gospels to pieces?'—and so on. Tertullian has evidently used his *Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, as well as some ancient handbook to the fauna and flora of the Pontus, to purpose. At this point he remembers that Diogenes came from Sinope, and proceeds: 'The Cynic Diogenes used to go about, lantern in hand, at mid-day, to find a man; whereas Marcion has quenched the light of his faith, and lost the God whom he had found.' Marcion was originally a rich shipowner, and on this head the jokes are innumerable ('He has made shipwreck of the faith,' &c.). At the time of his coming to Rome (in 139) he was already a Christian. After vain attempts to 'reform' the Church at Rome, he broke away in 144. His missionary labours must have been gigantic. Justin (*Apology*, i. 26) tells us that in 150 Marcion's preaching had spread 'in every race of men,' and Irenæus (iii. 84) that in 155 Marcionites were already numerous in Rome. Again and again he seems to have sought communion with the orthodox Church, but was violently repulsed, Polycarp seeing in him, it is said, 'the first-born of Satan.' Optatus of Mileve believed that he was a bishop; and this is, apparently, conceded in the dialogue of Adamantius (sub Origen)<sup>1</sup> by the orthodox disputant. He cannot be called a Gnostic, though there were Gnostic elements in his teaching: they

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<sup>1</sup> See Dialogue 'de Recta fide' in the first volume of De La Rue's edition of Origen: it is probably not Origen's work.

can be sufficiently accounted for by the fact that he came at Rome under the influence of the Syrian Gnostic Cerdo.

To us his supreme interest lies in the fact that his aim was not either scientific or apologetic, but specifically evangelical. With the orthodox Fathers the centre of gravity in doctrine had shifted from the Atonement to the Incarnation. This is indeed always the tendency when the educated schoolman seeks to square the gospel with his philosophic ideas. According to men of this type, the Atonement is implied in the Incarnation. This is undoubtedly true, but the result is only too often that the Cross falls back into the shadow, and the gospel is lost in the theology. With this change of emphasis, the gospel at once begins to lose grip of the people, and theological reaction sets in. Marcion stands for the first reaction—back to the Cross and the gospel, back from assumptions of metaphysical necessity to those of pure grace. It may justly be said that Marcion's ideas are self-contradictory; that, if we think them out, they land us in a labyrinth of grotesque and dangerous fancies. But it is also true that there is a kernel of truth in his presentment of the gospel, truth which is vital in our days as in his, past which in listless indifference our very culture tends to float us. If his methods are startling, if he is naïve in his logic and wrong-headed in his philosophy, it is the logic and the philosophy which are at fault, not the great motive idea of both; nor is God ever afraid of startling us. He does it constantly, from the questions of the child to the ill-expressed earnestness of the full-grown man.

By the abuse which was showered upon him, and the pains taken to answer him, we can see how thoroughly Marcion startled conventional people in his day. Surely Judaism in its essence, taken as the spirit which is always at work adapting, codifying, materializing, is still the enemy, and Marcion saw this. He saw that St. Paul's great battle must be fought afresh for his own generation.

Judaism has great merits, as Herford has pointed out in his moving book on Pharisaism; indeed it may be called the second-best in religion. Precisely for that reason it is dangerous; for the second-best is the most dangerous enemy of the best. In Irenaeus and Tertullian the scheme of salvation is smooth and straightforward, and everything in law and gospel fits in beautifully; indeed Tertullian and Adamantius seem sometimes to hint that, if anything, the law has the best of it! At every turn they drench the reader with texts proving that everything in the teaching of Jesus was anticipated in the law and the prophets, until he is weary of their endless ingenuity. They can argue away everything that suggests discrepancy, whether it be the severity of the law or the mercy of the gospel, and they are least satisfactory just where the gospel is most a gospel. For instance, on the great passage 'I say unto you, that ye resist not evil,' Tertullian baulks the issue, as so many since his time have perhaps pardonably done. Why must the Christian not resist? Because he may safely leave his vengeance to God! is in effect Tertullian's final answer. One thinks at once of that famous passage, quoted by Gibbon, in which Tertullian gloats prospectively over the joy which he will find in paying out the persecutors of the Christians. Surely this robs non-resistance of all its grace; it signifies a mere postponement of vengeance. Adamantius has a nobler spirit. He speaks of a blow on the cheek as only a trifle, not worth noticing, and of course quotes various cases of non-resistance from the Old Testament. If the discrepancy cannot be altogether argued away, the orthodox apologist generally seeks to prove either (1) that the same discrepancies can be found within the Old Testament taken by itself, or (2) within the New Testament taken by itself.

'Marcion was completely carried away,' says Harnack, 'by the novelty, uniqueness, and grandeur of the Pauline gospel,' and he began there. There is only one gospel



(‘ my ’ gospel, as Paul called it), the gospel of free unmerited grace in Christ. You must choose between law and grace, you cannot have both; they cannot be harmonized. If a religion of law is opposed to a gospel of grace, law must go. Here, as Dr. Rendel Harris says, ‘ Marcion was unfortunate in that he was born before Darwin.’ It is Tertullian’s greatest merit in his work against Marcion, that here and there he rises to the idea of development. Of course this idea is present in the words of Jesus, as are all great ideas (e.g. ‘ Moses, because of the hardness of your heart, gave you this precept ’); and it is worked out fully by St. Paul. But Marcion could not see this, and this is the point at which he began to go astray. Probably he was influenced more than he knew by Persian dualism, and certainly the Pauline habit of antithesis (flesh and spirit, law and gospel, &c.) gave him a dangerous lead in this direction. Indeed he impresses one as ‘ a young man in a hurry.’ He has all the young man’s sentimentalism as well as his narrow logic : he has also his loveliness, and his delightfully reckless enthusiasm. If, he argued, grace contradicts nature, so much the worse for nature, and with nature the Old Testament and natural theology are cut off at one blow. Christianity is altogether new and purely spiritual : Jesus came not to redeem the world, but the people in the world. There are two Gods at least : one Just God who made the world, one Good God who sent his Son to redeem mankind. Eznik<sup>1</sup> tells us that in the fully developed Marcionite system there were three Gods : the God of the Law, the God of Matter, and the ‘ Stranger ’ God, the father of Jesus. Matter and the Just God were jointly responsible for the Creation of Man, Matter providing the body, and the Just God contributing the soul. However, the Just God tried to alienate men from Matter, saying, ‘ Thou shalt have no other God beside me ; ’ and in revenge

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<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Lootfy Lefonian (late of Woodbrooke Settlement) for the translation (from the Armenian) which I summarize here.

Matter led men astray, and filled the earth with idols. At this the Just God was angry, and as men one by one left their bodies, the Just God kept throwing them with fury into Gehenna, and this kept going on for twenty-nine centuries. Then the Good God had compassion on the fallen ones and the sufferers in fire, and sent His Son to go and save them. He said, 'Heal their lepers, bring to life their dead, and do among them freely great works of healing, until the Lord of the creatures see thee, and, having envy, crucify thee.' He came and was crucified, and hell made her mouth open to receive him. At the first touch of life the realm of the lost was stirred to its depths; the prison burst open, and the Son of the Good God took the captives to the third heaven, the domain of His Father. Then the Lord of the creatures being angry, tore his garment, the veil of his temple, and sat down in sore distress. Jesus came down to him a second time in His glory, and opened a suit against him for His death. He convicted him of breaking his own law. 'For is it not written in thy law, "Thou shalt not kill," and "The slayer shall himself be slain"? I am more righteous than thou,' said He, 'for I have done much kindness to thy creatures.' The Lord of the World knew not what to say; so he began to entreat Him, saying, 'I have sinned, for I slew thee in ignorance, taking thee for one of mine own. I will give thee those who believe in thee, whensoever thou willest.' Jesus left him, and took hold of Paul, and revealed to him this 'price'; for every one who believes in Jesus is bought by that righteous and good God.

Whatever one may think of the somewhat dubious morality of this transaction, the idea of the dissolution of the dark realm of the lost at His first coming who was Light and Life, is fascinating; and it would be interesting to trace the history of these companion ideas—the Harrowing of Hell, and the Suit against the Demiurge (or, later, the Devil) through mediæval and Irish Christian literature. The important thing to notice here is Marcion's fundamental

idea. The coming of Jesus was a new and sudden glory; there was no necessity about it, and no reason for it but pure pity for men who had no claim whatever upon Him. This essentially romantic idea was original to him, and to us it is his chief glory; the philosophical presuppositions which he shared with his age were his undoing. The world was evil; it was the work of a morally inferior God, and as such Marcion gave it up in despair. Here again, of course, there is an incoherence. If men had no relation whatever to the Good God, they would have been as bad as the world; being wholly the creation of the Demiurge and Matter, they would have possessed no power of response to a God who was altogether a stranger. Here, however, as often happens with Marcion, his evangelical sympathies are too much for his philosophy. His reprobation of matter had its logical result in a docetic view of the person of Christ (which again reflects the tendencies of the age even in orthodox circles), and the cultivation of a highly-developed asceticism in the Marcionite Church. In regard to the former element of Marcionite teaching, it is interesting to note that the later Marcionites saw how the docetic doctrine of Christ's person robs the Cross of its reality and its appeal, and expressly taught Patripassianism (see Harnack: *History of Dogma*, i. 277).

As a logical consequence of the latter principle and the contempt for physical nature on which it was based, marriage was forbidden to all Marcionite converts, and the resurrection of the body was denied.<sup>1</sup> Women, notwithstanding, were given a high place in the Church; according to Epiphanius and Eusebius, they were allowed to baptize.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The libels on Marcion's character reproduced by Epiphanius and Eusebius are of late date, and do not deserve credence. Abusive as he often is, Tertullian is too just to employ this weapon.

<sup>2</sup> It is worthy of note that the second-century heresies (cp. Montanism) were in advance of the Catholic Church in regard to the place accorded to women. This is characteristic of all the more influential heresies.

In spite, however, of Marcion's thoroughgoing asceticism, the very nature of his 'gospel' precluded any rigidity of church discipline in matters which did not pertain directly to the life of the body. Perhaps this is one reason why, for practical purposes, his Church so soon fell to pieces. A God who is pure love, Marcion reasoned, cannot be a judge; the office of judgement belongs to the Just God, and is foreign to the Church of believers in the Good God of Jesus.

In *Foundations*, Mr. Temple, after referring to Marcion's two Gods, goes on to say (p. 241): 'It is a similar instinct which makes Anselm personify Justice in the Father and Mercy in the Son. This view rests on the tacit assumption that justice consists essentially in the awarding of appropriate penalty. If by His justice we mean that God is "no respecter of persons," then no doubt we are right in calling Him just; but if we mean that He accurately balances wickedness with pain, He is not "just" at all.' It may be noted that Marcion shares this latter conception of justice with his opponents, and we shall have occasion presently to observe that the polemic of the latter, precisely because it is based on this assumption, in principle quite neutralizes the gospel.

So lenient was Marcionite discipline that it allowed baptism to be repeated after three lapses; in this connexion the saying of Jesus, 'I have a baptism to be baptized with' (i.e. a second baptism), was quoted, with characteristically perverted ingenuity.

In two directions at least Marcion's gospel is strangely modern. We find echoes of his dislike of the idea of God as Judge—e.g. in Ritschl, who says, in effect, that it is a false type of penitence which is roused by the thought of God as Judge, and that the interpretation of God along the legal line is unchristian. Similarly, when asked why they did not sin if they did not fear their God, the Marcionites replied in the words of Rom. vi. 2: 'We who died to sin,

how shall we any longer live therein ? ' His reprobation of natural theology might also be taken as anticipating much modern theological thinking. Tertullian has an effective answer here : ' A single floweret from the hedgerow—I say not from the meadows ; a single little shell-fish from the sea—I say not from the Red Sea ; a single stray wing from the moor-fowl—I say nothing of the peacock—will, I suppose, prove to you that the Creator was a sorry workman ! ' ; and again, ' If I show you a rose, you will not scorn its Creator.' Marcion, to be sure, might have answered that there are other things than roses in the world. Tertullian sneers at Marcion because his Good God had not produced even a cabbage ! Marcion might have said, as he probably did : ' Yea, you Jews always seek a sign ' ; or that suffering love itself is a nobler creation than the whole material universe ; but this answer would have been spoiled by Marcion's docetism. Tertullian's chief argument, on which he falls back repeatedly, is to the effect that Marcion must be wrong, because his theology is new. ' How arrogantly,' says he, ' do Marcionites build up their stupid system, bringing forward a new God, as if ashamed of the old. So school-boys are proud of new shoes, until the master beats their strutting vanity out of them.' Marcion would have replied that precisely because it was new, it was glorious, and deserved its name of *good news*. The question which his followers put to their opponents was this : ' What new thing did the Lord bring when He came ? '

It has already been stated that Marcion built up his system on St. Paul's opposition to Judaism. In this connexion certain sentences from the Gospels were continually quoted, particularly that about ' new wine ' and ' old wine-skins,' and (more often still) ' the good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit,' &c. Marcion's great difficulty, of course, was that the Gospels, and even St. Paul's Epistles, are steeped in the Old Testament, and on every page portray the God and Father of our Lord as the Creator and Judge

of men. Marcion might have interpreted the Old Testament allegorically to suit his purpose, but characteristically he takes the bolder course. The Old Testament strain in the New Testament Scriptures is due, he said, to the corruption of the latter by the Judaizing party. He proceeded to expurgate such of St. Paul's Epistles as he accepted—Galatians, the Corinthian Epistles, Romans, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Ephesians (which he called Laodiceans), Colossians, Philippians and Philemon; and the only one of the four Gospels that he found amenable to his treatment—that of St. Luke. These books composed the Marcionite Bible. By way of preface, he drew up a long list of contradictions (*ἀντιθέσεις*) between the Old and New Testaments; and these took the place of the Old Testament in his canon. In the Lucan Gospel the story of the birth of Jesus is, of course, cut away, and Marcion begins at Luke iv. 16, when Jesus is made to appear suddenly in the synagogue (at Capernaum!)<sup>1</sup>: 'Everything happens suddenly with Marcion,' says Tertullian.

We have no space here to record Marcion's omissions and alterations. All references, (1) to the Old Testament, (2) to any connexion between the Lord and the world of nature, (3) to the exercise of judicial functions, he was compelled to alter or cut away, with the result that the Gospel is left in tatters. To one interesting reading reference should be made. It occurs in the case of the 'young ruler' of Luke xviii. 19, 20. 'Jesus said to him,' reads Marcion, "'Why callest thou me good? There is none good save God the Father. I *know* the commandments'"—as if he were saying, 'I know all about the commandments; they are not relevant.'

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<sup>1</sup> Marcionite influence has affected texts of the Western type here. Codex Bezae (D) reads 'where he was according to the custom' (i.e. by leaving out one word, *ἀντὶ*, it has dropped all reference to previous visits—a good instance of Marcion's clever omissions), while Codex Palatinus (e) omits 'according to His custom' altogether.

Many of the *apocrypha* are recoverable from Tertullian and Adamantius; these, with the orthodox replies and comments, are extraordinarily interesting. (1) Elijah called down fire from heaven: Jesus would not do so. Tertullian cleverly quotes in reply to this: 'The Lord was not in the fire . . . but in the still, small voice.' (2) Elisha required water for healing: Jesus healed with a word. 'Even the word was material,' says Tertullian. (3) Elisha called she-bears to destroy children: Jesus said, 'Suffer little children to come unto Me.' To this Tertullian has an amusing, but scarcely convincing reply.

(a) Marcion confounds children with youths. The children whom Jesus blessed were innocent babies: the victims of the bears were hooligans! (b) The Creator blessed midwives in Egypt, so must be fond of children. He might have quoted, 'When Israel was a child, then I loved him' (Hos. xi. 1), but, strangely enough, he did not. And, anyhow, (c) Marcion's God is the enemy of marriage, and so cannot be a lover of children. Surely these are clever retorts, rather than an effective answer, and come nowhere near the heart of the question—the difference in atmosphere and spirit.

Adamantius' reply to this *apocryph* is even less satisfactory. The children in the old story came to rail; the children in the Gospel to be blessed: 'With what measure ye mete,' &c.—Elisha's mockers were paid in kind. Here, it must be confessed, there is a note of harshness in the orthodox answer.

(4) The children of Israel came forth laden with spoils from Egypt, while Jesus forbade His disciples even to take a staff.

Tertullian replies: (a) The Israelites earned what they took away: 'the labourer is worthy of his hire'; (b) they were going to the desert, the disciples to cities. (5) Moses interfered between two brothers: Jesus would not. Tertullian says that the Lord refused to intervene in order to

show His resentment at their prototypes' treatment of Moses! (6) David was offended with the blind men at the capture of Jerusalem: Jesus healed the blind. 'It was the audacity of the Jebusites that offended David,' says Tertullian, 'not their malady.' (7) There are *ἀντιθέσεις* on Divorce, on Love to Enemies, and on Non-resistance (see above). There is also, and most interesting of all, an *ἀντιθέσις* about Anger (mentioned in Adamantius), where both the Marcionite and the orthodox apologist quote, 'Be ye angry and sin not' (Eph. iv. 26) as a saying of Jesus. This *ἀντιθέσις* is to the following effect. Joshua prevented the sun from setting till he had destroyed his *enemies*; while the Lord said, 'Let not the sun go down *upon your wrath*.' Adamantius answers, Moses did not even wait for the sun to go down, but prayed that Miriam should be healed at once of her *leprosy*; here is an instance of the law going beyond the gospel! (8) Moses stretched out his hand on the mountain to destroy the Amalekites: Jesus stretched out His hands on the Cross to save.<sup>1</sup> Tertullian does not refer to this; but Adamantius gives us a long argumentation to show that Jesus did destroy men's lives on the Cross. He saved believers, but destroyed those who refused to believe, and so here, too, Moses was a type of Christ.

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<sup>1</sup> The textual evidence on these verses is peculiarly difficult to disentangle. The A.V. reads the whole passage thus: 'James and John said, Lord, wilt Thou that we call down fire from heaven to destroy them, *as Elias did?* And He turned and rebuked them, *and said, Ye know not of what manner of spirit ye are of, for the Son of Man,*' &c. B L E, two Bohairic MSS. and the Lewis Syriac, and two cursives, omit all the three italicized clauses. Two copies of the Old Latin, the Vulgate and the Curetonian Syriac omit the first, Δ C and nine other Uncials, with many cursives, omit the second, while D (Codex Bezae) omits the third, in addition to Δ C, &c. The phrase 'as also Elias did' may perhaps be accounted as a gloss added to sharpen the contradiction about Elias. Still even here the argument obviously works both ways. The reference to Elias, since it had served as the crux of a Marcionite 'contradiction,' may just as probably have been omitted by the orthodox editors.



We are inclined to ask three questions : (a) Why does Tertullian pass over this contradiction ? It should be noticed in this connexion that he professes to answer Marcion from his own Gospel, while Adamantius, who is perhaps a century later, does not do so. This is important, as will be seen directly. (b) If the words of Luke ix. 55, ' And He said, " Ye know not of what spirit ye are ; for the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them " ' was part of the writer's text when Adamantius' Dialogue ' De recta fide ' was written, could such a line of argument have been pursued ? And specially, (c) Where has the spirit of the Gospel gone, in the orthodox reply ?

To deal with our third question first. The only true answer to the ' Contradictions ' is some form of evolutionary treatment of Scripture. Such answers as Tertullian and the anonymous author of the Dialogue give are exceedingly dangerous, as they tend to make the Old Testament equal to the New, if not a little better.

For our present purpose we will fasten upon the clause, ' For the Son of Man is not come,' &c. Burgon and Miller in their *Causes of Corruption in the Traditional Text* refer at length to this passage, adducing it as an instance of depravation of the text by the orthodox, but seem to miss the point which tells most in their favour. They refer rightly to Contradiction 1, but do not observe that another (No. 8) of Marcion's ' Contradictions ' is concerned here. The facts to be observed are : (1) Tertullian has apparently the longer reading, while Adamantius has the shorter. (2) In regard to the third clause, Codex Bezae, the ' Syrian,' and ' Neutral ' texts, unite in omission : none of these can be proved to go further back than the fourth century (the date of Adamantius, who refers to the fact that the protagonists of his Dialogue were living under a Christian emperor). The versions are divided, while Tertullian, Cyril, and Ambrose support the longer reading.

Is there not some reason for believing that Marcion has here preserved for us an original reading? In any case, the fact that the shorter text does lend itself to a harshly unevangelical argument, should lead us to suspect it. The burden of proof seems to lie upon those who would omit a saying so altogether worthy of Jesus as the more extended reading gives us. Tischendorf allows that all these clauses must stand or fall together. We can see reason for suppression, in the fact that the only answer provided for us by Marcion's assailants is precluded by the clause, 'The Son of Man is come not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.' This is perhaps as far as we can go in the matter. Dr. Hort's dictum to the effect that 'with a single exception (that of Marcion), wherever accusations of wilful tampering with the text can be verified, they prove to be groundless . . . ' and that 'even Marcion's dogmatic mutilation of the books accepted by him had apparently little influence outside his sect,' obviously needs revision.<sup>1</sup> Quite recently further evidence of Marcionite influence on the MSS. of the New Testament has been offered us by M. D. D. de Bruyne in *La Revue Bénédictine*. In certain MSS. found in all epochs and countries from the Fuldensis of the sixth century onwards, there are prologues furnished to St. Paul's Epistles. These have been referred (by Zimmer, on the authority of the Book of Armagh) to Pelagius. De Bruyne seeks to prove that they were written for a Marcionite Bible. His proofs are: (1) The strongly Marcionite tone of the prologues to the Epistles which Marcion accepted. That to the Corinthian Epistles runs as follows: 'The Corinthians are Achaeans. They likewise heard the word of truth from the Apostle; they, too [as well as the Galatians, the

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Rendel Harris hopes shortly to publish a monograph on this exceedingly interesting question, and will probably refer to this passage. 'Wilful tampering' rather begs the question. For it is quite possible that the orthodox may have argued that Jesus could not have spoken words which had led to such poisonous heresy.

letter to whom precedes these epistles in Marcion's order], had been perverted in many various ways, some by the wordy eloquence of philosophy, others by *that sect which clings to the Jewish law* '—and so on. In the case of Galatians, Thessalonians, Philippians and Colossians the prologues run along the same lines. There are the false apostles, and there is the bondage of the law. The Romans, too, according to this writer, had just been visited by these false apostles, and *under the name of the Lord Jesus had been led to accept the law and the prophets*. In all these instances 'the law' is the enemy! (2) Catholic prologues have been supplied to fill up blanks, where the epistle concerned was one not accepted by Marcion. These do not follow the course of the other prologues. In the case of 2 Corinthians and 2 Thessalonians, the Catholic editor set to work to write prologues himself, as he found only one prologue for both epistles in each case. But the most interesting, and perhaps finally conclusive, proof of the heretical tendency of these prologues, is the fact that the prologue to Colossians (which also is obviously Marcionite) begins, 'And these, *too*, are men of Asia,' implying that the prologue to the Epistle immediately preceding this referred to 'men of Asia.' We know that in Marcion's order Ephesians (which he called 'Laodiceans') preceded Colossians. The extant prologue to the Ephesians is Catholic in tone, and so it must have been supplied to fill a gap. The inference is that the Catholic editor, in his simplicity, found a prologue to the Laodiceans here containing the words, 'These were men of Asia,' Colossians following suit—'These, *too*, were men of Asia.' He did not know of any epistle 'to the Laodiceans,' and therefore set to work to supply a prologue to his own Epistle (the Ephesians). This theory sufficiently accounts for the facts; if correct, it indicates that the Marcionite heresy was soon forgotten by all but specialists. It follows that the average editor was not awake to the existence of heretical readings, which were reproduced,

unsuspected, century after century. This line of inquiry goes to show that the predominant school of critics has underrated the possible influence of second-century heresy on the text of the New Testament.<sup>1</sup>

The reason for calling Marcion a 'Protestant' will perhaps now be clear. His religion was strongly individualistic: it began by going back to Jesus through Paul, and it became all too soon the religion of a book, that book being the Marcionite Bible. The principle of the right of private interpretation was carried in his doctrine to its furthest limits. Its strength was in its spirituality and its evangelistic motif; this carried it through the world. Its weakness lay in its subjective character, and in its dualistic philosophy. Given two Gods, why not nine, why not a hundred? Speculation was allowed a free hand, and speculation soon ran itself to death. At the same time, we can join hands with Marcion across the centuries for what was good in him, and we can end, as Tertullian ends (for once in a gentler vein): 'Marcion, I pity you—your labour has been in vain. For the Jesus who appeared in your Gospel, is mine.'

The problem of our age is briefly this: How are we to combine Marcion's sense of the freshness and the cataclysmic character of the gospel, which alone can satisfy men's souls, with that modern evolutionary treatment of revelation which alone can solve Marcion's contradictions and satisfy men's minds?—the course of revelation must be explained, but it must not be robbed of its mystery of supernatural grace. This combination is our task; there is all the more reason why we should neither despise nor forget the great heretic who sought to accomplish the same task without our resources.

J. ALEXANDER FINDLAY.

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<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Rendel Harris for the reference to De Bruyne's argument, as for very many other things. Since I wrote this paragraph, I have discovered that Dr. Burkitt has given a full account of these Marcionite prologues in the new edition of his *Gospel History and its Transmission*. He accepts De Bruyne's argument.

## THE POVERTY OF GOD

**T**HE transcendent perfection of God, in the sense that the Almighty King of the universe is by His very nature exalted above everything that partakes of limitation and defect, is a doctrine emphatically asserted, or even more significantly presupposed, by all the higher manifestations of human religion and of human speculation about the Divine. In the Hebrew prophets we can see it at work as a principle of emancipation from those narrow, tribal conceptions of God which would leave Jehovah of Israel on no more exalted plane of being than the Baal of the Zidonians or the national gods of Nineveh and Babylon. Greek philosophers from Xenophanes to Plato apply it as a principle of criticism to the sordid and obscene traditions that defiled the Pantheon of the vulgar to the detriment of religion and the degradation of human character. If God is God indeed, He must stand above the flaws of sin and imperfection, transcendent in moral goodness as He is in power and majesty. Hebrew and Greek are at one in attributing to God transcendent perfection of character. And the Christian religion, building upon the foundation of the Hebrew, and reinforced by the purest elements in the teaching of Greece, is not slow to affirm that in might, majesty, dominion and power, in holiness, purity and truth, the Lord stands transcendent and unrivalled, exalted far above the range of human and earthly perfection.

But this great truth, in common with others, seems to carry in the heart of it an element which may destroy its utility. Pressed to its conclusion, in disregard of all complementary, or (as they might appear) contradictory, truths, it has the effect of so completely removing God from the range of human life that man is left desolate in a world

which either is not God's world at all or is His in so doubtful and remote a sense that He can neither hear nor regard the children of men. Thus on the one hand, in the interest of that undisturbed felicity which God's perfection seems to demand, it is urged that the Almighty cannot be concerned with the creation, preservation, and oversight of this changing and finite world, and recourse is had to all manner of subordinate beings and agents—even to chance itself, or to illusion—to explain the origin of things created, and of man; on the other hand, to safeguard the Divine Holiness from any complicity in the sin and wrong which are only too apparent in daily life, either God is so completely cut off from humanity that it is difficult to see how He can ever be its saviour, or else the origin of evil is ascribed to some power, personal or impersonal, hostile to the goodness of God and intractable to His will, at the imminent peril of any belief in His omnipotence. To give only summary instances, the former tendency is exemplified in Aristotle, with his unwillingness to ascribe to the deity any activity but that of contemplation; in Plato, with his Demiourgos; in Epicurus and Lucretius; in the Gnostics, with their aeons and emanations; and in a good deal of Indian speculation: the latter may be traced in the various forms of Manichaeism; in Zarathustra's secular antagonism of Ahriman and Ormuzd; and in the doctrine of the devil as it is often interpreted in popular Christianity, and sublimely expounded in Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

The distinctively Christian view indicates how this firmly rooted conviction of the transcendent perfection of God may be reconciled with the facts of human life, and that without the necessity either of compromising His goodness by making Him the author of evil, or of imperilling His ultimate omnipotence by the supposition of a power of evil which He cannot overcome, whether that power be envisaged as a rival spirit of wickedness or as something inherent in material nature and therefore manifested in the

life of man. It finds the key in a self-chosen, self-accepted limitation by God of His own omnipotence. He still possesses the utmost plenitude of power, but by His own choice and continually operative preference it is not as a whole in active exercise, some part of it being either finally or conditionally by His own will held in abeyance. Thus while we assert as energetically as the Platonist or the Vedantist the supreme and final omnipotence of God, we nevertheless make bold as Christians to assert that there are some things which 'God cannot do'—unless He is altogether to cease to be, not God, but Himself. Doubtless, as within the competence of infinite power, He *could* do them; but doubtless, as they would involve the reversal of His own chosen purpose, He will not. 'I am the Lord, I change not; therefore ye sons of Jacob are not consumed' (Mal. iii. 6).

The self-limitation of God, which furnishes Christianity with a reconciliation between the infinite perfection of the Almighty, in goodness and in power, and the sordid facts of human life, is nowhere more apparent than in the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. But the acceptance of the doctrine of the Incarnation by believers does not carry with it immediately the full realization of its far-reaching implications. Unless they are at pains to develop all that is latent in it, they are likely to hold even the doctrine itself in a truncated and profitless form. To believe, as many believe, that in the Incarnate Christ the whole fullness of Deity was present, from Bethlehem to Calvary, is not only to rob our Lord's humanity of its helpfulness and exemplary value to ourselves; it also obscures from our view important aspects of the life of Christ as a revelation of God. If Jesus wore our flesh merely as a veil to dim the refulgence of a fully present and continually operative plenitude of omnipotence, it is idle to pretend that He was made in all points like as we are. The testimony of the Apostles and Fathers, confirmed by the experience of the Christian centuries, teaches

us that while Jesus never ceased to be truly God, He certainly laid aside some part of the powers and prerogatives of deity in order to become man—'He emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men' (Phil. ii. 7).

On the practical, exemplary value of our Lord's humanity it is not necessary to dwell. But if we are to elicit the full significance of the process of self-limitation by which it was achieved—of the 'emptying of Himself,' the *Kenosis*, referred to in the Epistle to the Philippians—there are two things to be emphasized.

(1) If the Son is truly one with the Father, we have here a self-limitation of God. A good deal of popular Christianity to-day is Tritheist rather than Trinitarian. In our eagerness to distinguish the *Persons* of the Father and the Son we often speak of them, perhaps think of them, in a way that is incompatible with their unity of nature and of will. It is a healthy sign that theology is reacting against this tendency with a more emphatic assertion of the unity of God. 'I and the Father are one' (John x. 30). Now just as the full realization of this unity will serve as a corrective to many erroneous views of the Atonement, so also will it serve to illuminate the subject of our present inquiry. As against the popular representation of the Incarnation as the work of God the Father, as though He somehow abased the Son and made Him man, we cannot assert too strongly (with the apostolic writers) that it was by the choice and will of the Son Himself that the Incarnation took place. 'He emptied Himself.' But we must not fall into the opposite error of asserting it in such a way as to suggest that the will of the Father was not involved as fully as the will of the Son. Perhaps it is best to say that the will of the Father and the Son, the deliberate choice of both in their undivided unity, made Jesus man for our salvation, and impoverished Him for our sakes. And in proportion as we recognize the will of the Father in the will of the Son



as He takes 'the form of a servant,' we shall be constrained to recognize that the Incarnation is for the Father also a process of self-limitation. We shall not think of Him as emptying Himself in the same manner as the Son; but the unity of the two is too intimate for us to suppose that the Son's self-chosen submission to limitation leaves the Father entirely unaffected.

(2) A more important consideration is the necessity of carrying the underlying principles of the temporal Incarnation backwards and forwards into the long reach of eternity. We can never duly appreciate the Passion of the Saviour if we think of it only as a historic, and therefore temporal, event. His suffering for the sins of men was not a momentary undertaking, suddenly executed in the age of the Herods, and closed by the Resurrection and Ascension. His earthly life shows us the climax and focus, not the entire sum, of His suffering for sin. Throughout the ages, as well before the Birth at Bethlehem as after the Ascension, God has taken upon Himself the burden of man's transgression. Here again we must beware of falsely separating between the Father and the Son. And just as the eternal love of God, strong to suffer for man, stands clearly revealed in the Passion of our Lord on earth, so we may expect to find some permanent and eternal aspect of the divine character disclosed as in a moment in that historic self-emptying involved in the Incarnation. Christ plays no momentary rôle, whose significance is exhausted with the days of His earthly life; we see in Him the Father, eternal and unchanging. And the whole story of His life bears witness to the divine willingness to accept, to choose, to seek, limitation for the sake of man. Of the Father, as of the Son, we are entitled to declare, 'Though He was rich, yet for your sakes He became poor' (2 Cor. viii. 9).

In thus generalizing the significance of the words of St. Paul, we shall not expect our conclusions to stand firm unless it can be shown that they are harmonious with the

will and character of God exhibited to us at large. That they are thus harmonious, the remainder of the article will attempt to show.

I. The freedom of man's will, which is the postulate of all true morality, cannot be maintained apart from the contention that God's will is so far limited. The various Pantheistic systems, ancient and modern, by making every act of man the expression, direct or indirect, of God's will, throw the guilt of transgression on God—so that we can no longer say that God is good, unless we are prepared to say that sin is not sin: in either case, God is debased, and morality becomes meaningless. Determinism, in whatever form, enslaves man to a matter or an environment he cannot control, and makes morality an unintelligible illusion. In opposition to Pantheism and Determinism alike, orthodox Christianity affirms that man is free, that sin is his own lawless act, that God is guiltless; and it must abide by the consequences and implications of the affirmation. That God is truly omnipotent is seen in the fact that man with all his powers is the creature of God, and can hold and exercise his freedom only under the supreme power of God. Almighty from eternity, He has lost nothing of His power, nor met any rival or obstacle beyond the reach of His strength. The objection that God is thus represented as *allowing* sin is not in point. If He did not allow it, man would not be free, and sin would be impossible. A race of men, so restrained from transgression, might be in a sense better than ours; but they would be a different race, designed on different lines, and could never fulfil what we believe to have been in fact the purpose of God. In allowing the possibility of sin, God simply takes the necessary consequence of His own choice in making man free. His own holiness is vindicated not only by His real power to overrule sin and make it minister to good (which considerations of space forbid us now to discuss), but still more by His perpetually antagonizing sin by His own goodness,

and finally taking the consequences of sin upon Himself in redemption. Though, therefore, we hold that God is all-powerful and all-holy, there is nevertheless one thing we are sure He will not do. He will never use the resources of His omnipotence to override man's will and make man do the right in spite of himself. Doubtless at any moment God could do this; but doubtless He will not. To defeat sin by compelling righteousness would be to abandon His own chosen purpose of winning man, His free creation, to the willing obedience of sonship. Rather than reduce man to a puppet, God is continually willing to accept man's disobedience—to leave His own will so far unfulfilled. The limitation on God's power is thus seen to lie not in any intrinsic power of man, but in God's own eternal choice. Even though man may use his God-given powers against God, God will leave him free. The limitation is self-imposed; God cannot henceforth decline it without being false to Himself.<sup>1</sup>

II. A more disputed case where we seem to discern God's willingness to limit His own omnipotence is the sphere of natural law. On the face of it, we live in a universe where law is supreme. In the wide sweep of the stellar worlds, in the age-long processes of evolution, in the minutest details of atomic relations, unchanging law is held to operate, on which man can reckon without fear of failure or defect.

This conception has been repeatedly challenged, sometimes from within the Church in the interests of Christianity, sometimes from without by men who reject Christianity itself. The ground of objection is the same. A universe governed by law (it is argued) cannot consist with God's

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<sup>1</sup> The difficulty felt by some minds in squaring the omniscience of God with the possibility of human freedom cannot be discussed without too great an extension of the subject. To deal with it summarily, it may be said (a) that their incompatibility is disputable; (b) that if God's omniscience really precluded man's freedom, it would be preferable to conclude that God has limited His omniscience (no less than His omnipotence) rather than that freedom and morality are an illusion.

omnipotence. If God Himself is bound by the law, He is omnipotent no longer. If He is not bound, your law falls to the ground. A rigid universe excludes God, a plastic universe excludes law.

Accepting the *prima facie* case for the uniformity of nature, the rule of law, without attempting as yet a final solution of the problems it involves, we may answer provisionally that God is bound—not by an alien or hostile power, but by His own free and deliberate choice. The world fulfils its laws not because God cannot, but because He will not, reverse them. He is bound not by the rigidity of His own creation, nor even by the force of His own previous action : He is bound by His own still operative choice.

Before passing further, it may be as well to enter two caveats in regard to the conception that God Himself conforms to law in the working of nature.

(1) Our apparently instinctive repugnance to the idea is very largely due to our own infirmity and imperfection. Within the sphere of human action ready conformity to law is the characteristic of the strong : it is the weak who find themselves trammelled and impeded by law and who seek exemption from it as an irksome restraint. Through impotence, and imperfect mastery of our material, we constantly find ourselves unable to fulfil even the simplest law ; our work is marked by failure and omission. In proportion as we advance in skill and understanding, it is our delightful privilege not to shatter our work upon the confining walls of law but to perfect it by its due observance. It is the tyro who breaks all the laws of quantity, of rhyme, of metre, in his efforts to write even the simplest verse. The true master of poetry accepts the complicated laws of ode or sonnet or ballade, and fulfils them as lightly and easily as he breathes.

Nuns fret not at their narrow convent walls.

Similarly, in the moral sphere, the reprobate and the libertine, and the well-meaning man who is tossed hither

and thither by fitful gusts of passion, can never understand how the good man is willing and able to submit his conduct to laws and principles of action; and the paradox of our faith, which rejoices in the service of God as perfect freedom, is even yet a stumbling-block to the unbeliever. To the heathen, obedience to law presents itself as bondage; to the servant of God, it is liberty, it is life. The Apostle John is at one with the Greek philosophers in diagnosing sin as lawlessness. To the man of settled and stable character law is no restraint, for he has no desire to transgress or to evade it.

And I will walk at liberty;

For I have sought thy precepts (Ps. cxix. 45).

(2) As in relation to man's freedom, it is important to distinguish between what God *could* do, and what God *will* do, or is likely to do. It may be as true as you like to suppose that God could at any moment dispose of all the laws of nature, cause the sun to stand still in the heavens, brass to become gold, and lead to be lighter than air. But beware of the inference that He will do any of these things. The infirmity of man's mind is such that if for a moment he possessed omnipotence, he would be impelled to display his power by breaking all previous laws—and the world would be lucky if he broke them only for beneficent ends. It is not so with God. The caprice, the tedium, the poverty of conception, which would make the continued observance of laws irksome to man, have no place with God.<sup>1</sup> In a telling attack upon materialism, Mr. Chesterton rebuts the idea that the uniformity of nature precludes the activity of God—'that if a thing goes on repeating itself it is probably dead; a piece of clockwork.'<sup>2</sup>

A man varies his movements because of some slight element of failure or fatigue. He gets into an omnibus because he is tired of walking; or he walks because he is tired of sitting still. But if his life and

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<sup>1</sup> Compare the deeply instructive Greek myth of Phaethon and the chariot of the sun.

<sup>2</sup> G. K. Chesterton, *Orthodoxy*, p. 105.

joy were so gigantic that he never tired of going to Islington, he might go to Islington as regularly as the Thames goes to Shoerness. The very speed and ecstasy of his life would have the stillness of death. The sun rises every morning. I do not rise every morning; but the variation is due not to my activity, but to my inaction. Now, to put the matter in a popular phrase, it might be true that the sun rises regularly because he never gets tired of rising. His routine might be due, not to a lifelessness, but to a rush of life. The thing I mean can be seen, for instance, in children, when they find some game or joke that they specially enjoy. A child kicks his legs rhythmically through excess, not absence, of life. Because children have abounding vitality, because they are in spirit fierce and free, therefore they want things repeated and unchanged. They always say, 'Do it again'; and the grown-up person does it again until he is nearly dead. For grown-up people are not strong enough to exult in monotony. But perhaps God is strong enough to exult in monotony. It is possible that God says every morning, 'Do it again,' to the sun; and every evening, 'Do it again,' to the moon. It may not be automatic necessity that makes all daisies alike; it may be that God makes every daisy separately, but has never got tired of making them. It may be that He has the eternal appetite of infancy; for we have sinned and grown old, and our Father is younger than we.<sup>1</sup>

His argument is double-edged, and may fairly be turned not only against materialists but also against those, whether Hindus or Christians, who rail at natural law as incompatible with any true Theism. In nature we see the working of God, in nature's laws the experienced principles of His working. Have we any ground for supposing that He will presently change those principles, depart from the uniformity of His own past actions? Throughout the world we see that man has learnt to build with confidence on that uniformity, to plan and fashion his life on the assumption that it will not change. And Hebrew prophecy teaches us to believe that in this assumption man has rightly discerned the mind and purpose of God. 'While the earth remaineth, seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease' (Gen. viii. 22).

From the Christian standpoint, then, there is nothing objectionable in the idea that God is bound by the laws of

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<sup>1</sup> *Orthodoxy*, ch. iv. pp. 106, 107.

His own making, especially if it appears that such self-limitation is chosen by the Almighty for the sake of man. To others it may seem impious to attribute such poverty to God; but we exult in it, knowing His grace, that though He was rich, yet for our sakes He became poor. Can we measure at all the degree to which God confines His activity within settled bounds, so as to be able to forecast with confidence the lines of His working, or must we be content to wait and observe what He actually does?

We have seen that faith instinctively—not of necessity rightly—chafes at the idea that God's power is fettered by any restraint. On the other hand, all that we know of the working of nature indicates the actual observance by God of a uniformity so far-reaching and so complex that we cannot fail to be impressed by it. A number of influences of late have forced acutely upon the mind of the Church the question of 'miracle.' It is sufficient, by way of testimony, to refer to the Edinburgh Conference Report<sup>1</sup> and to Prof. Hogg's book on *Christ's Message of the Kingdom*. There is a striking contrast between the primitive Church and our own time not only in the present acknowledged dearth of miracles, but also in the present evident lack of expectation of miracles. We may freely admit the absence of miracles and of the expectation of them from our present life: our difficulty is to determine its significance. Is it to be taken as an argument of want of faith—a decline from the spiritual level of the Apostles; or is it on the contrary an indication that we have more fully entered into the knowledge of God's ways of working, and can therefore more confidently and reverently look forward on the lines He will choose to pursue?

The answer that the change is simply due to want of faith, that if you only have faith enough miracles will happen, is obvious, but unsatisfactory. It may suffice Beth-shan: it will not content us. Laying aside all pride,

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<sup>1</sup> Especially vol. iv., General Conclusions.

that would not own to want of faith, we are still hindered by the reflection that the whole volume of science, rightly interpreted, is a reading of the mind of God as shown in His actual working, to say nothing of the long history of Christian activity and expansion unattended by miracle which we may justly hesitate to characterize as deficient in faith.<sup>1</sup> We cannot accept any answer, whichever way it may settle the question, which is not based on a due consideration of all that we know of God. In the hope of helping some readers to clear up an uncertainty which can easily become an agony of mind, the following considerations may be put forward.

(1) Primitive faith has always maintained that God blesses the good and punishes the evil in the temporal goods He allots them. Maturer consideration, from the Book of Job to the *Republic* of Plato, not only protests that this belief is contradicted by the facts of life, but also indicates the reason why God has ordered it otherwise. 'Doth Job serve God for nought?' (Job i. 9). Fulfil the demands of poetic justice, let the flocks and herds, the vineyards and furrows, of the righteous teem with plenty, while those of the sinner are barren and unfruitful, and self-interest will supplant real goodness as the motive for doing right. But God's purpose, as far as we can descry, is to win men to a whole-hearted, disinterested goodness that shall be the image of His own. Therefore 'He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust' (Matt. v. 45). Thus while faith clings unwaveringly to the belief that God is on the side of the good, that 'the steps of a good man are ordered by the Lord' (Ps. xxxvii. 28), the very character of God Himself precludes the view that He favours His children with an unequal portion of material prosperity.

(2) The security with which man, sinful or godly, builds

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<sup>1</sup> Consider (e.g.) the Evangelical Revival in England in the eighteenth century, or the records of the growth of the Church in China and Manchuria.



upon the presumption of God's uniformity in the natural order, stands in the same way harmonious with all that is revealed to us of God's nature. Occasionally, by flood or by tempest, by partial failure of harvests, God reminds the world of its dependence on His continued blessing for daily food and raiment. Yet none of us anticipates a general and world-wide failure of the fruits of the earth. 'Seed-time and harvest shall not cease.' The bare possibility that such a failure might happen would not chasten but paralyse mankind. A distinguished writer in the *Quarterly Review*, contrasting ancient Paganism with the ways of the modern world, points to the significance of *fear*—fear of the Unknown—as a decisive factor in the difference.

We have never been thoroughly frightened; the ancient world was frightened; there is the great difference. The possibility that the Unknown contains powers deliberately hostile to him is one the ordinary modern can hardly entertain even in imagination, though why, if it contains conscious beings of any sort, these should necessarily be friendly rather than hostile it would perhaps be difficult to prove from the fragment of the universe accessible to our senses. And till the Unknown has been realized as something terrible, till we have had the feeling of helplessness and ignorance in the face of an immense Universe, the feeling of a lost child in a huge, strange city, we can hardly understand the mood which led men so eagerly to search for 'knowledge' and catch at anything which seemed to promise them light and safety.<sup>1</sup>

By a curious oversight Mr. Bevan treats this as a difference in 'mentality' between the ancient and the modern world. It would be truer to draw the line between paganism, ancient or modern, and those who have learned of Christ. The *Feng-shui* of the Chinaman to-day, the prevalent beliefs of millions in India, the lingering of such conceptions as the Evil Eye in Europe, testify that even in the modern world pagan man is deeply imbued with the fear that shattering and destructive powers may leap upon him out of the Unknown. It is true that non-Christians may borrow

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<sup>1</sup> Edwyn Bevan, 'The First Contact of Christianity and Paganism,' *Quarterly Review*, July 1910, p. 226.

confidence from contact with Christian minds; but it is the Son—and the Father as revealed in the Son—who has made us free. The fact that the scientific temper, the faith in the continued uniformity of nature, has grown to its height in Christian lands alone, is deeply significant. And the constant propensity of those whose Christianity is hardly even skin-deep to lapse into such follies as table-turning, occultism, *planchette*, and the use of mascots and charms, is an evidence how essential is Christian faith to the maintenance of this supposedly 'modern' mentality.

The objection that curmudgeons then may trade on God's presumed inability to reverse His laws need not weigh with us. It is a contingency which God Himself has been willing to face. Just as Jesus allowed men to spit upon Him and buffet Him, nor ever smote them with His power, so our Heavenly Father will continue to bear the arrogance, the graceless flouting and rebellion of evil men, rather than swerve from His chosen purpose, rather than crush the free spirit of man by the fear of an unknown and unprecedented exercise of His omnipotence. Even in the calamities of earthquake and pestilence, in the sinking of a *Titanic*, we can trace no indication of a selective Providence. Some saints and some sinners are as by a miraculous and providential intervention saved from sailing in the *Titanic*. Some saints and some sinners, by an intervention no less providential, seem to be specially led into the way of disaster and death. By such means God reminds an overweening and self-complacent world of its impotence; but He does not specially select the wicked to furnish the example. 'Think ye that these Galilaeans were sinners above all the Galilaeans because they have suffered these things? I tell you, Nay' (Luke xiii. 2, 8).

(8) Many of the 'miracles' to which our thoughts naturally turn, and present-day 'answers to prayer,' suggest the conclusion that God prefers to work along the lines of recognized means. Our Lord Himself 'makes clay,'

and James, the brother of the Lord, directs that anointing with oil is to accompany the prayer of intercession for the sick. No man more strikingly exhibited the possibilities of faith and prayer in our own time than Mr. George Müller, of Bristol. But the fashion in which his wants were met is instructive. No manna from heaven, no barrel of meal and cruse of oil miraculously replenished, nor even multiplied loaves and fishes, were given to feed his orphans. It was a cheque or a postal order that answered his faithful prayer. The prosaic human machinery of banks and post offices, of money, sale and exchange, are the instruments God wields in response to the faith of His child. A narrow expectation of what we call 'miracle' may blind us to God's chosen method and leave us the poorer for our folly and presumption. 'Behold, I thought, he will surely come out to me, and stand, and call on the name of the Lord his God, and wave his hand over the place, and recover the leper' (2 Kings v. 11). And the bidding of God's servant was only, Wash, and be clean.

(4) The ready accomplishment of miracles would make charity too easy. A little lad, the son of a wealthy but niggardly father, rising from his knees when the head of the house had been praying for the hungry, the naked, the poor, turned to his father and said: 'Father, if I were you, I would answer some of those prayers myself.' 'If a brother or a sister be naked, and in lack of daily food, and one of you say unto them, Go in peace; be ye warmed and filled; and yet ye give them not the things needful to the body; what doth it profit?' (Jas. ii. 15, 16). It may be granted at once that miracles are not easy; that so to energize in prayer as to bring down miraculous blessing is the most strenuous activity. But the labour of love which clothes the naked, heals the sick, and feeds the hungry, is no less strenuous. To disparage these mundane methods of philanthropy in favour of prayer as more 'spiritual,' is to introduce a dangerous distinction. A great teacher told his students

in a theological college to 'study as if work were everything, and pray as if work were nothing.' May we not say that the prayer of faith should accompany, not supersede, practical activity in well-doing? Let us use for the relief of man's needs every known resource of science, of sanitation, of law, and use them in faith and prayer. Through mutual service, through patient research, through progressive surgery, through every response to the claims of need, God's goal of the unity of mankind may be brought nearer. Let us not hinder its advent by discouraging and ignoring any force or worker that may aid it.

We may notice at this point a significant, though often unrealized, element of contradiction in the Christian attitude to what are commonly counted the 'goods' and 'evils' of this world. The Church has never allowed that pain and suffering, sickness and poverty, are *per se* evil, nor their contraries *per se* good. The fruits of poverty and pain, in Christian character, are too precious to admit an unqualified reprobation of the roots; nor do health and strength and riches always prove themselves good by bringing forth good fruit.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the Christian temper wars energetically against every form of human suffering, and strives to deliver men from that poverty which is sometimes represented as a necessary condition of beatitude. In the same way, the teaching of Jesus<sup>2</sup> has made it impossible for us to regard disease and infirmity as the direct penalty of sin; yet we have never ventured to repudiate the apostolic view that all suffering, and even death itself, is entailed upon our race in consequence of sin. Accepting the reconciliation of this apparent contradiction which finds in the *sum* of human suffering a just retribution for the *sum* of human sin, we anticipate the release of humanity from suffering only when the redeeming power of Christ has first released it from sin; while in the meantime we welcome as allies in a true Crusade

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. Matt. xii. 33-35; Luke vi. 43, 44.

<sup>2</sup> Especially in the ninth chapter of John.

every scientist, every physician and surgeon, who by patient investigation of the laws of health and disease, and by diligent and skilful therapeutics, will help to alleviate the afflictions of the suffering sons of men.<sup>1</sup>

(5) Before stubborn cases of need—in the face of innocent suffering, much of it meaningless, as we think, and therefore needless—our faith grows impatient. But is it meaningless? We must never lose sight of the solidarity of mankind in the purpose of God. He deals with and saves the individual; but he never cuts the individual loose from the race. Neither in ruin nor in salvation does any man stand alone. Painful facts tell us that ‘innocent’ children are ‘damned’ into the world, the offspring of drunken harlots and cut-throats, in slums that reek with blasphemy and shame. Such ‘meaningless’ exposure to temptation of superhuman force dwarfs to the level of trifles the ‘meaningless suffering’ of the congenital idiot and the incurable. But are they meaningless? They are certainly a challenge to faith. But if we have rightly read the mind of God as a purpose to leave man splendidly but disastrously free, to save in the free obedience of sonship not one man here and there, but a glorified human society, faith may rise to the challenge, and give these cases a meaning. We have only to ponder what the heart of God must endure by the continuance of these aching wounds of the world, and we find our own path defined. He sees them: yet He suffers long. We, as His children, are called to fellowship with His sufferings. We must look for the healing of a man’s wounds not by some revolutionary impact of Omnipotence, but by the fulfilment of God’s eternally chosen purpose. The sin and the suffering alike, rightly pondered, will deepen for us the significance of man’s fall and of our Saviour’s work of redemption. As we pray, ‘Thy kingdom come,’ we must learn to wage, with

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<sup>1</sup> In connexion with the whole of this paragraph, attention may be called to a striking chapter (xi., *The Life of Prayer*) in *The Religion of a Mature Mind*, by Prof. G. A. Coe.

all lawful weapons, an untiring war upon every form of sin and suffering, and to bring about that glorious transformation of the universal family of mankind without which, as we see, the elimination of suffering is impossible.

The Christian attitude to the world, then, seems to be in a sense ambiguous. We are content with the world, yet not content. As it stands, defiled and corrupted by sin and its consequences, the world is far from satisfactory. The Christian cannot rest until he sees it fashioned anew by the Spirit and Power of God. But it is still this world—not a new world, but God's own first world renewed and perfected—about which his hope centres. Along what lines may he in faith anticipate that God's transforming power will be applied? The possibility of 'miracle' is not precluded; but if the considerations hitherto advanced are justly founded, the expectation of it will be sensibly diminished. Miracle will be looked for to crown and consummate, but not to supersede, the regular ways of God's working. Once realize that through all the advance of knowledge and science, through all the triumphs of invention and research, God has been progressively entrusting to man more and more of His own unbounded stores of knowledge and power, and you will have little of the passionate yearning for the miraculous characteristic of those who can see no manifestation of God in the progress of civilization.

In so far as we enter into something of the long suffering of God, our patience will not be exhausted by the sin and suffering of the world. Yet the same mind of God, working in us, longs with insatiable longing for the speedy healing of that sin and suffering. It is one of the essential paradoxes of Christianity that it approves the world, which is God's world, as a good world, yet condemns it as sinful, imperfect, and by no means the world of God's eternal purpose. How, it may be asked, is God to manifest His power, achieve His own eternal plan, and make the world at last all that He means it to be?

We do not ask for a new world, but for this world made anew. All are agreed that God's purpose cannot be brought to fulfilment except by an increased intensity and a more general diffusion of faith. Mr. Hogg very pertinently asks—'We know how rapidly an intense spirit of national devotion may spread among the people of a country. Is there anything to prevent as rapid a diffusion of loyalty to God?'<sup>1</sup> An immediate, world-wide diffusion of faith would open the doors for the immediate coming of the Kingdom. But would an outburst of 'miracles' do anything to quicken and stimulate the necessary infection of faith? There are reasons for answering, No. Our Lord's use and His refusal of miracle alike throw doubts on the value of faith built on such a foundation.<sup>2</sup> But a fuller recognition of God's working in the ordinary ways of life, in the fulfilment of scientific processes, offers boundless possibilities of advance. The forces that work for righteousness are sadly sundered, often mutually at strife where they should be fighting as allies. The detachment of scientific men from the Church and its work, though often exaggerated, is real and general enough to distress a thoughtful mind. Is it not largely due to the conventional 'Christian' attitude to their pursuits? Our own language, our own behaviour, has encouraged them to regard their activities as alien, if not hostile, to the life of the Church. Tacitly outlawed by Christendom or allowed only on sufferance, they have in turn resented any 'Christian' intermeddling with their affairs. That talents God-given and whole departments of the discovery of His manifold working have in large measure failed to be turned to account in the service of the one true God, is to no small degree the result of a far from Christian intolerance.

We are far too prone to disparage all activities not definitely labelled 'Christian.' If all the gifts of human nature

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<sup>1</sup> A. G. Hogg, *Christ's Message of the Kingdom*, 3. 7, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. John vi. 26, Luke xi. 29-32, Matt. iv. 5-7.

spring from the one Fount of all good; if all human skill and genius is derived from the one Eternal Spirit; if all knowledge and inspiration draws from the same Heavenly Wisdom; then we must learn to see in the work of all who make the laws and customs of men, who shape their thought and guide their aspirations, who minister to their daily necessities of body and soul, who labour for their material progress and their intellectual emancipation, perhaps unsuspected ways of serving the glory of God. Refusing to be content to allow them all to fight as free-lances, if not as spoilers, we must enlist them for the kingdom, enrol them under the banner of Jesus Christ the Son.

Suppose the vocation of Christian sonship to be generally accepted in Christendom, who can estimate the results that would follow? Suppose that in this current year (a) all kings, princes, and rulers, all statesmen and diplomatists, (b) all millionaires, manufacturers, and lords of finance, (c) all scientists, doctors, and inventors, (d) all poets, novelists, and journalists, all teachers in schools and colleges, became imbued with the conviction that God had called them to fellowship with Him, and with Jesus Christ His Son, in the fulfilment of His purposes for mankind: who can measure the results that would ensue? We do not rule out 'miracle'; but it is easy to see that no specific 'miracle' would be required when such a diffusion of faith had flung wide all the doors to the working of God's Spirit along known and familiar lines. Reinforced by the deepened and newly awakened expectation of God's own working, the contagion imagined would suffice to transform our world and make it anew—according to God's purpose. When all laws, treaties, and alliances were avowedly framed in His service, all books and periodicals written and published in His Name, all arts, crafts, and industries directed by His Spirit to the advancement of His own race of men, all children trained and nurtured in Christian citizenship to take their place in the many-sided life and work of the world-wide 'City of God,'



the whole earth should be filled with the knowledge and the glory of God as the waters cover the sea.

In fine, let us bear in mind that nothing is more likely to hinder and frustrate God's working than false and unfilial preconceptions as to the way in which we must expect Him. The Jews looked for a Messiah : they crucified the Christ—too blind to see their Saviour, because of their false beliefs.

Three practical requirements may be suggested for our own expectant faith. (1) We must revise our speech—and all its implications. This may be indicated in a phrase by a criticism of the Edinburgh Report. It speaks of the world exhibited by science as a 'system of nature, rigid and opaque.'<sup>1</sup> Rigid it may be; if we find it opaque, it is because of our unbelief. God is seen as God in all the order of His world, and in His never-ceasing sustenance of the life He has created. 'He did not many mighty works there because of their unbelief' (Matt. xiii. 58). Not that they had no belief in God, and in God's unlimited power of activity; but they failed to see God in His chosen Servant, they looked for no manifestation of God in the carpenter's son whom they despised. The temper that can see nothing of God in all the self-sacrificing labour, the insight and intelligence, which have won the triumphs of modern science and discovery—and which can have no other source than the one eternal Spirit of God—is a form of unbelief as real, and perhaps as mischievous, as that of Nazareth.

(2) We must strive to enter more fully into the sublime and awful privileges of sonship. Accepting, even as we are forced to recognize that God Himself accepts, intolerable evils, not in a spirit of indifference to human suffering and human sin, but because their possibility is the inevitable condition of that far-reaching freedom with which God has deliberately endowed our race, we shall learn by the guidance of His Spirit to glean priceless good out of suffering, yea,

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<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh Conference Report, vol. iv, p. 358.

and of sin itself, even while we most vehemently antagonize them and labour and pray for man's redemption. The victory of all—the salvation of the race—is the one purpose fully worthy of our God, and we must seek its fulfilment on the terms and under the conditions which God Himself has chosen.

(8) We must revise our loyalties. 'We forbade him, because he followed not us. . . Forbid him not' (Mark ix. 38, 39). As we learn to see God at work in a thousand ways to which we have been blind, we shall learn to count as His servants—retrospectively, in our own judgement; actively, in our dealings with them—many whom we have despised or even hated because we knew not that they too served our Lord. Hitherto, mutual suspicion, or at best indifference and detachment, have weakened and impoverished both them and us for want of our mutual light, our mutual sympathy, our mutual help. Let the Church arise, and penitently claim for her Lord His children wandering without her pale, or viewed askance in some corner within it; let all serve Him in all things, and for His sake join in one great fellowship, and the day of His coming will dawn.

FERRAND E. CORLEY.

## Notes and Discussions

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### CHRISTIANITY WITHOUT CHRIST

**R**ECONSTRUCTIONS of Christianity are to-day as plentiful as blackberries. The time is past at which it could be said that it was 'not so much as a subject of inquiry, but is now at length discovered to be fictitious.' Now on the other hand Christianity is everywhere the subject of inquiry, and its excellence and supremacy among the religions of the world are admitted. But the inquirers seem to be agreed about everything except what Christianity really is. The one thing certain is that it is not, or ought not to be, what the churches make it. Faith is dead, we are told, creeds are outworn, dogmas are obsolete. But the name of Christ still shines from afar, the Person and Work of Christ are unique, the Cross still in some sense 'leads the generations on.' Only, in what sense? Butler said that in his day it had come to be taken for granted that Christianity was 'a principal subject for mirth and ridicule,' now it seems to be taken for granted that Christianity may be praised and practised provided it is rebased, rebuilt, and redecorated. A new age will dawn and a new world appear under the influence of a new Christianity and a new Christ.

Such attempts, when seriously made by responsible persons, are not to be ignored. Christians may learn much from them. Criticisms of the Christianity of the churches, though humbling, are often most instructive. It is, alas! no strange or unheard-of thing that the churches should hide their Lord, banish Him, or so pervert His spirit and distort His teaching that the world cannot recognize Him. Further, the churches may learn what it is in their teaching that makes the name of Christ to be to some a stumbling-block rather than a sanctuary. And—whilst they know very well that theologies may be 'reconstructed,' but religions never—they may learn much concerning the needs of the age from the endeavours of men who are sincerely groping after truth, though they are unable to guide into it.

One of the most suggestive attempts we have seen to reinterpret Christianity to a world willing, but unable to believe, is Prof. Royce's *The Problem of Christianity*, recently published by Messrs. Macmillan and containing lectures delivered in Boston and Oxford. It is unnecessary to say that everything written by Prof. Royce is worth reading and study by those interested in philosophy and religion. Now that William James has passed away, the name of Josiah Royce is probably the most prominent among the leaders of thought in America. His Idealist or Spiritual philosophy is almost a religion with men of the highest culture in the

Eastern States. His Gifford Lectures on *The World and the Individual* have gained for him in this country a reputation which ought to be yet more widely extended. His *Philosophy of Loyalty* and *Sources of Religious Insight* are books more easily read and perhaps more generally interesting. When such a man undertakes to interpret to the present generation what he considers to be the main significance of Christianity and the only form in which it is now tenable by rational, well-educated men, a good many on both sides of the Atlantic will open their ears to listen.

Prof. Royce tells us that a man may choose one of three attitudes to Christianity: that of a defender of the faith, whether of the orthodox or the liberal type; that of a declared opponent or critic; or that of a student who regards this religion 'not as the one true faith to be taught, and not as an outworn tradition to be treated with an enlightened indifference, but as a central, as an intensely interesting life-problem of humanity, to be appreciated, to be interpreted, to be thoughtfully reviewed, with the seriousness and with the striving for reasonableness and for thoroughness which we owe to every life-problem wherewith human destiny is inseparably interwoven.' The last is his own attitude, and the results of his investigations are set forth in *The Problem of Christianity*.

He begins by announcing that he has no positive thesis to maintain regarding the person of the founder of Christianity. He ends by bidding us abjure Christologies, as involving us in historical, metaphysical, and theological perplexities. The problem that we have to solve is not who Christ was, what He said or did—subjects on which we must be, and may contentedly remain, ignorant—but what are the essential features of the religion called Christianity, together with the question whether the acceptance of such a creed is 'consistent with the lessons that the growth of human wisdom and the course of the ages have taught man regarding religious truth.' According to Prof. Royce, the Church, not the person of the founder, is the central idea of Christianity. Paul was not the founder of the religion, but 'the Pauline communities first were conscious of the essence of Christianity.' 'The essence of Christianity consists in regarding the being which the early Christian Church believed itself to represent, and the being which I call in this book the "Beloved Community" as the true source, through loyalty, of the salvation of man.' Paul's doctrine is that salvation comes through loyalty. Loyalty comes through a new type of self-consciousness—the consciousness of one who loves a community as a person.

The Christian Ideas propounded by Prof. Royce as leading and essential are: (1) The Idea of the Community, historically represented by the Church; (2) The Idea of the Lost State of the Natural man—the condition of the individual, at war with the social will; (3) The Idea of Atonement and Saving Grace—according to which the individual, whom no deed of his own can save or restore, can be saved 'through a deed, not his own—a deed which the community, or a servant of the community in whom its Spirit fully dwells may accomplish on behalf of the lost individual.' Of Christ Himself we know little or nothing, though 'the sayings and parables attributed to Him were perhaps the work of some single

author, concerning whose life we probably possess some actually correct reports.' But for Paul and for us Jesus is identical with the Spirit of the Beloved Community. 'This, according to Paul, was the divine grace which began the process of salvation for man.' Salvation for the individual means the new life of loyalty to the community characteristic of one who is truly 'converted.' Atonement for sin is possible, but it is only such as can be rendered by the Beloved Community, or a true representative of it. It must be a 'creative deed,' such that the world as transformed by it, 'is better than it would have been had all else remained the same, but had that deed of treason not been done at all.' A deed of creative love, of 'the devoted ingenuity of the suffering servant on behalf of his community, breaks open, as it were, the tomb of the dead and treacherous past and comes forth as the life and the expression of the creative and reconciling will.'

As individuals we are lost, says Prof. Royce, we are incapable of attaining the true goal of life. We are lost because we have not love. But what love shall I seek, what love will save me? 'Here the Christian answer is, Love the Community. That is, be Loyal.' But what community is to be loved? One 'which, in ideal, is identical with all mankind, but which can never exist on earth until man has been transfigured and unified, as Paul hoped that his churches would soon witness this transfiguration and this union, at the end of the world.' Be loyal to man, the community; that is man 'in the sense in which Paul conceived Christ's beloved and universal Church to be a community—man viewed as one conscious spiritual whole of life. . . . Man the community may prove to be God, as the traditional doctrine of Christ, of the Spirit, and of the Church seems to imply.' For the essential message of Christianity has been and is that 'the sense of life, the very being of the time process itself, consists in the progressive realization of the Universal Community in and through the longings, the vicissitudes, the tragedies, and the triumphs of this process of the temporal world.' We are saved in and through the community; this is the victory that overcomes the world. Here is the Christology of the future. The name of Christ is merely a symbol for the Spirit in whom the faithful—that is, the loyal—always are and have been one. 'Let your Christology be the practical acknowledgment of the Spirit of the Universal and Beloved Community. This is the sufficient and practical faith. Live this faith, use this faith, preach this faith, teach this faith in whatever words, through whatever symbols, by means of whatever creeds' you will. But remember that 'the core of the faith is the Spirit, the Beloved Community, the work of grace, the atoning deed, and the saving power of the loyal life. There is nothing else under heaven whereby men have been saved or can be saved. To say this is to found no new faith, but to send you to the heart of all true faith.'

We have allowed Prof. Royce, as far as possible, to speak for himself, though a few extracts can give no idea of the force and beauty of his exposition, as he unfolds the faith that is in him—one which he believes to be identical with Christianity and necessary to the salvation

of the world. His book is fascinating. Amidst the manifold destructions wrought by critics who can do nothing but criticize, it is refreshing to meet with a constructive teacher. It is delightful to listen to a philosopher who can be enthusiastic about religion. And that Royce's *Religion of Loyalty* embodies a pure, lofty, ennobling creed, capable of great things were it only in part reduced to practice, no reader of his writings will question. But Prof. Royce does not profess to be proclaiming a new creed, only to be expounding an old one in terms that make it possible for 'the modern man' to accept and follow it. It is the problem of Christianity that he sets out to solve, and it is by his success or failure in this attempt that he must be judged.

Therefore, after being stimulated and quickened by many things in these interesting volumes, the Christian reader will close them . . . with utter sadness. This is not, never was, and never will be Christianity. It omits Christ. It misrepresents St. Paul, who would have been horrified to be told that all his life he had been preaching not Christ Jesus His Lord, but a Beloved Community to come into existence some day. The 'religion of loyalty' is so vague that it resolves itself into, Be unselfish and serve the race for the sake of what at last it may become. A lofty aim indeed, but utterly destitute of the dynamic which has enabled the religion known as Christianity, in spite of manifold imperfections in practice, to regenerate millions of ruined and degraded men and to change the history of the world. Philosophers may speculate and idealists may dream, but in such a religion as the Christianity propounded by Prof. Royce there lies no power to save.

Par levibus ventis, volucrique simillima somno.

How comes it then that so able a man as Prof. Royce is content with such a religion and that many are trusting to him and others like him to renew what they consider to be an effete Christianity by means of this pale, sickly semblance of a living religion? First, his premisses are faulty. He has listened too much to negative critics and does not know what can be, as well as what cannot be proved by sound historical criticism with regard to the Person and Work of Christ Himself, His follower Paul and the life of the New Testament Church. Next, he trusts history too little and ideas too much. In this he is like too many philosophers, who—religion apart for the moment—are continually being put to shame by the simple, the things that are hidden from the wise and prudent being revealed unto babes. Further, the idealist type of philosophy that Royce ably and persuasively propounds is always prone to prefer the abstract to the concrete. It empties realities of significance in the attempt to glorify them. It hardly admits of a personal, living God. But abstractions do not live. Not all the capital letters in the printer's font of type will render the Beloved Community in terms of actuality. It is persons who have moved and quickened and renewed men. It is a Person in whom Christians trust, One who for us men and our salvation came from heaven, who died for our sins and rose again for our justification, who lives for evermore and who has the keys of death and Hades. Paul knew

nothing at Corinth but Jesus Christ and Him crucified, and in presence of his latest interpreter we can almost hear him say, ' Was the Church crucified for you ? Or were ye baptised into the name of the Beloved Community ? '

If Prof. Royce has failed in his attempt to solve the ' problem of Christianity ' and to interpret in terms of modern life such sacred words as Christ, Grace, Atonement, Salvation, it does not follow that he has written in vain. Much may be learned from his pages as to some elements of truth in Christianity that modern churches either do not hold, or fail effectively to teach. What kind of a doctrine of the Church is held by the churches ? A consistent, carefully compacted but utterly misleading and mischievous idea of the Church is set forth by Roman Catholicism, whilst some Protestant churches hardly possess a doctrine of the Church at all. It is not a mere doctrine that is needed, but the living spirit of devotion, the whole-hearted consecration of members of His living body, trusting to One Saviour, renewed by one Spirit, enjoying one experience in endless diversity—one in memory, one in hope, one above all in the love of Him who loved each and gave Himself for each, in order that He might present the whole as a glorious Church, without spot or wrinkle or any such thing. We are travelling towards the goal Prof. Royce describes, but it cannot be reached by the path he indicates. The time is coming when there shall be—not one fold, but one flock. The only thing, however, that can make the scattered multitudes one and keep them one is their knowing and in all things obeying the voice of the One Shepherd.

W. T. DAVISON.

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## THE OPIUM EVIL IN INDIA

WHEN the world at large thinks of India in connexion with the opium question, it always considers it to be a country which produces the poppy to ship its noxious juice to demoralize the Chinese. This phase of Hindustan is a dread one, but happily it is practically at an end, and soon will be but a memory.

However, little as the outside public knows of it, there is another opium aspect of the Oriental Dependency—that of a land which cultivates the poppy not merely for export, but for the express purpose of drugging its own people. While the habit has not acquired the hold over the Indian that it had over the Celestial, yet the evil, as it prevails to-day in the Peninsula, is much too large in dimensions, much too serious in consequences, and much too persistent and threatening in character to be ignored.

First, as to the prevalence of the opium habit in Hindustan : there is no province of British-India, and no territory governed by a native Prince, where the drug is not in common use. Generally it is taken in the form of pills : less often it is smoked. The consumption varies in different parts of the country, ranging from 18·7 lbs. down to 4·1 lbs.

*per mille per annum* (not taking into account the illicit consumption, which is known to be far from negligible).

Statistics show that the consumption of opium in British-India has increased within a decade by 182,557 lbs., only a small part of which can be attributed to increase in the population, which, according to the last census, was 7·1 per cent. between 1901 and 1911. Comment on these figures is not necessary, for when it is borne in mind that the doses in which opium is taken are extremely small, a good idea of the quantity consumed by the average habitué in British-India can be formed. Statistics are not readily available to show the amount of opium used in the various Native States. However, it is very heavy in many of these territories. This is particularly true of the Principalities comprised in the Central India and Rajputana Agencies, notably Indore, Gwalior, Bhopal, and Mewar (where much of the Indian opium is produced), and also in Nahan, Faridkot, and Bilaspur in the Punjab, and in Baroda.

A considerable portion of the drug consumed in British-India and the Native States, shocking to relate, is used not by adults, but by infants. The babies, it may be pointed out, do not merely imbibe the poison with their mothers' milk, but actually are made to drink it dissolved in water, or to swallow it in the form of a tiny pill. The Government of India, in its capacity of opium monopolist of the Peninsula, it may be noted, especially prepares *balgoll*—children's pills—containing the 'black poison of the East,' combined with spices, to be administered to babies. According to the evidence given before the Royal Commission on opium which reported in 1895, in a single year 1,200,000 of these pills were manufactured.

Taking India as a whole, fewer women than men take poppy preparations. In some localities, however, its use is so common that a box of opium is handed around amongst the ladies by the hostess just as chocolates would be passed about in Europe. The men and women who indulge in the vice, for the most part are middle-aged or old, and seem to feel that it will smooth the path of their dotage by its narcotic influence.

As to the races caught in the toils of the *popaver* siren, curious to say the martial peoples have fallen under the spell even more than the milder ones. The Rajputs and the Sikhs consume it in quantities. The Marathas, however, as a rule, are not addicted to the vice. The habit is more or less prevalent, broadly speaking, amongst the Indians in the Army. Many of them take it regularly, the year round, while others use it only during the winter. Amongst the races with a commercial bent of mind, the *Marwaris* are known to be the largest eaters of the drug, whereas but few *Parsis* take it.

As a rule the vice is indulged in by the wealthy and middle classes, though some poor people ape their vice. Few cultivators, litter bearers, fishermen, day labourers, or other people who have to earn their living by the sweat of their brow are addicted to opium, although some members of the lower classes, such as tailors, carpenters, and those who do not do extremely heavy work, join the leisured people in the habit. A large number of railway employes, and not a few coolies, are slaves to the poppy.



On the whole, indulgence in opium is confined to the urban population, and more especially to the inhabitants of large cities. Lucknow and Cawnpore, on account of their close association with the decadent Moslem rule just prior to its total extinction, head the list in this respect; and it is generally admitted that more Mohammedans than Hindu inhabitants of these towns are addicted to the vice. The consumption in Calcutta is very large, probably ten per cent. of its population taking it. The habit is quite common in Benares and Gya, the prevalence in these places probably being due to the vice rampant amongst the Hindu and Buddhist priests and pilgrims. It also is consumed more or less largely in Bombay and Surat. About ten per cent. of the population of Madras make use of the juice of the poppy in one form or another.

While the evil is largely urban, it must not be supposed that the rustics are not addicted to it. On the contrary, it is safe to assume that one-fourth or one-fifth of the adult population of Assam, and of villages in certain districts of the Punjab, habitually use the drug.

Opium is used by different people under various pretexts. It is generally given to the children to keep them quiet so that they will not disturb their mothers at their work, or wake their sleeping parents. It also is administered for diarrhoea, for the ailments that afflict the little ones when they are teething, for colic, and for colds and coughs. Indeed, it is indiscriminately administered for anything and everything that may arise to upset the health of the baby, or, for that matter, of any other member of the family. A large percentage of the habitués can trace their slavery to having first taken opium to deaden pain or check some illness, and many of them continue genuinely to believe that it is beneficial to the health, and unaccompanied by any baneful effects. But when all this has been conceded, there still remains a very large number of Indians who use it purely for sensual gratification.

It is not necessary to say much about the ill effects produced by constant use of the drug, for its ravages upon natives of Hindustan are no different and no less pronounced in character than the havoc wrought on other peoples. The Indian baby who is given opium soon begins to show its noxious action. It is constantly in a stupor. Its skin grows dry, loose, and wrinkled. It becomes atrophied and suffers from fever, constipation, intermittent with dysentery, and other sickness, and sometimes dies as the result of the drugging which has irreparably injured its vital functions. The practice is especially harmful if the child has weak or defective lungs, as it is unable to clear its lungs of the accumulation of matter, and thus chokes to death. In many cases the eyes become ulcerated, suppuration or opacity of the cornea follows (in a large degree, according to medical authorities, due to chronic opium poisoning) and not infrequently the baby pays the penalty for its parents' folly by going partially or totally blind. It may be added that a certain percentage of children annually die in India through being given an overdose of opium—in the instance of at least a few female infants, wittingly administered.

In the case of adults, the process of digestion is slowly impaired. Malnutrition follows. Constipation, alternating with dysentery, becomes

a chronic condition. Slow and steady degeneration of the system, evidenced by extreme emaciation, shows its evil effects. The energy is sapped, and the mental faculties dulled.

Aside from its bad physical effect, the moral contamination due to its use is very great. Where the drug is habitually used, the sense of honour is lost. The word of the opium-eater is worthless. He develops into such a liar that his word or his oath cannot be depended upon even in the smallest matter. The drug produces drowsiness and torpidity, and makes those who use it hate work, rendering them dull and heavy, weak, indolent, and unfit for carrying out any task involving patience or perseverance, as all power of concentration, decision, and sense of duty are lost. Moreover, opium has a tendency to lead to crime, as its consumers, especially when the necessity to secure the drug arises and funds are not forthcoming, are driven to commit thefts to enable them to buy their regular supply of the baneful narcotic.

It is more degenerating to smoke the drug than to eat it. Whereas it takes a half hour for the poison, in the form of a pill, to produce its effect, and a little less time when it is administered in a solution, when smoked the results are almost instantaneous. With the first whiff from the pipe, the seductive stuff has done its dire work. This renders it more fascinating to those who fall a victim to its wiles, and it is harder for them to break away from its toils than for those who merely eat it. Those who smoke opium show its ill effects much more markedly than do those who take it in pill form. Their condition of body and mind cannot be better told than in the words of Sir C. U. Aitchison, who described the ravages of opium smoking on the Burmese in a memorandum which was published by the House of Commons on April 7, 1881, and which was largely quoted to the Opium Commission by Sir J. W. Pease. Sir Charles Aitchison said—

‘ . . . among the Burmans the habitual use of the drug saps the physical and mental energies, destroys the nerves, emaciates the body, predisposes to disease, induces indolent and filthy habits of life, destroys self-respect, is one of the most fertile sources of misery, destitution, and crime, fills the jail with men of relaxed frame, predisposed to dysentery and cholera, prevents the due extension of cultivation, and the development of the land revenue, checks the natural growth of the population, and enfeebles the constitution of succeeding generations.’

Where the consumption of the poison is so large, there are bound to be apologists for its use—and even those who would urge that the black poison is not merely innocuous, but positively beneficent. Strange to say, the use of opium is upheld not only by the natives, but also by British officials in India, many of whom are doctors who allege that its employment in small doses in a tropical country like Hindustan does not produce the ill effects that follow its use in colder climes. A large number of them made it their business to press these opinions on the Royal Commission on Opium which reported in 1895. Sad to state, though Japan has absolutely

exterminated the vice within its Island Empire, the United States authorities have driven it out of the Philippine Islands, and China is straining every nerve to free its people from their slavery to the black devil that steals away their very souls, still British-Indian officialdom continues to cherish such notions as these almost unmodified.

When the attitude that the British-Indian Government for many years persistently displayed in relation to the Indo-Chinese opium traffic is remembered, there appears to be little cause for wonder that a Christian Government should hold such views in this day and age. The revenue interests necessarily overshadow the moral issues.

In justice to the British-Indian Administration, however, it must be said that of recent years it has heeded the consensus of moral opinion of the world regarding the use of opium, and has made the rules and regulations concerning its consumption more stringent. The latest action was taken on August 19, 1912, when the Finance Department of the Government of India issued an important Resolution to express its approval of Resolutions Nos. 2 and 3 adopted by the International Opium Commission which met at Shanghai in 1909, namely—

‘Resolution No. 2.—That in view of the action taken by the Government of China in suppressing the practice of opium smoking, and by other Governments to the same end, the International Opium Commission recommends that each delegation concerned move its own Government to take measures for the gradual suppression of the practice of opium smoking in its own territories and possessions, with due regard to the varying circumstances of each country concerned.

‘Resolution No. 3.—That the International Opium Commission finds that the use of opium in any form otherwise than for medical purposes is held by almost every participating country to be a matter for prohibition or for careful regulation, and that each country in the administration of its system of regulation, purports to be aiming, as opportunity offers, at progressively increasing stringency. In recording these conclusions the International Opium Commission recognizes the wide variations between the conditions prevailing in the different countries, but it would urge on the attention of the Government concerned the desirability of a re-examination of their systems of regulation in the light of the experience of other countries dealing with the same problem.’

The British-Indian Administration, after cordially accepting the principle of these recommendations, declared that it had always shaped its opium policy along the lines outlined by them. While refusing to prohibit individuals from smoking, it reduced the amount of opium which any one might lawfully possess, interdicted collective smoking, and raised the price of the drug sold by the Government in order to discourage its consumption. The action thus taken, however, has not been drastic enough, and in order for India to come up to the level of other countries in respect of opium consumption much more rigorous action is necessary.

The only interest that can possibly stand in the way of the Government of India taking such action is the revenue which it derives from the sale of the poison. In 1911-12 this amounted to £1,105,400. In view of the much greater sacrifice made by the Administration in wiping out the Indo-Chinese opium traffic, which yielded many times this income, it is not utopian to hope that the moral sense of the British-Indian Government will be quickened enough to save Hindustan from the ravages of the poppy.

SAINT Nihal Singh.

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### THE CHURCH AND THE LABOUR CONFLICT

THE REV. PARLEY P. WOMER raises expectations in the preface of his book with this title published by the Macmillan Co. He criticizes 'the considerable body of literature produced in recent years on the social mission of the Church,' for its lack of definiteness, its vague and unprofitable generality. The aim of his book is 'to supply to some extent this needed concreteness.' Hence we turned to the body of his book in hope. But we are compelled to say that we ceased the survey in disappointment. There is much concreteness in the book, but the concreteness belongs to the facts of the labour movement in America which the writer records, and also to his own opinions concerning the justice or injustice of phases of that movement. When it comes to the part the Church as an organization must play, Mr. Womer is not much more definite and concrete than any one else, though he is as ready in warning the Church off economic and party politics as any previous writer, and in assigning to the Church the part of guide, inspirer, and general teacher of first principles.

The fact that Mr. Womer, despite his desire to find a more definite place for the Church in labour matters, has failed to do so, might seem to indicate that there is no more definite place to be found. Of this we are not so sure. The book remains to be written and the man to arise who shall show the modern Church what its duty is in the present social juncture and how, in detail, to perform it. Surely it is clear that the Church should boldly enter in upon the side of right and justice always and everywhere? This, too, may seem a statement lacking in definiteness. But it can easily be made definite by naming the subjects of the living wage, the conditions of labour in many industries, the state of much house property, and the unequal distribution of wealth. On these, and on concrete instances of them, the Church should surely make her voice heard. They involve ethical and spiritual considerations. They are therefore within her province. The fundamental reason for lack of definiteness is that the Church is still too much intimidated by fear of her well-to-do members. She takes her peace and temporal prosperity in her hand when she becomes too definite. But she will have to learn to follow in her Lord's footsteps and lose her life to save it, lose the world to gain her soul, and sacrifice her material self to save society. She will rise,

phoenix-like, from her ashes in immortal bloom. Although Mr. Womer's book is very much like hundreds of others which have poured from the press in recent years upon the relation of the Church to the social question, it is well-informed and useful. It is written with sobriety, conviction, and faithfulness. If Mr. Womer's personal views were the expressed views of the Church as such, there would be no vagueness. Mr. Womer is definite enough on all the 'stock' social evils. But he is careful not to commit the Church to his views. He holds, for instance, that 'it has been driven home to the public conscience that capitalism has not produced social justice and that it is not likely to, and that this foreshadows ultimate change.' But he does not seek to commit the Church to this judgement. Still, if it be a fact, as he affirms, and the Church has a share in the public conscience, it ought to be committed to it. Yet he says, 'if the Church be wise it will have nothing to do as an organization with economic programmes of any sort.' Not, we ask, even if they be correct and Christian?

Mr. Womer himself can deal in fine generalities. Here is one: 'That the Church is here "to seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness," to concentrate its energies upon realizing a truly fraternal and just society, has now begun to be evident to many of the Church's strongest and most influential leaders, and the call to the Church to bestir herself and take up the work is becoming ever louder and more insistent.' But he does not help us by any very new concrete guidance. He helpfully reaffirms just what others have maintained long since as to the duty and possibility of the Church in the labour conflict. The Church should support in the abstract the demand for justice, for shorter hours and higher wages. It should teach the facts about the dignity of man, and demand time and means for self-development. It should also teach the duty of honest and efficient work, and the need for ideals beyond mere 'bread-and-butter,' as well as for a spirit of self-sacrifice. The Church should take a leading part in calling public attention to questions of industrial insanitation, dangerous machinery, and provision for accidents, exhaustion, sickness, and old age. It should awaken an intelligent public sentiment which would call for legislation (in America) on these matters. There is nothing new in all this. It has been affirmed in England hundreds of times. The problem is, How may the Church carry it out?—and here guidance is needed.

One most useful thing Mr. Womer does say. We give it in his own words: 'The answer to the question (will the Church teach social reform?) will not come from the pulpit as much as from the pews, for it is a question whether the men who support the minister will permit him the freedom of the true prophet of God.' There is much in this—for the average minister is the reflex of the pew in these matters. He proceeds little further than the pew permits. By the Church is meant the whole body of Christians—not their ministers. But the true prophet of God is not bound by the pew. He never has been, he never can be! The desideratum, however, for the sake of rapid social progress is that 'all the Lord's people were prophets.' When such is the case, the Church will arise and shine!

It is again helpful when Mr. Womer affirms that the Church should declare that the principle of freedom must be interpreted from the standpoint of public welfare, both by men and masters. He is, also, being an American, characteristically optimistic—and believes that a new social order is coming which will be Christian and fraternal—and he looks forward with confidence to 'the slow but certain rise of a Democratic Catholic Church.

We may conclude the review of this useful book with some of the writer's wisest words. 'As a social institution the Church must be mindful of the common life, it must speak with impartiality for the common good of each social class, and it must be constructive and not merely destructive in its message. Society grappling with the problems that threaten to destroy it has a right to look to the Church for moral leadership at these most puzzling and vital points.' But clearly to do so, it must have an enlightened, instructed, and fearless ministry and laity. Mr. Womer does not give much light upon how to secure this, but he reaffirms useful truths, and is another precursor of a new era in Anglo-Saxon Christendom for the Church and for society.

S. E. KEEBLE.

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### A GREAT FRENCH NATURALIST

M. HENRI FABRE, the great French naturalist, now in his ninetieth year, is spending his declining days in 'age and feebleness extreme' among his insect friends at Serignan, the little hamlet in old Provence which through him, has risen to world-wide fame. Not that he was born there; he was born at Saint-Léons, a little commune of the canton of Vézins, on December 22, 1823. His parents came of peasant stock, and he himself has been too proud and modest and too much absorbed in his great life-work to aspire to any of the honours and distinctions of French social life. Fifty years ago Darwin referred to him as 'that inimitable observer,' but, until quite recently, he has been hardly known outside a narrow circle of savants. One day he will be as well known as Darwin himself. He is gradually becoming known through his writings in Europe and America, and dribblets from his monumental *Souvenirs Entomologiques* are beginning to percolate through our magazines and reviews. A few years ago M. A. T. de Mattos, his chief English translator, issued a volume of selections under the title *Life and Loves of the Insect*, and this year he published *The Life of the Spider*. These, together with *Social Life in the Insect World*, translated by Mr. Bernard Miall, are the only books by which M. Fabre is yet known to English readers, and these are mere fragments from the ten vast volumes of the *Souvenirs*.

But no one can read these extracts without understanding the eulogy of Maeterlinck, who has recently pronounced him to be 'one of the highest and purest glories of the civilized world, one of the most learned naturalists, and one of the most marvellous of poets, in the modern sense of the word.' For M. Fabre is not simply a savant who has spent his life in the study of

the world of insects and thus earned for himself the title of 'The Insects' Homer' and (more appropriately), of 'The Virgil of Insects'; he is a thinker of great depth and subtlety, and a writer of inimitable clearness, naturalness, vivacity, and charm. He is easily the greatest living entomologist, but as M. Edmond Rostand, referring to the belated honour that was done to Fabre in 1909, declared, it was 'an act of beautiful justice to this great savant who thinks as a philosopher, sees as an artist, and feels and expresses himself as a poet.'

For the details of his uneventful life, it is a pleasure to refer the reader to *La Vie de J. H. Fabre, Naturaliste*, par un Disciple (Paris, Delagrave, Str. 50). The 'disciple' is Dr. G. V. Legros, who writes with great fullness and enthusiasm, especially of the master's life-work, the methods and results of which are described in sufficient detail. Dr. Legros has long been intimate with Fabre, and has had access to family archives and to much interesting correspondence. Too much, perhaps, is said of Fabre's lifelong struggle for existence, but not too much of his genius as an observer, experimenter, and describer of the mind and manners of the insect world, or of his sublime devotion to his chosen task. Till recently his work has been ignored by the official scientific world, possibly because he never yielded to the fashionable doctrine of evolution, and sometimes felt it to be his duty to traverse the facts and arguments, at crucial points, of the prevalent 'transformisme.' In his middle life he was discovered by Victor Duruy, the great Minister of Education under the Second Empire, from whose hand he received the decoration of the Legion of Honour, and who tried hard to secure him as tutor to the Prince Imperial. But nothing could tempt Fabre from his innate, all-absorbing love of nature and the open air. At Avignon he did some popular lecturing, and through his popular school-books he did something to throw open the golden gates of science to the people, but, for the most part, he lived the life of a studious recluse. For the last thirty years he has lived in his hermitage at Serignan, with his wonderful open-air observatories and laboratories, a veritable saint of science, abstemious almost to asceticism, and so athirst for calm tranquillity that, even in the village, he was hardly known. His life has been a poem of energy and disinterested toil, and his works have added appreciably not only to the fairy-tales of science but to the science of the fairy world in which the beetles, bees, and butterflies and spiders dwell. Both his life and his works will bring to most of us an immense addition to our knowledge of insect life and animal psychology; and from both may be gathered many valuable suggestions bearing on humanity. Perhaps the most wonderful of these suggestions is that of the possibility of our one day being able to live on sunshine. This bright idea occurs to him in the course of his observations on the young of the *Lycosa* Spider. For the first seven months, although active and expending energy, they live without food, and thereby hangs a fairy-tale that may prove to be a prophecy of universal animal and human life:

To wind up the mechanism of their muscles, they recruit themselves direct with heat and light. . . . Daily, if the sky be clear, the *Lycosa*, carrying her young, comes up from her burrow, leans on the herb and spends long hours basking in

the sun. Here, on their mother's back, the youngsters stretch their limbs delightfully, saturate themselves with heat, take in reserves of motor power, absorb energy. . . . This is nutrition of energy reduced to its simplest expression; the motive heat, instead of being extracted from the food, is utilised direct, as supplied by the sun, which is the seat of all life. Inert matter has disconcerting secrets, as witness radium; living matter has secrets of its own, which are more wonderful still. Nothing tells us that Science will not one day turn the suspicion suggested by the Spider into an established truth and a fundamental theory of physiology. . . . What a delightful world, where one would lunch off a ray of sunshine! Is it a dream or the anticipation of a remote reality?

Facts, however, and not theories and suggestions, form the staple of this brilliant savant's works, but facts, beneath his magic touch, become both fascinating and suggestive. As an introduction to the wonder-world that he has opened up to us, the reader would be well advised to begin with his *Life and Loves of the Insect* (Black, 6s. net). In that marvellous book he may read of

the sacred scarabee, supremely inspired by the instinct of maternity to wonderful industry and not less wonderful art; of the Spanish Copris, which kneads a large loaf and divides it into pills, one for each egg; of the common dung-beetle, who belongs to the public health service, and is often deservedly decorated; of the mother of the Halcetus bee family, who in her old age becomes the portress of the establishment, shutting the door with her bald head when strangers arrive, opening it by drawing aside when any member of the household appears; and of a thousand other marvels of the largely unknown world around us.

He then will need no exhortation to complete his study of this 'greatest naturalist of modern times,' and will henceforth place the name of Fabre near the names of Buffon, Bernadin St. Pierre, Audubon, Huber, Lubbock, Darwin, Riley and the other students and explorers in the lesser and the greater worlds of sentient life.

T. ALEXANDER SEED.

## THEOCENTRIC RELIGION

IN a recent volume of great interest and ability Prof. E. Schaeder of Kiel traces the history of a remarkable change that has taken place in certain theological schools of our day.<sup>1</sup> The change is nothing less than the transference of the centre of gravity in theology from God to man. The old order of thought is completely reversed, man is put at the centre instead of God. God becomes the means, man the end. God seems to exist for the benefit of man. Theology becomes anthropocentric, instead of theocentric. The theory is subjected by Dr. Schaeder to very searching criticism, for which there seems to be only too much reason. It is shown that a change in the centre and ground of religious inquiry brings inconsistency and disorder into the whole field. We are not surprised to find the first cause of the revolution ascribed to Schleiermacher. Schleiermacher's influence on German religious thought, and so on thought elsewhere, has been far-reaching indeed. No school but shows signs of it. In the main the influence has been for good. It has meant the death of hard Rationalism and stagnant orthodoxy and the breath of a new life,

<sup>1</sup> *Theocentrische Theologie, Erster, geschichtlicher Teil.* Leipzig, Deichert.



in short, a new springtime in German Christianity. On the other side we have only to do here with the single point dealt with in Schaefer's work.

As is well known, Schleiermacher finds the genesis of religion in the feeling of dependence, the deep sense of need crying out for help, which is characteristic of man, who then proceeds to try to reason his way back to one who supplies the need. But how is this possible? If we borrow all that Scripture says about God and His relation to man, it is possible. But this idea of God is the very thing which the inquirer sets out to seek by a way of his own. Consciously or not, this borrowing takes place, and the Christian doctrine is put to the credit of abstract reason. The process is the merest illusion. The way from the sense of need to a personal loving God is not forthcoming. No one has ever seen or ever will see the impossible achieved. Meanwhile observe the anthropocentric character given to the very basis of religion in man. Instead of the faith which looks direct to God in Scripture with results which justify the trust, thought is fixed on man's own state. Instead of saying, 'I believe in God,' man says, 'I believe in my feeling—the feeling of unconditional dependence, and from there I believe in God.' Or, 'I believe in my practical reason or in my conscience, and therefore also in God.' Why not go direct to God? Why introduce this vague, shadowy abstraction? The soul that cries out for the living God will not be thus satisfied. The direct appeal to God never fails to bring the response of assured conviction. The knowledge of God thus obtained is a judgement of faith; but it gives a consciousness of a divine presence and working which is just as certain as our consciousness of self. A high merit in Schleiermacher's theology is that it is Christocentric. But Dr. Schaefer points out that while Schleiermacher gives lofty titles to Christ and makes Him the centre and head of Christianity, he only regards Him as the realized ideal of human goodness. While His sinless perfection is a real being of God in Him, and He is consequently the Redeemer of historical humanity, 'He is not raised essentially above the stage of the religious man.'

Another example of the same wrong principle is seen in the experience-theology of Hoffmann and Frank of Erlangen. Erlangen University is one of the oldest homes of German evangelical faith and learning; and Hoffman and Frank are among its most distinguished names. Frank's works cover the entire field of theology and ethics in the most masterly way. The anthropocentric ground of the theology of these divines is not the sense of absolute dependence, but nothing less than the regenerate nature and life of the Christian. Nothing else, it is held, can give certitude to religious knowledge and faith. Both Hoffmann and Frank undertake to reason their way back from this starting-point to God and Christ and the redeeming acts described in Scripture. With all our admiration for the ground taken, we can only feel that the same criticism applies here as in the former case. If those who take this ground had not known Scripture, how could they have discovered even in outline the means used to bring the new life in man into existence? Yet Hoffmann was fond of saying: 'I the Christian am to myself the theologian the most real material.' How could any one find his way from his own inner experience to the re-

deeming work of Christ, much less to the preparations of the Old Testament? All this is involved in the experience, but we must learn about the antecedents elsewhere. We know the danger of the anthropocentric method. 'Who does not know the inclination of many Christians, instead of looking away to God and Christ or to the wealth of grace and life given in them, to look at themselves? We are apt to make observations of our own new ego the basis of faith in the grace of God and Christ. Thus the basis of faith is not the experience of God, which we gain by means of the Word, and in this form the Word itself, but the incidents of our own experience.' But this basis, as every one knows, is often exceedingly uncertain. That experience is an important criterion, but not the basis of Christian confidence.

Another example of the same mistaken course is found in the teaching of Cremer and Kaehler, two eminent evangelical divines. Cremer is known to us through his great *Lexicon of Biblical Theology*. Nothing of Kaehler's has been translated; but he is a most vigorous and original writer. Their theological teaching is described as a theology of Conscience; it is also known as *Biblicism*. The starting-point or basis is neither the sense of dependence nor the new Christian life, but the sense of moral responsibility universally characteristic of man. Naturally the fact of sin comes to stand in the foreground. Cremer lays strong emphasis on it. This moral sense and the fact of sin are doctrines of Scripture, Conscience and Scripture agreeing in their witness. The Scripture doctrine of redemption and grace is also set forth. Kaehler, who is a great master of Scripture exposition, dwells chiefly on the divine remedy of forgiveness and renewal which is the glory of revelation. The exposition of the greatness and freeness of redemption is also the glory of Kaehler's teaching. Dr. Schaefer strongly commends the way in which Kaehler emphasizes the human aspect of the religious teaching of Scripture. 'The Bible is first of all a book of human religion. Men of old here declare their faith, confess their faith.' In these two writers the anthropocentric impress is less conspicuous than in the former cases. The divine side of religion is far more in evidence. Still, that element is present, and has a limiting effect. It has a narrowing influence on our views of God. The majesty and supreme claims of God are insufficiently recognized. If one may say so, the 'value' of God and Christ for us is in danger of being over-emphasized! 'God does not fit into the anthropocentric scheme of value; the God of revelation does not, and the Biblical Christ, who belongs to Him, does not. Without doubt God and His Christ form the all-surpassing value for us, and the holy love of God to us, the holy grace of Christ, it is especially which conditions this value of God for us. But the actuality of God and Christ does not permit our faith, and with it our theology, to include God wholly and absolutely in this scheme of value. It pushes God aside and forces on us a view of another kind.' Dr. Schaefer thinks that inadequate—we may almost say unworthy—ideas of God explain in part the absence of men from worship and their want of interest in religious matters.

We cannot enter into the very full discussion of Ritschl and Hermann. A just tribute of praise is paid to both. Ritschl saved us from the idealism

of Hegel—Hermann, like his master, overflows with ethical enthusiasm. His love of truthfulness and impatience with anything short of personal conviction are passionate. Authority in the matter of belief he cannot endure. We need not dwell on their aversion to mysticism of every kind. The only fellowship with Christ which they know is fellowship with the 'historical' Christ of the Synoptic Gospels, which is better described as the 'psychological act of realizing the historical Christ.' The anthropocentric character of Ritschl's teaching is sufficiently clear in the excessive prominence given to value-judgements. Our beliefs are, no doubt, value-judgements, but they are or ought to be more. The phrase is applicable to historical and scientific as well as to religious judgements. All objects of religious faith are values. God is the supreme value. To speak of a doctrine of religion as a value-judgement (*Werthurteil*) is not to deny that it is also a judgement of being (*Seinsurteil*). To say that Jesus has for us the value of God is not necessarily to deny that He is God. We only hold and cherish what has value in our eyes. Still the great stress laid on the phrase and idea is easily misunderstood. Apostles did not preach the divinity of the Lord as a value-judgement. Clearly the language has an anthropocentric sound. To say that God or Christ is a value *to us* puts us first and highest. We are the end for which God and Christ exist and work. Schaefer writes: 'Clearly and unmistakably God is made a means for our human ends. . . . Is not man here made lord over God the Lord? Is not this view a serious depreciating of the fact of God, and so of faith? Man is here plainly pushed into the centre of the Christian faith.'

Other forms of similar teaching, represented by Seeberg, Ihmels, Haering, Kaftan, and still more the religious-historical school, are considered in the work. As is well known, considerable changes in different directions have taken place among followers of Ritschl. There can be no question that the teaching of Scripture is theocentric. Advocacy of the supreme primacy of the doctrine of God in religion as trenchant as Dr. Schaefer's will be found in Dr. Forsyth's recent work on *The Principle of Authority*.

J. S. BANKS.

## THE SPIRITUAL PRINCIPLE OF NONCONFORMITY

MR. FREDERIC HARRISON, in his acute and generous appreciation of Puritanism—to be found in his monograph on Cromwell—points out that, beyond most people, Puritans have been subjected to extravagances both of praise and blame: and he makes it very clear wherein 'the best deserved all the praise and the worst all the blame.' There is undoubtedly a tendency among Nonconformists to ignore the faults of that great epoch of the seventeenth century, when Puritanism counted for so much, as there is among Anglicans to shut their eyes to the virtues and the lofty aspirations of those whom they stigmatize as 'those wicked Puritans.' One of the most conspicuous features of the Rev. H. W. Clark's *History of English Nonconformity* (Chapman & Hall, 2 vols.), is the gift which he possesses of being both sympathetic and candid; of combining his Nonconformist predilections with a capacity for recognizing shortcomings

on the part of his heroes. In these volumes Nonconformity sees itself as it really has been, 'warts and all'—to borrow Cromwell's phrase—described by one who has both the perception and the courage to be fair.

There is a positive principle running throughout the work, which both gives it a unity, and also saves it from being at any point a mere eulogy or indictment. 'The Nonconformist spirit is, in succinct summary, the spirit which exalts life above organization. More than that, it is the spirit which holds that life should *make* organization, and that organization is at least greatly reduced in value unless it be thus the direct product of life.' This idea keeps reappearing as a kind of *leit-motif*; and at every point one feels that Nonconformity is being judged according to its faithfulness to this principle. The principle is not only a sound one in itself, but it makes clear on the one hand the vital difference in fundamental conception which separates Nonconformity from systems which are conditioned by the historic episcopate, and on the other hand recognizes the peril which always besets Nonconformity, of becoming amorphous and individualistic. Organization must be the product of life; but it is equally true that, under the conditions of our earthly pilgrimage, life needs to evolve a measure of organization if it is to survive and develop.

Mr. Clark has a singularly happy gift of hitting off a situation in a phrase. For instance, Charles II is represented as assuming care for Roman Catholicism, partly out of gratitude to France, and partly with a view to winning her help in his efforts to obtain autocratic power. As for himself, he had no convictions on that or any other subject: he was only 'indolently anxious that things should go well with him.' It would be hard to find a better analysis of Charles's character in short space than this. On the other hand the nation 'had struck too hard, and was now bent upon making up for this by an eagerly gushing demonstration of love.' This affords a clue to some of the perplexing alternations of temper which mark the Restoration period; and which would be inexplicable were there any real conviction behind them, as distinct from mere sentiment. Unitarianism is admirably described as being 'permeated by the atmosphere of a lecture-room rather than by that of a church . . . offering a curriculum for the mind instead of a redemption for the soul.' Estimates such as these are the distillation of wide knowledge lit up by imagination.

In some able chapters Mr. Clark shows that, side by side with the more normal expressions of the Nonconformist idea, there is a Nonconformity—'particularist Nonconformity' he calls it—which has grown out of an almost exclusive attention to single points; and therefore so far as their standing is concerned relatively to the Nonconformist ideal, they are really Conformist. This unquestionably holds good of early Quakerism, which dissipated a great deal of its spiritual energy in tilting at what were really trifles: and the warning remains valid in certain directions to-day.

Much is said here that helps to solve the problem of the phenomena of Presbyterianism which are so puzzling. In the first place there is the

explicit and emphatic reminder that the honoured Presbyterianism of to-day comes of another stock altogether than that which figures in the seventeenth century so largely. Although both owe their origin to the influence and glowing zeal of Calvin, Knox and others, the Presbyterianism which is to be found in England to-day has not grown up from the roots planted in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but is a graft from Scotland, through which has come much of the evangelical spirit which found expression at the Disruption and has always characterized the Free Church. The lapse of English Presbyterianism into Unitarianism is a problem which is not at all easy of solution. Probably Mr. Clark is looking in the right direction when he points out that the failure of Presbyterianism in England to obtain the establishment of its church-system led, by easy degrees, to a weakening of its hold upon the Calvinistic faith which had been so instrumental in the building up of virile and austere character wherever it had gone: and with that was lost the firm hold upon evangelical truth, with the result that many a Presbyterian chapel became a centre for Socinian teaching. That is to be found to-day even where the causes in question owed their existence in the first instance to the self-sacrificing labours of men of God such as Mr. Bagshawe, the Apostle of the Peak, a 'Gospeller' if ever there was one. It seems as though seventeenth-century Presbyterianism in England, in its attempt to 'gain the whole world' of social prestige and political power, not only lost that, but 'lost its own soul' as well.

Mr. Clark seems to be haunted by the same kind of fear as was felt by Dr. Dale, lest Nonconformity may become so much absorbed in the things which relate to organization and administration as to have its attention diverted from the things which belong to men's eternal spiritual welfare: and a great passage, referring especially to the Quakers, carries with it a message of no small power with reference to the Nonconformist life of our own time. Speaking of the resistance to the payment of tithes, &c., he says: 'Height of courage for these things did not necessarily or actually carry with it height of religious zeal in the strict sense, depth of piety, fine quality of unction, or that closeness and directness of contact with the eternal world and the Eternal Person which Quakerism had been specially sent to manifest among men.' May not this be applied to certain agitations of our own day?

In short, this book is a worthy contribution to the literature of a great subject: and by its mingled scholarship and candour, its discernment and its faithfulness, it helps us to understand along what roads men travelled to bring to us the precious things of our religious inheritance.

W. FIDDLIAN MOULTON.

## THE RED LIGHTS OF LABOUR

THAT murder will out is nowhere more plainly seen than in statistics of victims of dangerous trades. What could be rightly termed a murder list can easily be compiled. Figures published in official records give

furiously to think. During a given month, and that typical, the number of wage-earners reported as killed in the course of their employment is 255, an increase of 26 on the month previous, and of 66 on a year ago. For five years the mean number for the month in question was 216, the maximum 286, and the minimum 189 deaths. This appalling death-roll is distributed amongst the following industries: mining, railway service, quarries, factories, building occupations. The total number of cases of poisoning and of anthrax reported to the Home Office under the Factory and Workshop Act during the month under survey was 61, of which 52 were due to lead poisoning, and 7 to anthrax. So much for recent statistics.

If a general survey of dangerous trades be taken, what a grim tale of casualty and disease is revealed! Red lights of labour! Think, for example, of the countless army of men, women and children who every day of their lives are subject to the scourge known as lead poisoning. The smelter of metals, the file-cutters of Sheffield, the printer, the china and earthenware worker, are familiar with it. The disease invades industries other than these—it is at work among the coach-making and brass-working trades, while ever ravaging the paint factory, where white, yellow and red lead is prepared. The terrible fact about lead poisoning is its increasing ravages. During the four months ended April, the number of cases reported under the Factory and Workshop Act was 285, as compared with 205 in the corresponding period of 1912. Think of the hundreds of families to whom this disease anthrax brings poverty and misery, when the bread-winner is struck down by the fell scourge. One scarcely realizes that the file used by us to ease a lock or key has been probably manufactured at the cost of a workman's health—or, alas, his death.

Mercurial poisoning claims its victims too. The workers here are those engaged in barometer and thermometer making, also in the furrier's processes. Phosphorus poisoning has a similar murder list; the victims are lucifer match workers, principally women and girls, and liable to the terrible scourge of 'phossy-jaw.' Arsenic poisoning is the dread lot of those who work in paints, colours and extraction of arsenic. Anthrax is a disease not confined to animals, and its ravages are indicated in the figures already given; it is found among those who are employed in wool sorting and combing, handling of horsehair, hides and skins.

The list of dangerous trades is not exhausted by the above enumeration. A dozen others might be cited. You have the factories where celluloid is used, where explosives are handled, as in firework industry. As to explosives, it is right to say that the strictest care is taken by the State and employer alike to reduce to the minimum the terrible likelihood of danger. The girls who work in firework factories may be likened to those who play with death, for slight mishap would blow all to atoms. The proprietors of firework factories have devised elaborate precautions to ensure safety. Each person employed is searched on entering, and matches, steel, or anything in fact likely to cause a spark of fire removed. Also each worker has to remove boots or shoes, and put on special indiarubber ones. The nail of a boot striking some object on the

floor might cause a fire, hence the precaution. The actual work is carried on in small isolated buildings, so that a mishap in one may not spread to the others. Yet in spite of all precautions, accidents do happen, and firework making must be classed as one of the danger lights of our industries.

Coal-mining, it is needless to say, is the industry of all others most productive of death and injury, disease and woe. Our hardy miners run incredible risks, the chief being fire-damp, coal-dust explosions, falls of ground, shaft accidents, disasters from electricity, gob-fire, and of course there are the risks due to negligence on the part of the miners themselves.

Gob-fires are the calamity most dreaded by the miner. These are the fires of the coal refuse that is incidental to working, and to them one must look for an explanation of all underground spontaneous combustion fires at a colliery. At every coal-mine disaster the term gob-fire comes up for discussion. How are gob-fires caused? It can be explained thus—the oxidization of the organic constituents of coal. Simplified, it means that fire itself is only a very rapid oxidization, and coal absorbs oxygen, absorption produces heat, heat quickens absorption, and so the process goes on spreading with alarming rapidity. The best way to avoid risk is the loading up and removal of all fine slack and refuse. The danger is all the more terrible inasmuch as a gob-fire may be present without the miners being aware of it. Some have been known to smoulder for years.

Many accidents in the coal-mine occur from small beginnings. A man may go with a lighted candle into a disused part of the colliery, thinking everything quite safe, yet there has been a residuum of undetected gas all the time, and the result is an explosion. Again, the utmost precautions sometimes fail. In the Springwell Colliery in the Northumberland Coalfields, an accident occurred which was due to a defective safety-lamp, the gauze of which was riveted to a copper ring by three rivets, one of which had dropped out, leaving a hole about one-tenth of an inch in diameter.

As to shaft accidents, the following brief summary is sufficient evidence of a real danger here. At Bomarsun Colliery a man attending a pump was alone at an upper level, and appears to have put his head over a gate fencing the shaft and was caught by the cage. At Ouston, Felling, and Roachburn Collieries, persons ascending or descending fell from the cages; in one of these cases a glass bottle carried by a lad in his pocket had projected and caught a piece of timber. At the Ravensworth Colliery a sinker engaged in enlarging a shaft, fell down the shaft while attempting to climb on to a cradle. At Choppington Colliery a horsekeeper fell down the shaft, owing to the cage into which he was stepping being suddenly moved by the engineman, who mistook the signal given. A ladder placed in the shaft bottom having tilted, caused a shaftman to fall into the shaft at the Hylton Colliery. So one could go on exposing the dangers to which our brave miners are liable, but sufficient has been indicated to prove the perils under which they work.

The danger lights are not confined to land. At sea the mariner meets death and accident, from angry seas, collisions, fire, falling spars—from

all he is hourly in danger. So the fisherman, whose amazing life amid dire perils is the wonder of his landward countrymen.

In our great factories where machinery is now extensively employed the conditions of labour are all but safe; it is in the specialized industries we have noted that danger lies. What a tribute to our British character, is it not, that our toiling millions cheerfully pursue the daily task without complaining, knowing that death and disease dog their footsteps! We can only trust that more and more will be done to eliminate the dangers that beset the industrial workers of our land.

G. A. LEASK.

### STANDS JUDAISM WHERE IT DID?

AMONG the recent issues of Messrs. Jacks' People's Books is one on *Judaism*, by Ephraim Levine, M.A. In his eighty pages the author presents an accurate and useful summary of the problems that confront Judaism to-day. He does not minimize the importance of the various—and serious—problems, religious, political, economic, and social, that await solution. Truly Judaism seems to be in the melting-pot. It has had a tragic history, and Mr. Levine's little book is pathetic reading. The tragedy of the past seems as nothing compared to the drama now being enacted. If we read the book aright, Judaism is fast losing its essential characteristics. The power of the Jews to assimilate what they find in other peoples, their gift of combination and adaptation, and the art of blending different elements, has had its natural effect in the loosening of the bonds of the past.

Mr. Levine tells us, 'The Jew has persisted because Judaism persists.' When we come to the end of the eighty pages, we ask how much longer Judaism is likely to persist? While Mr. Levine is hopeful, there does not seem much ground for his hope. The mission of the Jews was a glorious one. Judaism was great as a prophetic religion. When the note of prophecy ceased, its vitality ceased. It has lived on its past. There has been no sign of progress. What has Mr. Levine to tell us of the future? What is the mission of the Jew to the world? The Jew, he says, is to take his place 'in the van of religious progress, and stand before the world as a model of virtue, of integrity, and morality.' Secondly, 'When the consummation will be, no one can foretell: but, till the day arrives, when God's Spirit will be poured out over all flesh, the children of Israel will continue to carry on the work which began on Sinai, and which will only be completed when the unity of God is recognized by all His creatures.'

That is the best he can give us, an ethical hope, with little inspiration to make it a reality. When we study Judaism as it exists at the present day, we find the very safeguards and rules that so far have preserved Judaism are slackening on all sides. While it is true, 'You cannot make a man moral by defining and enlarging the rules by which he ought to live,' it is equally true, that the religion, the ritual, the ceremonial, the



minute practices of the Jew has preserved him. The Judaism of the Talmud has created the Jew, and made him one of the most stubbornly conservative of beings. Now the western spirit has pierced through the defences, and Israel is being emancipated by the civilization, and de-Judaized at the same time.

While the various nations oppressed and segregated the Jews, they held together, and kept their typical and peculiar characteristics. His very uniqueness is due to the treatment meted out to him. He has been preserved by persecution. The solid wall of his obedience to ritual has preserved the race. The hostile legislation of many nations has made him what he is. Since the Jew has found more liberty, he has become less Jewish. The days of the old rabbinism and of Talmudism are passing. There is a levelling pressure going on. Modern life is influencing the household, the family life, the domestic life, in many directions. Only in out-of-the-way places do you find the patriarchal life that once stood for so much in Judaism. The habits, customs, and ideals are changing. There is no compulsion to remain an Oriental. The Jew is transformed into the modern man. The old picturesque customs, habits, and dress are fast passing away.

The Talmud kept Israel bound to its ritual during fifteen centuries—that is, the civil laws of the lands in which the Jew lived made him a prisoner amongst his own people. He was not allowed to pass out. He could not take root anywhere. So the bonds of his religion bound the Jew to the Jew. The psychology of religious minorities was his—a clannishness, a particularism, that helped to make him what he was.

But now all doors are open to him. He tries to become like his neighbours. You cannot fail to notice how in mind, feeling, acts, he is becoming like the country where he lives. The Jewish ritual made the Jew 'national' as he obeyed it. The Talmud wished to protect Israel from becoming Gentile. In dress, language, names he now de-Judaizes himself. He is beginning to change his Sabbath for Sunday, to use the vernacular instead of the Hebrew, to abolish the act of circumcision, and to alter the dietary laws. 'The dietary laws are felt by many to be what they really are intended to be, a means of separation of the Jews from his neighbour, and they are not understood any longer to be a means of preservation.' So the strict observance of Jewish ceremonial becomes an intolerable burden. Others believe that science and the criticism of the Bible have shattered the foundations of Judaism.

'It is easy, therefore,' says Mr. Levine, 'to understand how modern Judaism presents such a peculiar aspect; for the unified force of faith, tradition, and scholarship has a hard battle to fight with ignorance, indifference, and assimilation.'

The reaction was against the narrow and materialistic ritualism of the Talmud, which reaction was inevitable, once the liberty of thought was given to the Jew; and that liberty came when he was free to act. The Jews have found the changed conditions under which they live have emphasized the difficulty of a complete obedience to the Talmud-code. 'If Judaism, as we believe,' says Mr. Levine, 'is a progressive religion,

the era of inspiration and revelation is not over. God speaks to His servants in every age, and the time may come when one with authority may arise to codify once again the regulations that, summed up, go to the making of Judaism.'

Judaism still repeats the 12th Article of its faith, 'I believe with a perfect heart that the Messiah will come, and although His coming be delayed, I will await His speedy appearance.'

But to many the Messiah is not a man, or a conqueror, but an epoch, a new era. Israel is the 'suffering servant,' persecuted and liberated, humiliated and glorified. They have blended the old prophetic doctrine of the Messiah with the philosophic teaching of a perfected Humanity. The Jewish hope of the Messiah's advent and ministry may be summed up in the words of the Lord's Prayer, 'Thy Kingdom come.' He expects the city of universal justice and love, but he expects it to come through the materializing of the promises of Scripture. Another name for the Messiah to many Jews would be 'Progress,' and Reason, Science, and Wealth are to be her handmaids. He forgets that moral conditions are the eternal conditions of all human progress. Judaism still finds no place for Jesus Christ. Its vision of God is incomplete and unsatisfying. Its spiritual conception of the nature of sin is defective. 'They regard sin as an act not as a state, as the cough not as the disease, as the hectic flush not as the deadly consumption.'

Still 'the vail is upon their hearts,' and though thousands of Jews (at least 200,000 last century) have become Christians and can bear their witness to real Christianity, the present condition of Judaism becomes an additional plea to the Church to answer the daily prayer of orthodox Judaism, 'Come over and help us,' and thus pay part of the debt the Church owes to the Jew.

FREDERICK BALCH.

## Recent Literature

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### THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

*The Fourfold Gospel: Introduction.* By E. A. Abbott, D.D.  
(Cambridge University Press. 2s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Abbott's volumes of *Diatessarica*, of which this is the tenth, include more than four thousand numbered paragraphs and at least as many closely printed pages. The difficulty of reviewing the single *fasciculus* before us arises from the fact that it is but a small part of a larger whole, and that Dr. Abbott's work is so closely concatenated that every part in a sense implies all the rest. The present volume, however, he tells us, is issued by way of drawing in nets which in earlier volumes he had been letting down. The value of those volumes in themselves has been more than once recognized in the pages of this REVIEW. Their desultory and digressive character has contributed to their value, for many readers of Dr. Abbott find themselves helped and stimulated by his passing suggestions, when they cannot accept his elaborately constructed theories.

Conclusions from vast and various premises are now to be drawn. But characteristically the author presents us at present only with an 'Introduction' to these conclusions. It contains the principles on which those narratives and discourses of the Gospels are to be interpreted that 'are in some sense attested *dis tesseris*, through four.' But he points out that a witness may sometimes attest through silence, even—strange as it may seem—by verbal omission. Or the testimony may be indirect, yet very real; as when John corroborates the statements of Matthew and Mark that Christ could not work certain miracles on account of the people's unbelief, by his record of Christ's declaration that the Son can do nothing of Himself but what He seeth the Father doing.

The chief points discussed in the volume are, Which Gospel should stand first? the answer being, Mark. Which last? Answer, John. What is the relation of John, the latest evangelist, to Mark, the earliest? The answer is given at length, as Dr. Abbott seeks to show that the allusions in John to Mark and the attempts made in the Fourth Gospel to supplement and explain the first (our second), are much more numerous than is generally understood. It is true that this implies a good deal of subtlety, but the fourth evangelist, according to Dr. Abbott, is very subtle, in the better sense of the word. An interesting parallel is drawn between St. John's relation to St. Mark and the relation of the books of Chronicles to the books of Kings. Dr. Abbott himself may incur the charge of over-subtlety here, but there is much in his comparison that is distinctly illuminating, especially as regards the measure of freedom that a Jewish

chronicler considered himself fully permitted to exercise in his selection of material and the kind of freedom that he chooses to employ. Two brief chapters are concerned with the order and arrangement discernible in Matthew and Luke, both of which are shown to have an appropriate beginning and end in a sense not true of Mark, and the volume closes with an account of the order and arrangement discernible in John. This last chapter, dealing with the 'beginning,' the Johannine 'genealogy'—*sub specie eternitatis*—the sequence of events, the raising of Lazarus, the 'end' and the 'postscript,' is highly characteristic of Dr. Abbott's style and method. It will attract and persuade some readers, as surely as others will pronounce it fanciful and unconvincing.

It is of no use to complain of Dr. Abbott's idiosyncrasies and to wish that he would concentrate his efforts and produce more definite and concrete results. He is himself, and we may well wonder at the vitality and fertility of his mind, as in advanced years he is labouring indefatigably at problems the discussion of which he started in this country by the article 'Gospels' in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* in 1890. It is interesting to note that he finds the conviction growing in his mind that 'the Fourth Gospel, in spite of its poetic nature, is closer to history than I had supposed.' The dedication prefixed to this volume strikes the keynote to his work as a whole. The book is offered 'to those who are willing to undertake the study of the four Gospels as imperfect documents in the belief that their very imperfections were permitted or ordained to draw us nearer through the letter to the spirit of the Perfect Life which they imperfectly describe.'

*Gospel Origins.* By the Rev. W. W. Holdsworth, M.A.

*A Handbook of Christian Apologetics.* By A. E. Garvie, D.D.  
(Duckworth & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

These volumes distinctly enrich the series of *Studies in Theology* to which Dean Inge, Dr. Peake, Dr. Workman and other eminent scholars have already made contributions. Prof. Holdsworth's Fernley Lecture showed that he was making the Synoptic Problem his special field, and the new volume is an interesting endeavour to define more closely than other scholars have done the sources used by the three evangelists. Dr. Arthur Wright's distinction between the three editions of the Markan narrative which appear in our three Gospels, suggested to Mr. Holdsworth the line which he has taken, though 'he applies this differentiation not to an oral tradition, but to documents.' The recognition of a deutero-Mark in the first Gospel, had led the author to the conclusion that the Logia of St. Matthew are not lost but are sandwiched between distinctly Markan sections, in the Gospel which bears St. Matthew's name. The subject has a fascination of its own. Mr. Holdsworth soon makes his readers share his enthusiasm. We see how the Gospels arose from the apostolic preaching, and get a critical history of criticism which will be of real value to students. Then we pass to a study of the 'Sayings of Jesus,' which form a prominent part of the first and third Gospels and a

close investigation of each Gospel. A closing chapter on the Justification of Historical Criticism, contains an acute critique of Mr. J. M. Thompson's assumptions in his book on *Miracles*. Mr. Holdsworth's mastery of his subject and his lucid style will strongly commend this book to all students. Principal Garvie covers a wider field. He also has his criticism of Mr. Thompson in his timely chapter on Inspiration and Miracle. Thirty years ago Robertson Smith's advocacy of the Higher Criticism as applied to the Bible led to his removal from his professorship; now Dr. Garvie says, 'The method is accepted without demur in nearly all the theological colleges of not only Scotland, but of the English-speaking world.' The chapter on 'The Christian View of God,' with its reference to the word 'person' as applied to the Trinity, is valuable, and so is the treatment of the study of Comparative Religion. It is the book of a master in theology who wisely restates some of its chief positions in the light of modern thought.

*Within Our Limits: Essays on Questions Moral, Religious, and Historical.* By Alice Gardner. (Unwin. 7s. 6d. net.)

Miss Gardner's essays, with one exception, were originally addresses to women students. Their ruling idea is that clear thinking on fundamental principles and concentrated action in dealing with present-day problems call for more time and energy 'in marking out the several fields before us, pointing out distinctions among the things submitted to our observation, and tracing as far as possible their relations to one another.' The fourteen essays deal with crucial subjects such as Free Thought and its Possible Limitations, Belief in Miracles, Responsibility, Religion and Progress. Miss Gardner holds that 'for those who can think, and think reverently, patiently, and faithfully, there is never any danger lest thought should become too free.' In the suggestive paper on 'Belief in Miracles,' she holds that 'the distance between miraculous and non-miraculous Christianity is small in comparison with that between the Secularist and the religious views of life, which are poles apart.' It is a frank study which will not carry conviction to all minds, but which all will read with acute interest. The essays on 'Ideas of Sin and its Remission' and on 'Christian Apologetics' are on the same high level of thought and feeling. Miss Gardner holds 'that when apologists have done their best or their worst, Christianity will stand or fall far less by their arguments than by the power of Christian faith and love acting in the lives and thoughts of Christian men and women.' Miss Gardner puts her argument very clearly and always stimulates thought.

*The Future of Christianity.* By D. Macdonald, D.D. (Humphrey Milford. 7s. 6d. net.)

The writer of this study began to think about the future of Christianity forty years ago, when he was at work on the mission field. He felt that it was essential to determine Christ's own purpose as to the development of His Messianic Kingdom, and in his book he has tried to find it out.

His study begins with Daniel, the Old Testament 'Revelation,' which gives a clear view of the setting-up of the Messianic Kingdom. The Gospels show that 'the Fall of Jerusalem was, in the fullest sense, the Second Advent of the Son of Man which was primarily contemplated by the earliest voices of prophecy.' The great passage in Matt. xxiv. does not predict the Last Judgement, though it is typical of it. Dr. Macdonald dates the Apocalypse on the eve of the outbreak of the war in which Jerusalem was destroyed. He holds that the interpretation given in his book clears away 'an obscurity that has long been a grievous perplexity to Christian souls, and a reproach to the Christian Church.' It is a lucid, reasonable exposition, admirable in judgement and temper, and we are persuaded that its leading positions will commend themselves to a great body of thoughtful readers.

*What is the Truth about Jesus Christ? Problems of Christology.* By Friedrich Loofs, Ph.D., Th.D. (T. & T. Clark. 4s. net.)

Prof. Loofs delivered these lectures in 1911 at Oberlin College, Canada, under the auspices of its Theological Department. He has since added the notes, and that has caused some delay, though it has enriched the volume. No subject is more timely or more crucial than that here discussed. Research on the life of Jesus began in Germany with Reimarus. Dr. Loofs examines the non-Christian evidence and then turns to St. Paul's letters, from which Renan said that a brief sketch of the life of Jesus might be drawn. Liberal German Jesus-research, which considers Him to be merely a human being, is approaching shipwreck. The fact is that no one relying on the supposition that Jesus was a purely human being is able to write a really historical life of Him. It does not do justice to the sources and is not tenable in itself. Dr. Loofs goes further than many of us are willing to follow, when he says, 'Exaggerations, insufficient acquaintance with the so-called natural laws, and wrong interpretation of metaphorical language, undoubtedly helped to form our tradition.' But he does great service by showing that the assumption that the life of Jesus was a purely human one is disproved both by the sources and by the experience of believers in all ages. 'For the self-consciousness of Jesus breaks the frame of a purely human life, and the experience of believers in all the Christian centuries confirms the assumption that the disciples of Jesus were right in seeing more in Him than a mere man.' In the closing lecture on 'Modern Forms of Christology' Dr. Loofs says, 'No science can prevent us from saying: The historical Jesus is the same as the Christ of faith, i.e. the Christ who was a man, but also the beginner of a new mankind, and the Christ in whose face we behold the glory of God, our Saviour and our Lord.' His criticism of 'orthodox Christology' is singularly unsatisfactory, and the discussion of the first verses of the Fourth Gospel is very weak. He is able to point out difficulties, but he has no explanation to offer, and takes refuge in the 'mystery of Christ.' The last two lectures are distinctly disappointing.

The first part of *The Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures is The Epistles to the Thessalonians*, translated by the Rev. Cuthbert Lattey, S.J., Professor of Holy Scripture at St. Benno's College, St. Asaph. He and another Jesuit priest, the Rev. Joseph Keating, editor of *The Month*, are the General Editors. The General Preface refers to Dr. Lingard's new version of the Gospels which appeared in 1896, 'the first Catholic attempt at translating the Bible into English direct from the original languages.' No further attempt was made till 1898, when the Rev. F. A. Spencer, an American Dominican, issued a version of the four Gospels. The object of the present workers is to present a 'readable Bible' couched in dignified and accurate English and supplying in printing, arrangements, and notes, every help to the intelligent and pleasant perusal of the sacred text. A valuable historical sketch of Thessalonica and the founding of the Church and the occasion of the Epistles is given, and St. Paul's eschatology is treated in a learned and judicious Appendix. The translation is admirable for its lucidity and its fidelity to the original. It lacks some of the felicitous touches of the Authorized Version, but it is a sound and scholarly piece of work which we are profoundly thankful to see issued with the imprimatur of Cardinal Bourne.

*The Fundamental Christian Faith.* By C. A. Briggs, D.D.  
(T. & T. Clark. 6s. net.)

The death of Dr. Briggs is a great loss to sacred scholarship, and this luminous study of 'The Origin, History, and Interpretation of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds' is a fitting close to his life-work. It is the outcome of some years of teaching on Symbolics in the Union Theological Seminary. He attempts 'to give an account of the origin and history of the Creeds in the light of Historical Criticism, and to explain them in accordance with scientific principles of interpretation in the light of the Holy Scriptures upon which they are based, and of the writings of the Christian Fathers of the time of their composition.' The Creeds are essentially Christological, expressing the personal convictions and religious experiences of Christians in their relation to Jesus Christ their Saviour. Dr. Briggs quotes the forms in which the Apostles' Creed is first given by Irenaeus and Tertullian. It was probably kept secret in earlier times as a symbol used in the ceremony of baptism. Passages from Justin, which might be multiplied from contemporary literature, make it evident that the essential point in the argument against Jew and heretic was just the Virgin Birth of our Lord. Dr. Briggs lays great emphasis on the necessity of the Virgin Birth as the first act of the Son of God for our salvation. 'The incarnation itself, and indeed by Virgin Birth, was the initial saving act of the Son of God.' The chief objections made to the resurrection of the body of Jesus are of the same kind as those made against the Virgin Birth. 'They are *a priori* in their nature, due to hostility to anything that is supernatural.' But it is not the bodily resurrection of a mere man, but of the Son of God, the divine man; 'not the resurrection of an ordinary body, but of an extraordinary body, united at the incarnation by Virgin conception once for all and forever

to divinity.' That is the spirit of the work. It is a piece of historical criticism of the best kind, full of insight into the essentials of Christian faith and throwing light on all the great Christological problems of the first centuries.

*Songs of the Jewish Church.* By James T. Pinfold, M.A., B.D. (Kelly. 8s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Pinfold here provides a brief and readable introduction to the Psalter, such as is likely to be useful to younger ministers and Bible students generally. He discusses such subjects as the nature of the Psalms, their dates, authorship and compilation, their music and poetry, as well as the theology of the Psalmists, including their ideas concerning God, sin, personal religion and the future life. The work is done in a clear, pleasant, and intelligent fashion. The critical standpoint is on the whole conservative, somewhat more so perhaps than (say) that of Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*. The writer does not obtrude questions of scholarship, but shows that he has studied them in the light of recent Biblical literature. He quotes such writers as Hengstenberg and Perowne, S. Davidson, Cheyne and Briggs, Kirkpatrick and W. T. Davison, and without setting forth any markedly original views, forms and declares his own opinions. The chapters on the Imprecatory and the Messianic Psalms are examples of places where his work is disappointing. A much more thorough treatment of the Messianic Psalms and the Christian use of them is desirable, even in such a brief handbook as the present. But the whole work is carefully done on the scale planned by the author and may be commended as a useful and interesting handbook to the Psalter.

Messrs. Macmillan's *Shilling Theological Library* is very attractive in form and type, and the volumes that open the series are just those that a minister or a reader with theological tastes will be eager to add to his shelves. The Globe 8vo is a handy size and the purple cloth covers are neat and strong. Dean Church supplies two volumes—*Staten Village Sermons* and his famous *Discipline of the Christian Character*. Dr. Illingworth's masterpieces, *Divine Immanence* and *Personality, Human and Divine*; Charles Kingsley's *Village Sermons* and *Good News of God*; Dean Farrar's *Seekers after God* and *Eternal Hope* are here. Phillips Brooks is represented by *The Candle of the Lord* and nine other sermons, Prof. Hort by his *Sermons on the Books of the Bible*, Bishop Westcott by *The Gospel of the Resurrection*. Sir John Seeley's *Ecce Homo* is included, and among the recent books is William Temple's *The Faith and Modern Thought*, *The Faith of a Christian*, by Bernard Lucas, and *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*. The selection is admirable. Such a library brings the best theological reading within the reach of many to whom some of these volumes have not easily been accessible, and will earn the lasting gratitude of men with large brains and modest purses.

Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton have added sixteen more volumes of the greatest value and interest to their *Expositor's Library* (2s. net). They include Bishop Moule's *Philippian Studies* and *Colossian Studies*



(which are in their own style incomparable), and his *Christ is all*, Bishop Creighton's *Heritage of the Spirit*, Dr. Forsyth's *Work of Christ*, Dr. Orr's *Resurrection of Jesus*, *Christ's Service of Love*, by Hugh Black, Dr. Wenyon's *Creation Story in the Light of To-day*, Samuel Chadwick's *Humanity and God*, Canon Newbolt's *Cardinal Virtues*, Archbishop Benson's *Living Theology*, Archdeacon Wilberforce's *Speaking Good of his Name*. Two volumes of Dr. Parker's vivacious expositions of the Pauline Epistles are the latest additions, with Dr. Watson's rich unfolding of *The Doctrines of Grace* and Principal Selbie's noble volume on *Aspects of Christ*. The library now includes fifty volumes, and is one of the greatest boons for preachers and students of theology.

- (1) *At Close Quarters*. By John A. Hutton, M.A. (2) *Through Night to Morning*. By A. C. Dixon, B.A., D.D. (3) *The Challenge of Christ*. By J. Howard B. Masterman, M.A. (Robert Scott. 8s. 6d. net each.)

(1) This is a book which deals with men and truths and things at close quarters. It would be almost impossible to exaggerate its profound insight into matters which are not commonplaces of the pulpit, but which are serious realities of life. The writer has a mind of extraordinary subtlety and grasp, and a power of luminous exposition and presentation, which makes deep things look so simple that they can be apprehended by all. There is nothing meretricious in the construction of the sermons, but there is not one that is upon a hackneyed theme, and it is but simple truth to say that there is not a commonplace thought or expression in the whole of the book. There is a sustained excellence, a fruitfulness of profound brooding, a large suggestion, an impressive unveiling of great things which declare that the great days of the pulpit are not overpast. The power of the pulpit needs no finer *apologia* than this volume, none could speak slightly of the place where his sermons were spoken, they are a new revelation and vindication of the light and power that come from a church where a man has consecrated a fine mind and soul to his holy office. This is a book to read and read again, to muse upon, to get into the very blood; it will rebuke, and bring back the grace of humility, but it will inspire and set the soul aflame with the passion of being a preacher worthy to be called by that great name.

(2) These are earnest, simple, bright, interesting addresses, for the most part upon quite familiar themes, illustrated with incident and anecdote, and always well within the intelligence of the quite ordinary man. They strike no deep note, they travel not with lighted candle among the subtleties of the Christian life that are often so perplexing, they do not lay bare the heart of some great mystery. They look like sermons that have been easily made, they carry little suggestion of sustained thought, of really grappling with a great word of God's, they catch too much at easily seen outstanding points. But everywhere they are animated by sincerity, seriousness, and a quite evident desire to do good, and to those who have been given to Dr. Dixon this book will be as veritable bread of heaven,

and a spring of waters of sweet refreshing. It is an infinite mercy that in this vast world of need God raises up preachers for all classes, and to one of these this preacher will speak with authority and encouragement and hope.

(8) The aim of the preacher in this volume of sermons is high, and it is one of immediate urgency; it is to make men confront the great problem, 'What is the nature and ground of the demand that Jesus Christ makes on human lives?' In a thousand ways the challenge of Christ is making itself heard—what does that challenge involve, and by what right does He urge it and how and why must men respond to it? It will be seen at once that there is no greater problem, nor one which holds so many things in its solution, nor one which has a more pressing urgency. But in a volume of sermons the preacher can only hope to deal with phases of so large a theme, and his treatment is sure to lack that wholeness which such a subject demands. A treatise is required to adequately present it, whereas the preacher has only a set of addresses. But these sermons are a large suggestion toward an exposition, they are full of insight and sanity, they present the insistent claims of our Lord without abatement, they make His voice to be really heard, and in many ways they reveal the method of response. It is not simply that the preacher has a mind of rare penetration and grasp, he has also a heart that is sensitive and a spirit that is sure, and great things come within his ken, which he has the genius to present with interest and sympathy and power. It is a very noble volume of sermons, catholic, generous, large-minded and large-souled, and full of challenge and inspiration.

*Studies in the Religions of the East.* By Alfred S. Geden, M.A., D.D. (Kelly. 12s. net.)

Dr. Geden has laid all students of Comparative Religion under obligation by the publication of lectures which, as he tells us, were first given to his students in Richmond College. They now become available for the increasing number of those who seek to understand both the common spring and the final consummation of religious thought. The industry, the acumen, and the insight of a scholar, are writ large upon every page of this book, and to these are added a wide sympathy with all religious effort, and a perfect loyalty to that which appears to the author to be the final goal of all. The literature on Comparative Religion is already exceedingly great, and Dr. Geden lays it all under contribution, so that the student of this subject is able to find within the compass of a single volume a summary of the teaching of those who have preceded him, and in the excellent bibliography attached to each chapter he may at once discover authorities to whom he may refer should he wish to study these systems more in detail.

The author begins with a chapter on 'Origins,' in which earlier forms of Religion are classified with a view to arriving at a decision as to the fundamental character of Religion. The essential element of Religion is found in worship, but this seems to lay too great an emphasis on the human aspect. The contribution from the divine side has to be taken

into account. 'The human and the divine are joined in inseparable mutual relationship.' This very suggestive chapter is followed by others in which the systems peculiar to Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria, and India are passed in review. From these we pass to those of Taoism, Shintoism, Zoroastrianism, and Mohammedanism, and it will thus be seen that most of the systems peculiar to Asiatic peoples are discussed. The method followed is to bring before the reader the first vague gropings of the human mind in each case, and this is followed by a survey of the literature and an account of the great religious teachers of each system. The treatment is thus largely historical. Limitations of space alone would prevent Dr. Geden from attempting anything like a discussion of these religions on the philosophical side. This will remain as a necessary sequel for the student himself.

Perhaps the section which the general reader will find most interesting is that which describes the different reformers who have arisen in India, and the catholic sympathy of the author appears most distinctly here. This, of course, is what might be expected in one who has himself shared the modern life of India. It is therefore strange that he should have omitted to describe in greater detail modern reforms in Mohammedanism, and we hope that the opportunity of a second edition will be used to give us a section on this most interesting movement. Reference is made to a revival of interest among Buddhists, but here again, in view of the close affinity which is claimed between Buddhism and Theosophy, a fuller treatment would increase the value of the work. Such criticisms, however, may seem excessive in view of the width of the field to be covered, and we readily admit that the work reveals an admirable gift in the author of both selection and compression. If the student will recognize that, like all wise teachers, the author only brings within his reach the materials out of which he may proceed to build up his own conclusions, no harm will result from the fact that here and there a fuller treatment is required. The work is admirably presented by the publishers.

*The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah together with the Lamentations.* With Introduction and Notes by A. W. Streane, D.D. (Cambridge University Press. 8s. net.) Jeremiah displays the circumstances and relations of Judah as no other prophet does. Dr. Streane brings this out clearly, describes the religious teaching of the book concerning God, sin, the nations, religious observances, and Messianic hopes. Everything that a student of the prophecy needs is to be found in this scholarly Introduction, and the notes explain difficulties and supply illustration in a really helpful way.

*The Book of Daniel*, Introduction, Revised Version with Notes, Index and Map, edited by R. H. Charles, D.Litt., D.D. (Jack. 2s. 6d. net.) With the present volume the 'Century Bible' Series comes to a close. The Series is an addition to English commentaries at once popular and replete with the results of the most modern research, and it is carried through with remarkable evenness. Editors, publishers and Bible students are alike to be congratulated. Whether we accept all the interpretations or

not, we are bound to take them into careful consideration. Dr. Charles is one of our chief authorities on Jewish eschatology and apocalypse. The difficulties of Daniel are well known, and they are not all solved. One of these, the bilingual one, is discussed in view of the many theories advocated, one of which is accepted provisionally. We know that the book was from the first included in the third section of the canon, that of the Holy writings. The differences between the two Greek versions, that of the LXX and Theodotion, are also discussed. It is remarkable how much information is packed into small compass, and how intricate questions are stated in the simplest, clearest language.

The two new volumes of *The Great Texts of the Bible* (T. & T. Clark: 6s. net subscription price) are *Job to Psalm xxiii.* and *Ephesians to Colossians.* The riches of Psalm xxiii. come out in the fact that it claims a quarter of the volume. There is great store of incident and illustration here for preachers. The Epistles of the Captivity are lighted up by the fine volume given to them. Dr. Hastings and his helpers know what will brighten a sermon or Bible reading, and poetry is here as well as anecdote and incident culled from the best sources. Both volumes will be of real service.

*The Doctrine of the Person of Christ (post-Biblical).* By Edward Grubb, M.A. (Headley Bros. 1s. net.) This is the eighth volume of the Series of 'Bible Notes' issued from Selly Oak. It is the best survey of the history that we have seen, full, luminous, critical. It is interleaved for personal notes, and students will find it of great value.

*The Supreme Services.* By the Rev. F. R. Wilson. (R. Scott. 1s. 6d. net.) Fourteen Bible addresses to men which are sure to do good. They are bright and practical. *Thoughts in His Presence.* By the Rev. Wilfred M. Hopkins. (R. Scott. 2s. net.) 'Meditations upon the Sacrament of Holy Communion' which are suggestive and heart-searching. Many will welcome such a help to devout observance of the Sacrament. *Genesis as Originally compiled.* By F. W. H. (9d. net.) The writer thinks that he can divide the Genesis narrative into its ten original records. He attempts this with much care in his little volume. *Remember the Days of Old* (H. Milford, 6d. net), Bishop Ryle's sermon before the International Historical Congress, pays high tribute to the work of the historian in lighting up Hebrew and Christian history. It is intensely interesting.

*God's Apostle and High-Priest*, by Philip Mauro (Morgan & Scott, 2s. net.), sets forth the threefold work of Christ in the past as God's Apostle, in the present as the High-Priest in the heavenly Sanctuary, and in the future as King-Priest of the age to come. The earlier parts are full of New Testament teaching, but the last is to our minds visionary. *Foundation Truths of the Gospel.* (Morgan & Scott. 1s. net.) Valuable papers on the elements of Christian Theology by men whose names inspire confidence. *The Gift and the Life.* By Theodore Monod. (Morgan & Scott. 1s. net.) Beautiful and richly Evangelical addresses.

*On the Track of Truth*, by C. F. Moxon (J. & J. Bennett, 6s.), is

the strangest book we have seen for many a day. The writer believes in reincarnation, and thinks that his own son, not yet thirteen, acquired his 'most perfect worldly wisdom' in his 'previous existences.' There are some good stories of telepathy in the volume.

*Comparative Religion: Its Origin and Outlook.* A Lecture by L. H. Jordan, B.D. (H. Milford. 1s. net.) Mr. Jordan's brief historical retrospect of the study of Comparative Religion and his critique of the chief books on the subject lead up to a fuller estimate of two volumes in the 'Cambridge Manuals' and the 'Home University Library.' The lecture is of great interest to students of Comparative Religion.

*The Unpardonable Sin*, by Dr. C. Williams (Glaisher, 6d. net), is written for minds distressed by our Lord's words as to blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. The doctor examines the passages in the Synoptists and brings out his points with great clearness. He regards it as 'practically certain that no Christian has ever committed it.'

*The Children for the Church.* By the Rev. Sir W. R. Nicoll, LL.D., and the Rev. J. Williams Butcher. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6d. net.) Attention to this little book would bring about a great revival. It is one of the most timely messages that we have read for many a day, and every one who wishes to see 'The League of Young Worshipers' established ought to read it with close attention.

*Christian Science So-called: An Exposition and an Estimate.* By Henry C. Sheldon. (New York: Eaton & Mains. 50 cents net.) A pungent criticism based on carefully sifted evidence, impressively put and well pushed home. It is one of the most satisfactory little books that we have seen on the subject.

*The Pledges of His Love*, by Ebenezer J. Ives (Kelly, 1s. 6d. net), is a quiet, thoughtful exposition of the Lord's Supper, its symbolism, its commemorative quality, the communion it involves with God and with man, its covenant grace, its eucharistic nature, and the consecration it involves. The book is devout, scholarly, scriptural, and, above all, sure to draw the reader into closer and more tender relation to his Lord. It touches the deep strings of devotion, and warms the heart, while it searches the conscience and stirs the affections. As a manual of devotion it is excellent, and one or more of its chapters may wisely be read before communicating at the Lord's Table. *In the Upper Room.* By D. J. Burrell, D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 2s. net.) This is the latest addition to the Short Course Series. Dr. Burrell calls it a practical exposition of John xiii.-xvii. He selects some truth pervading a paragraph, elicits its bearing upon Christian character or privilege, and pushes it home with much devotional fervour. It is a good book to read; and in several places it starts the reader on a profitable course of thinking of his own. *Symbols of the Holy Spirit.* By James H. Hodson, B.A., B.D. (Kelly. 1s. 6d. net.) The object of this book is to expound the symbols used in Scripture to set forth the Person and work of the Holy Spirit. The work is done with loving care, and new light is thrown on many passages.

Mr. Hodson is a devout scholar and a clear thinker, and he here puts a wealth of illustration at the service of students and teachers. It is a book from which every preacher will gain much rich material. *Simple Lessons on the Life of our Lord*. By H. A. Lester and Eveline B. Jennings. (Longmans & Co. 1s. 6d. net.) These lessons begin with the announcement of the birth of the Baptist and come down to the Ascension and Pentecost. Two lessons are added on 'Missionary work.' It is a splendid course for a year's Sunday School work. Each lesson is in three parts: Preparation, Presentation, Application. A blackboard outline is given and a subject for 'Expression work' is added. The lessons are both suggestive and instructive. It is an admirable manual. *The Origin and History of Reincarnation*. A Symposium arranged by S. George. (Power Book Co. 2s. 6d. net.) The views of Mrs. Besant and others are collected together in this little volume. The Editor's verdict is well in accord with facts: 'How any one can say that reincarnation explains anything at all, passes comprehension.' *St. Paul's Hymn to Love*. By Percy C. Ainsworth. (Kelly. 1s. net.) These thirteen studies bring out the riches of 1 Cor. xiii. in an arresting and stimulating way. They have a music and a charm of their own, and every Bible student will be grateful for them. They were published with another set of sermons, but it is a real advantage to have them in a little volume of their own. *The Bible Remembrancer* (Morgan & Scott, 1s. 6d.) is a very compact set of helps for Bible readers. An analysis is given of each book and there are lists of kings and prophets in chronological order, and all the information that the student wants as to the travels of St. Paul, the names of the Apostles and other points of interest. It is distinctly conservative in its opinions, but it is a real storehouse of knowledge. *The Acts of the Holy Spirit*, by Arthur T. Pierson, and *Ruth the Moabitess and other Bible Readers*, by Henry Moorhouse (Morgan & Scott, 1s. net each), are richly evangelical and scriptural. *The Gospel according to St. Mark, i.-vi.* A Devotional Commentary. By the Rev. J. D. Jones, M.A. (Religious Tract Society. 2s.) Beautifully practical and evangelical, these studies will not only minister to devotional study, but will help all preachers and teachers to seize on the salient features of the Gospel and enrich their own teaching. *Entire Sanctification attainable in this Life* (Kelly, 1s.) is a new edition of Wesley's *Plain Account of Christian Perfection* with *Fletcher's Practical Application of the Doctrine*. The last can be had in a separate volume. There is nothing on the subject that is more sane or stimulating, and in this compact form we hope Wesley and Fletcher will continue to lead men along the highway of holiness. Dr. Ballard has written three more of his 'Why Not?' Series, which deal in a very helpful and convincing way with Agnosticism, Pantheism, and Rationalism. They cover all sides of the subject in a compact and thought-provoking style. *Retreats for the Soul*. By Sir H. S. Lunn. (Hodder & Stoughton. 1s. net.) Sir Henry Lunn's devotional Manual, *The Love of Jesus*, has been warmly welcomed, and this companion volume will be of great service to busy men who wish to get away for a day or two from the burdens of life. Sir Henry dwells on the need for retreats, the promise and the method. He

supplies litanies for use in retreats, and gives selections from Bishop Andrewes' *Devotions*, *The Imitation of Christ*, *The Spiritual Combat* and *Brother Lawrence*. There is a happy selection of sacred poetry for retreats, but names of translators as well as authors might have been added, and Charles Wesley's name is wrongly appended to 'Now I have found the ground wherein.' It is a wonderful little book which will bring blessing to many. Dr. Illingworth's *Divine Transcendence* is now added to Macmillan's Sixpenny Series. It is a complementary study to his noble treatise on Divine Immanence, and every one who masters them will have gained a firm grasp of one great realm of theology. Messrs. Macmillan have done good service by issuing this cheap edition within two years of the publication of the Essay.

*Sunday Schools and Religious Education.* Sermons and addresses. Edited by Rev. H. A. Lester, M.A., and Canon Morley Stevenson, M.A. (Longmans & Co. 8s. 6d. net.) These thirteen sermons and addresses touch upon all sides of Sunday school work. The Bishop of London's description of 'the Ideal Sunday School' has a glow about it which will warm the hearts of all workers. He describes it as a home of faith, a beacon of hope, a reservoir of love, a school of the Holy Ghost. Canon Stevenson's words on the Spiritual life of the Sunday school teacher will help all who read them. A great subject—the Sunday school and the home—is treated by the Bishop of Stepney in a way that ought to impress parents. 'The Sunday School and Confirmation' puts the subject well from a Churchman's point of view. It is a good book which will help both teachers and parents to make full use of a great opportunity.

*Plain Thoughts on Faith and Life.* By Wellealey P. Coddington. (Eaton & Maina. \$1 net.) These suggestive essays deal with such subjects as self-seeking, religion and the home, our Divine Touchstone, our work, our unconscious faults. There is rich thought here, and it is expressed in a way that stirs the mind and warms the heart. Christ is the touchstone—set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and 'in the love of man for man, the world to-day takes its law and its example from the Man of Nazareth.'

*God's Future: Or, The Religious Relation of Man to the Universe.* By G. H. Harrop. (Stockwell. 8s. 6d. net.) This is a vast subject, and Mr. Harrop works over it with discrimination and good sense. He has much to say of the Church's duty to the children, to the poor and the suffering, and to the world at large, and he says it in a way that enlarges one's conception of Christian duty. He regards mutual co-operation as the true ideal of life. It will support and encourage the best of men to propagate their kind, and will help the weak to stand firm against the troubles of life and contribute to the common fund all the usefulness there is in them. There is much food for thought in this fine study.

*The New Testament: Its Writers and Their Messages.* By C. F. Hunter, B.A. (J. W. Butcher. 2s. net.) Teachers and preachers will find this Introduction of great service. It gives a clear account of the authorship, purpose, date, and contents of each book of the New Testament.

Where there is difference of opinion the main arguments on both sides are carefully stated. The section on the Revelation gives a brief description of Apocalyptic literature which will be very useful, and the pages dealing with the authorship, style, and grammar, the purpose and the leading ideas of the book, are excellent. It is admirably arranged, and is both accurate and lucid.

*Life's Flood-Tide.* By J. Stuart Holden, M.A. (R. Scott. 8s. 6d. net.) These sermons deal with the problems and difficulties of daily life in a sympathetic and enlightened spirit. They all aim to lift men toward that fullness of life in Christ which bears them onward like a flood-tide. They will bring inspiration and courage to every serious reader.

*The Expository Times.* Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D. Vol. 24. (T. & T. Clark. 7s. 6d.) *The Expository Times* was never better edited or more vigorously alive. Its papers on Biblical and Oriental Archaeology, Sir William Ramsay's articles, the Great Text Commentary, and the notes and notices, are just what a minister wants to keep him abreast of everything that centres round the Bible, and to open up stores of knowledge that will give life and freshness to his whole ministry.

*The Risen Body*, by the Rev. Wilfrid Richmond (Longmans, 1s. net), is a discussion of certain points raised in Dr. Sparrow Simpson's book *The Resurrection and Modern Thought*. The reasoning is acute and well sustained, and the view of the spiritualization of matter is very suggestive. The continuity, both in Christ and in us, between the body before the Resurrection and the body risen is vigorously maintained.

*A Primer of Homiletics.* By John Edwards. New Edition. (Kelly. 2s. 6d. net.) This clear and sagacious book will be of great service to young students. It has been revised and enlarged, and we know nothing of the kind so stimulating and so useful. We hope it will get into the hands of a host of young preachers.

*Synopsis of Christian Theology.* By Samuel Oliver. (Kelly. 1s. net.) A sale of fourteen thousand copies is strong testimony to the value of this little book. It has been revised and enlarged, and will be very useful to young students of theology.

*The Men of the Gospels.* By Lynn H. Hough. (New York: Eaton & Mains. 50 cents net.) Delicate and discriminating sketches of Judas, Pilate, Herod Antipas and other men that figure in the Gospels. It is a beautiful bit of work.



## BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

*The Life of John Bright.* By George Macaulay Trevelyan.  
Illustrated. (Constable & Co. 15s. net.)

THIS Life will take high place as a great historical portrait. It brings Bright and his times clearly before us and lights up the memorable passages in our parliamentary history with which his name will always be associated. He was a strange gift of Quakerism to England, and his kinsfolk and neighbours were sorely puzzled when such a career opened before him. His father said, 'I don't like to see my son pushing himself to the front like this.' After he had decided to stand for Parliament he wrote to his mother-in-law, 'Don't blame me, hope for me and pray for me. The future may prove me not wholly wrong.' He did not speak in the religious meetings of the Society, though his voice was often heard in their meetings for business. But 'religious feeling, in its simplest form, was the very basis of his life. He was always a Friend before everything else; and a servant of God; a man of deep, though ever more silent devotion.' His story is well known, but this biography is based on much new material, and standard Lives are used with skill and insight. The wonderful partnership with Cobden, which did so much to bring the Corn Laws to an end, forms one of the brightest pages of our social politics. The two men were made to supplement each other's gifts, and though Cobden did not share Bright's views as to the extension of the Franchise, but devoted his strength to land reform and retrenchment based on a pacific foreign policy, that difference of opinion never cast a shadow on their friendship or weakened their alliance in other causes. Mr. Trevelyan says, 'On this point of political dynamics, Bright was more farseeing than his friend. If Cobden had the finer intellect, Bright had the shrewder instinct.' His relations with Peel, Lord John Russell, and Gladstone are described in much detail, but special interest surrounds his intimacy with Disraeli. In one respect he was no prophet. In 1850 he wrote to Cobden, 'Disraeli appears to have gone entirely out, and the whole country is revelling in plenty of bread.' Bright's journal refers to evenings that they spent together 'always with exclamations of fascinated wonder and amusement.' Disraeli tells him that 800,000 copies of the shilling edition of his novels had been sold in less than a year, and that '400,000 copies would give him a profit equal to his salary as Chancellor of the Exchequer.' He suggested in 1855 that when Derby's party came into power Bright might join their Cabinet. After the famous Angel of Death speech Bright says, 'I went into Bellamy's to have a chop, and Dizry came and sat down beside me, and he said, "Bright, I would give all that I ever had to have made that speech you made just now." And I just said to him, "Well, you might have made it if you had been honest."' The breach between them came later, but the Tory evidently felt the fascination of the man who was so strangely unlike himself. Bright had to bear much obloquy for his denunciation of the Crimean War. He was burnt in effigy, abused and caricatured, but he never wavered. 'Under a terrible strain he kept his

mind healthy and his temper clear; indeed, it was on this painful question of the Crimea that his oratory reached its highest dignity and perfection.' He lived long enough to become one of the most honoured men in England. He was buried at Rochdale, 'in front of the humble house of peace where he had worshipped as a child, in silence sometimes broken by the sound of workmen's footsteps up the steep flagged street. In death as in life he dwells among his own people.'

*William Morris: A Study in Personality.* By Arthur Compton-Rickett. (Herbert Jenkins. 7s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Cuninghame Graham's Introduction to this volume is worthy of a place beside the fine Hollyer photograph which forms the frontispiece. He thus describes his friend: 'His face was ruddy, and his hair inclined to red and grew in waves like water just before it breaks over a fall. His beard was of the same colour as his hair. His eyes were blue and fiery. His teeth small and irregular, but white except on the side on which he held his pipe, where they were stained with brown. When he walked he swayed a little, not like a sailor sways, but as a man who lives a sedentary life, toddles a little in his gait. His ears were small, his nose high and well made, his hands and feet small for a man of his considerable bulk.' Such a description whets the appetite for other details. Mr. Compton-Rickett has not merely studied Morris's poems and his decorative work, but has gathered up the first-hand impressions of Morris's intimates and acquaintances. His richest material comes in his first part—'The Manner of Man.' If you touched on some topic in which he was not interested 'he would shrug his body in a curious way, scratch himself vehemently, or go up to a door and rub his back against it as a sheep might, as if trying to get rid of the question.' He never seemed to be on the watch, yet little escaped his notice. Late in life he developed a habit of talking to himself whenever he was alone. One night a friend who was sleeping in the next room heard this continual booming and asked what was the matter. 'Oh, it's all right,' was the reply, 'I'm only talking to myself about the weather.' He loved Keats and the earlier Tennyson, but could not make 'head or tail' of *The Ring and the Book*. Mr. Scawen Blunt thought that Morris's was the strongest intellect he had been brought into close contact with. 'His range of knowledge was the widest, his reasoning power the keenest and his capacity for work.' A careful estimate is given of him as the Poet. After the Scandinavian mythology the Thames Valley was his most potent inspiration. 'He probably owed more to the waterscape and meadowland round Kelmscott than to any poet that ever lived.' He said himself, 'I love the earth through that small space of it.' Mr. Compton-Rickett's chapter on 'The Social Reformer' is of special interest. Every one who has Mr. Mackail's *Life* will want to set this volume beside it, and they will find it a really illuminating picture of one of the outstanding figures of the Victorian age. The analytical biography and synopsis of events deserves a hearty word of recognition.

*Later Reminiscences.* By J. L. Story. (Maclehose & Sons. 10s. 6d. net.)

Mrs. Story's *Early Reminiscences* gave sincere pleasure to a wide circle of readers, and her second volume has more good stories and pleasant glimpses of notable men and women than any book of the kind that has reached us for a long time. It overflows with good will and geniality and with wisely appreciation of Dr. Story. Mr. George Wyndham came to Glasgow as Lord Rector. 'When the Principal and he stood side by side you would not easily find two more striking specimens of men.' The hospitalities of Skibo Castle made a great impression on Mrs. Story, who rejoiced in the 'Principals' week' which the heads of the four Scotch Universities spend with their wives at Mr. Carnegie's magnificent house on the Dornoch Firth. The host loved music, and Mrs. Story found it a real pleasure to sing to him. He did not like jewels, especially diamonds, so that Mrs. Carnegie wore hardly any save a lovely string of rare pearls which he had given her. Lord Rosebery was a delightful visitor at the Principal's Lodge and an even more charming host at Dalmeny. One Sunday when the Storys were at Dalmeny the minister spoke of 'accidy' in his sermon, and after lunch the visitors trooped off to the library to discover the word which none of them knew. Lord Rosebery himself got a step-ladder and looked carefully into the books on the upper shelves. They had forgotten the list of deadly sins, and Bishop Paget's famous volume of Sermons with its essay on Accidie had not reached this select circle, but they discovered the word in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. Mrs. Story's account of their peaceful parish life at Rosneath is delightful. Her husband was greatly esteemed by his flock, and visitors like Dean Stanley, the daughters of the Duke of Argyll, Mrs. Oliphant, and A. K. H. B., found their way to the Manse. Dr. Story became one of the leading figures of the Assembly, and in 1886 was appointed Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Glasgow University. In 1894 he was chosen Moderator of the General Assembly, and in 1898 succeeded Principal Laird as Head of the University. A very pleasant picture it is, and Mrs. Story's frank enjoyment of her husband's dignities and his noble gifts is quite infectious. No one who wishes to have a really bright and gracious volume of reminiscences should overlook this most enjoyable book.

*Dervorgilla, Lady of Galloway, and her Abbey of the Sweet Heart.* By Wentworth Huiyshe. With Illustrations by F. Fissi and the Author. (David Douglas. 7s. 6d. net.)

Balliol College preserves its original statutes drawn up by its foundress in 1262. Dervorgilla's seal is attached. In her right hand she holds a shield bearing the arms of her husband, John de Balliol, in her left that of her ancestors the Lords of Galloway. She traced her descent from Adelina sister of William the Conqueror. She was born in the Castle of Kenmure about 1200, and must have heard in her youth of the deaths of St. Dominic and St. Francis. Mr. Huiyshe gives a striking summary of the great events of her century. In 1268 she married John de Balliol of Barnard Castle,

who now rose to unique power among the Anglo-Scottish barons. In the intervals of high affairs of State he delighted to live in his Galloway castle of Botel, within sight of the sea and the Solway. John de Balliol founded a hostel for sixteen poor scholars at Oxford about 1255, and in 1262 he and Dervorgilla established a convent of Grey Friars on land now covered by the town of Dumfries. Dervorgilla also built the bridge of Dumfries, which still bears her name. Her brave and powerful husband died in 1260. She built Sweetheart Abbey, in Galloway, as the final resting-place for his heart, which she kept in an ivory coffer enamelled with silver. It was placed before her every day as her 'sweet silent companion.' She died in 1290 at her Manor house of Kempston, near Bedford, and her body was laid to rest beside her husband's heart at Dulce Cor. Melrose was the first Cistercian House in Scotland, Dulce Cor the last. Mr. Huyshe gives a most interesting account of the house, with pictures and plans which reveal the glories of the past. The remains of the abbey are now being restored with scrupulous care and skill. This volume not only does fitting honour to the memory of a great and good woman, but forms a vivid picture of the life of the thirteenth century.

*Livingstone and Newstead.* By A. Z. Fraser. With Portraits and Illustrations. (Murray. 10s. 6d. net.)

Mrs. Frazer is the daughter of Mr. Webb, at whose house, Newstead Abbey, Livingstone spent eight months preparing his first great book on Africa. Mr. Webb had been shooting big game in Africa in 1851, and was lying ill of fever when Livingstone heard of his danger, sought him out, and nursed him. Mr. Webb always declared that he owed his life to this skilled attention. After his marriage he bought Byron's old home, of which and its owners Mrs. Frazer has much to say. Her father was a remarkable man, and her mother's devotion to the explorer made her rejoice to welcome him at Newstead. The Webbs were much attracted to Livingstone's children, of whom we get many pleasant glimpses in this volume. When Stanley was received with scant courtesy in England after his famous expedition in search of Livingstone Mrs. Webb could scarcely contain her indignation. He was invited to Newstead, where he appeared 'a perfect Ishmaelite, with his hand against every man, and feeling every man's hand was raised against him—at any rate in England.' Mrs. Frazer still remembers his wonderful eyes. 'They were like small pools of grey fire, but the least provocation turned them into grey lightning.' He told Mrs. Webb all about his early struggles, and under her influence gradually lost his bitter feelings against the world. The whole book is fresh and lively. Mr. Webb's early hunting exploits in Africa are described. He had a motley retinue of dogs, and the best he ever had for lion shooting was a sheep-dog, who brought two out of three lions to bay in one day. When a lion attempted to get away the dog would catch him by the hind-leg, nimbly jumping aside when the lion faced about. The picture of Livingstone with his friends is singularly attractive. The facts about his host and hostess and Newstead itself make delightful reading.

**Frédéric Godet (1812-1900).** Par Philippe Godet. (Neuchâtel : Attinger Frères.)

This is much more than a monument of filial affection. It is a living picture of a charming personality, a beautiful biography of a saintly man of culture who is known throughout the world as one of the foremost and most brilliant evangelical exegetes and theologians of his time, who, through a long life of devoted service, was a very pillar of orthodoxy in the Reformed Churches of Europe and America, and who by his distinguished gifts and piety commanded the respect and won the friendship of the priests and members of the unreformed Communion round about him. By the help of numerous photogravures Godet and his friends are set before us in these graphic pages in the beautiful environment in which their lives were spent; and an adequate account is given, not only of Godet's work as a preacher, lecturer, and commentator, but of his multifarious activities as pastor and social and ecclesiastical reformer. Few men have exerted a more wholesome influence on the Churches of Germany, France, and Switzerland during the difficult and perilous times in which his long, laborious life was spent for them, and the story of that life, as told especially in his delightful letters, turns what might easily have been a bare, dull record into a bright, rich work of delectation and of edification. What gives much distinction to the volume, and much historic value, is the detailed account of Godet's friendship with the German Emperor Frederick William. For more than fifty years the two were more like brothers than tutor and pupil, and with respect especially to their religious life they were on the most intimate terms. Scores of the letters that passed between them are here presented by permission of the present Kaiser, whose father's manly character and pious life stand out in beautiful relief. Some of the portraits of Godet present a striking likeness to Mr. Gladstone, and the picture of his mind that stands out from his letters reminds us of our saintly theologian, Dr. W. B. Pope. Again and again, as we have read our charmed way through these rich pages, we have been reminded of the halcyon days at Didsbury, when the great divine and mystic used to pour out his vast stores of learning and indulge in those 'asides,' and meditations on the Deity of Christ and on the peace and joy of union and communion with Him. Like the Didsbury professor, Godet had a lively fancy, a delicate touch, and a spiritual intuition which, combined with the transparency and virility of his Christian character, his moral elevation, and his intellectual distinction, give to this fine memoir, as to all he wrote, a singular attraction alike for heart and mind. Physically and spiritually, Godet dwelt on the heights, and whether we accompany him in his Alpine excursions or rise with him in his aspiring and transfiguring meditations, we feel that it is good to be in such company.

***The Early Life of Mark Rutherford* (W. Hale White). By Himself.** (Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d. net.)

A few years ago Dr. Hale White asked his father to put down some account of his early life for the benefit of members of his family. The result is this charming little volume, which takes us back to Bedford, where Mr. White

was born in 1881. He had one brother, a painter, from whom Ruskin and Rossetti expected great things, but who died young. Dissent has been strong throughout Bedfordshire ever since the Commonwealth, and in White's boyhood the old meeting-house which held 700 was filled every Sunday. The singing-pew had a clarionet, a double-bass, a bassoon and a flute. A carpenter with a tenor voice struck the tuning-fork on his desk and applied it to his ear. 'He then hummed the tuning-fork note, and the octave below, the double-bass screwed up and responded, the leader with the tuning-fork boldly struck out, everybody following, including the orchestra, and those of the congregation who had bass or tenor voices sang the air.' The boy's Sundays were not happy. At the evening service he was made to stand on the seat, and often nearly fell down, overcome with drowsiness. We have seldom seen a more interesting description of life in a country town eighty years ago. The youth entered Cheshunt to be trained for the ministry. At the age of eighteen a volume of Wordsworth awoke in him a love of natural beauty, and taught him, he says, to believe in a 'living God, different from the artificial God of the churches.' He passed from Cheshunt to New College, St. John's Wood. In 1852 he and another student were dismissed because of their views on the inspiration of the Bible. His father wrote a defence of the youths which won the warm approval of Charles Kingsley. The ex-student found work under John Chapman, editor and proprietor of the *Westminster Review*. George Eliot took the kindest notice of him, and Caleb Morris, then a pastor in Fetter Lane, helped him to see such a wealth of wonder and beauty in the Bible that the problems which had disturbed his peace were forgotten. A few later touches are added, but the story practically closes with the period when he gained a clerkship at Somerset House and afterwards at the Admiralty. We are grateful to Mr. White's family for publishing what was originally intended for their own eyes. It is a touching record, and we can forgive some of the writer's strictures as we think of the unhappy experiences of his early years.

*The Early Roman Episcopate to A.D. 384.* By William Ernest Beet, M.A. (C. H. Kelly. 8s. 6d. net.)

This is a companion volume to the author's study of *The Rise of the Papacy, A.D. 383-461*, and is distinguished by the qualities which won for that work the warm appreciation of many European scholars. It is marked by real and solid learning, the fruit of years of patient study and assiduous research, and it is written in a style which fascinates by its simplicity and elegance, while it enlightens and convinces by its easy mastery of the material, its skilful massing of the facts of history, and its not infrequent touches of persuasive eloquence. The case against the doctrine of the 'historic episcopate,' as taught in the Romish and the Anglican Church, has never in our time been more clearly presented or more calmly and more fairly argued. The bearing of the book on current controversies on Reunion will be obvious to our readers, and its calibre will be perceived on a perusal of the extracts that we make. The author admits that both Peter and Paul had something to do with the founding of the Church,

or, rather, of the Churches, in Rome, and accounts for the predominance, for a time, of the influence of Peter, without admitting for a moment the Romish interpretation of the passage in St. Matthew and the Succession doctrine built upon it. Whilst agreeing with Paul in essentials, Peter, he notes, had the advantage of Paul in his presentation of the gospel. 'Less prone to mysticism, and less profoundly theological than Paul, Peter was eminently practical in his method of treatment. Speculation and mysticism did not, it need scarcely be said, thrive over-well in Rome; and the Roman himself was nothing if not practical. Non-Roman as the membership, for the more part, of the local Church may have been, the atmosphere of the great city in which it had its habitation cannot but have pervaded it, and have exercised a real, if impalpable, influence upon its prevailing temperament. St. Peter's way of putting things may very well have approved itself as being thoroughly in harmony with the spirit of the place. . . . St. Paul, on the other hand, no doubt appealed strongly to a minority of the choicest minds; but so far as the majority, including men of various parties, was concerned, it is not difficult to imagine that St. Peter held the premier position.'

He accounts in the most natural and plausible way for the rise to influence and supremacy of the Roman Church—not of the earliest bishops of that Church, who were, for the most part, 'obscure and undistinguished men,' but of the Church itself, and afterwards of its bishops. 'They resided in that most august of cities which had cast its shadow upon all the nations, and which enjoyed the readiest means of communication with every part. It was the seat of the imperial government and the centre of the political life of the world. The Church over which they presided had, moreover, stood in the very forefront of the conflict with Paganism. Amphitheatre, stake, and cross had again and again borne witness that it was faithful unto death. With the founding of this brave and faithful Church were associated, in the popular tradition, the names of the greatest of the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul; and among its members had been included officers of the imperial household. It was famous, too, for its wealth and beneficence. . . . Under such circumstances one can readily believe that the Roman Church was held in more than ordinary esteem; and esteem of the Church was shared in by its Chief Pastor, who, in no long time, came to be regarded as the first in importance and in rank of all the ministers of Christ. But such precedence of honour . . . is something very different from the spiritual dictatorship claimed by Popes; and, in matter of fact, no acknowledgement of any such supremacy was made by the Early Church, nor indeed was any claim to it preferred, before the end of the second century. . . . When at length some sort of claim to it was made, though in but a tentative and partial form, it at once called forth a storm of resentment and protest so strong as to lead to its almost immediate withdrawal.'

*Roger of Sicily.* By Edmund Curtis, M.A. 'Heroes of the Nations.' (Putnams. 5s. net.)

To the great majority of English readers the story of the rise of the Norman

power in South Italy and Sicily is, to all intents and purposes, a sealed book. This is indeed not entirely the fault of the reader; for this romantic and important chapter of European history has received less attention on the part of historical writers than its intrinsic interest demands. It has, therefore, been very happily conceived to include in the 'Heroes of the Nations' series a volume in which this little-known story should be adequately told. The individual whose name stands upon Mr. Curtis' title-page, and the story of whose life and manifold activities occupies the major portion of the volume, is Roger, the first of the Norman kings of Sicily. But the history of this great prince is prefaced by an adequate account of how there came to be a Norman power in Sicily at all, while the fate of his kingdom after his passing forms the theme of the closing chapter of the book. Without going into details it is but fair to say that Mr. Curtis has done his work well; his historical scholarship is manifest throughout; his knowledge of the sources is intimate; and he presents to the reader the fruit of his patient research in a very acceptable form. The reader will in these well-written pages not only become acquainted with the main incidents of Roger's eventful life, but will gain an introduction to his court circle, and will acquire some knowledge of its etiquette and its officials. He will learn something also of the constitution of his kingdom. The interest of the volume is not a little enhanced by the lavish use of illustration which does really illustrate, and is therefore not merely an attractive but a genuinely instructive feature. The more serious student will find the appendixes much to his taste, and will be able to turn to profit the critical material there presented. We congratulate Mr. Curtis upon having so effectively contributed to fill up one of the conspicuous *lacunae* in English historical literature.

*Louis XI and Charles the Bold.* By Lieut.-Col. A. C. P. Haggard, D.S.O. (Stanley Paul & Co. 16s. net.)

The work of Col. Andrew Haggard needs no advertisement. His industry is amazing, and his volumes follow one another with rapidity. As a popularizer of history, and more particularly of French history, he holds a position second to none. His latest volume, to which it is now our pleasure to call attention, is quite equal to anything of a similar kind which he has given us, and is distinctly better than some of his earlier work. A diligent student and a capital penman, Col. Haggard confines himself to the lighter side of history; and while he has done not a little to cultivate a taste for historical study on the part of his readers he can hardly be ranked as an historian in the fullest sense. Clear, but not deep; picturesque, but never penetrating very far beneath the surface, Col. Haggard's writings need frequently to be checked or supplemented by reference to the latest results of historical criticism. In matter of fact this accomplished writer writes too much, and a certain lack of thoroughness is the inevitable consequence. A good deal of loosely traditional matter is incorporated into the mediæval records, and a good deal of sifting out is necessary if the sober truth of things is to be arrived at. For this work of



sifting Col. Haggard does not allow himself sufficient time, with the consequence that his books, attractive and interesting as they are, are somewhat less valuable than he might easily make them. This remark is true of the volume now under review. The author has indeed depicted in striking colours the outstanding incidents in the lives of the two famous men whose names figure in his title; yet the thoughtful reader cannot but feel that he has hardly done adequate justice to either of them. Charles may have been, indeed, probably was, a heartless swashbuckler whose callousness and cruelty arouses the reader's indignation—but he was something more than this; while Louis occupies an abiding place in the history of the land over which he ruled, a place which he could hardly have achieved had he not been something more than the very unattractive trickster who meets us in these pages. Bad as they undoubtedly were, Louis and Charles are both men that count, and their historical significance has not, perhaps, been brought out by Col. Haggard as clearly as might be wished. But while we draw attention to what appear to us to be somewhat obvious defects, we would also draw attention to the excellent features of this volume. It is thoroughly interesting from first to last, it presents a vivid picture of the period of which it treats, it reproduces with a fair measure of success the men and manners of an age gone by. While volumes like *Louis XI* and *Charles the Bold* are to be obtained the mere novel should be somewhat at a discount; Col. Haggard is abundantly able to provide all the entertainment that the most fastidious reader can desire, and with his entertainment instruction is very happily blended.

*Vincent de Paul: Priest and Philanthropist, 1576–1660.* By E. K. Sanders. (Heath, Cranston & Ouseley. 16s. net.)

Vincent de Paul was the son of a small farmer in the South of France, and was trained in the Franciscan convent at Dax. His father sold a yoke of oxen that the youth might continue his studies at Saragossa and Toulouse, and by taking pupils Vincent managed to finish his training, so that he was ordained priest in 1600. His early ambitions were frustrated, but in pursuit of them he burdened himself with debts which he was long unable to pay. In taking a journey by sea he was captured by the Turks and sold into slavery at Tunis, where he remained for two years. After serving as tutor in the family of Philippe de Gondi, General of the Gallies and father of the future Cardinal de Retz, and doing duty as a parish priest, he became, in 1624, Superior of a new Order devoted to village preaching. He was now forty-eight. As yet he was little known, but he had found his vocation. At first he conducted village missions, and when it was necessary for him to return to Paris to superintend his growing Company, it seemed as though 'the gateway of the city ought to fall on him for turning away from the innumerable souls whom he left in need.' In 1632 he entered on possession of the buildings at S. Lazare. Here he set himself to reform the clergy, multitudes of whom were drunken, unchaste, and ignorant. Ordination retreats were arranged, and nearly all who passed through these led 'lives such as a good priest should.'

S. Lazare and its mission priests thus set a new standard of duty for the French clergy, and the system of Conferences deepened and extended the influence. But it was his work of charity that made Vincent de Paul one of the most notable figures in France. He had seen in his brief ministry at Chatillon what need there was for the organization of charity, and had inspired his flock with zeal for the good of their neighbours. In Paris he formed an association to care for the poor. One hundred and twenty ladies of quality at once enrolled themselves. The city magistrates were soon drawn into the movement. Vincent wrote to a friend, 'Begging is to be abolished in Paris, and the poor all gathered together in a place specially prepared for them, and taught and set to work.' The story of the Sisters of Charity and Vincent de Paul's chief fellow-labourers is told with rare skill and sympathy. Vincent de Paul's reputation for sanctity became such that when Louis XIII was dying he wished to have him at his side. For the last three days of the king's life he was always with him, and tradition says that Louis died in his arms. His position at Court was nobly used. During the Fronde Rebellion he exerted all his influence with Anne of Austria on behalf of her subjects, and though he failed he organized relief for the starving poor with great success. In the last fifteen years of his life he directed missions at the hulks at Marseilles and work for the Christian captives at Algiers. He also sent priests to Madagascar, but that mission cost the Company twenty-seven lives. He died in September 1660, revered as 'Father of his country.' Miss Sanders, to whom we already owe a debt for her *Angélique of Port Royal* and *Fenelon: His Friends and his Enemies*, shows that he 'dealt almost single-handed with problems of destitution involving many thousands of lives, and devised remedies for some of the diseases of social life which are still in use.' It is a story that has many lessons for our own time, and it is told with an intimate knowledge of the times as well as with true sympathy and discernment. The volume will distinctly add to Miss Sanders' high reputation.

*The Life and Writings of Philip, Duke of Wharton.* By Lewis Melville. With Seventeen Illustrations. (John Lane. 16s. net.)

Mr. Melville says in his Preface that 'a character more interesting than Philip, Duke of Wharton, does not often fall to the lot of a biographer.' He has had access to the Stuart papers, and has gleaned from them valuable information as to the duke's relations to the Pretender. No story of English history is more pitiful. The duke's father wrote the famous ballad, 'Lilli Bulerio,' which all England sang, and which contributed not a little to the success of William of Orange. The elder Wharton had been brought up under the strictest discipline, but avenged himself 'for a pleasureless childhood by plunging headlong into the gaieties of the town.' Swift called him, 'the most universal villain that I ever knew.' He set himself to develop his boy's gifts, and especially

to make him a complete orator. In this he succeeded to admiration, but at the age of sixteen the boy eloped with a lady to whom he was married in the Fleet in 1715. His father died about six weeks later, and the young lord was sent to the Continent, where he intrigued with the Pretender. His wit and his wildness were alike notable. On his return to this country he made a reputation by his speeches in the Irish House of Lords, and was created Duke of Wharton in 1718. This is the only instance of a dukedom being conferred on a minor. He formed a friendship with Dean Swift, to whom he related some of his escapades. Swift gave sound advice: 'You have had some capital frolics, my Lord, and let me recommend one to you. Take a frolic to be virtuous; take my word for it, that will do you more honour than all the other frolics of your life.' Lord Wharton was a generous patron to Young, the poet, but he outraged all right-minded persons by his escapades as President of the Hell-Fire Club. His name thus became 'a byword for all that was reckless and dissipated, and he was looked at askance by respectable people.' His finest speech in the British Parliament was his defence of his friend Atterbury, who was charged with high treason. It reads like the summing-up of an impartial judge, and though the bishop was found guilty and banished, Wharton's defence won him general esteem. Meanwhile, his affairs had become hopelessly involved, and in 1725 he found it necessary to go abroad. There he intrigued openly with the Pretender, and actually served in the Spanish force that besieged Gibraltar in 1727. The English Government treated him with great leniency, but he was at last ordered to appear before the Privy Council. When he refused to return he was outlawed and his estates forfeited. After some years of reckless dissipation, he died in exile on May 30, 1781, in the thirty-third year of his age. The Franciscan Father who was present said that he made a very penitent and Christian end. His career is one of the tragedies of the eighteenth century. Mr. Melville's is the first comprehensive account of the duke's life, and it is of absorbing interest. Some fine illustrations add much to the value of the biography.

*The Church of Twenty Centuries.* By A. W. Harrison, B.Sc., B.D. (Kelly. 1s.)

We congratulate Mr. Harrison upon having achieved with some distinction a task which might well have been deemed impossible. Within the compass of a little volume of one hundred and eighty pages he has succeeded in presenting, in a really telling form, the history of the Christian Church from its earliest beginnings right down to the present day. To have done this so well as Mr. Harrison has done it is a quite remarkable feat. The preparation of a volume such as that now under review involves the exercise of considerable self-restraint; details however interesting must be ruthlessly sacrificed, while all temptations to enter into critical discussion—and only those who are serious students of the subject know how insistent this temptation is—have to be resolutely put aside. Restrictions of this kind tend, in general, seriously to impair the interest of

any book; it is therefore all the more to Mr. Harrison's credit that, in spite of them, he has succeeded in producing a book not only well-informed, reliable, and compact, but at the same time thoroughly readable, and interesting to the point of fascination from the first page to the last. *The Church of Twenty Centuries* is no mere *multum in parvo* of compressed knowledge, and dry withal; it is emphatically a book to read and to enjoy. Small as this volume is, it bears ample testimony to the wide research and historic insight of its author. The skilful selection of topics, the literary skill with which the broad outlines of the story are drawn, and the brief but pointed criticisms of men and movements which give life to the narrative—these are some of the features which raise Mr. Harrison's volume out of the crowded ranks of the commonplace. It is, all things considered, decidedly the best introduction to the general history of the Christian Church with which we are acquainted; as a text-book for an elementary class in the subject of which it treats it could scarcely be bettered; and in the hands of a competent teacher might meet the needs of rather more advanced students. This is, we believe, Mr. Harrison's first volume; it reveals clearly enough that he possesses adequate knowledge of the whole field covered by his subject, and we cordially welcome it as an instalment of the work which we confidently anticipate that he will do in what we fear is a somewhat unpopular department of research. The serious study of Church History has been more or less neglected among us; this is a reproach, but work such as that which Mr. Harrison is doing will certainly contribute to roll it away.

*Newman's Apologia pro Vita Sua.* With an Introduction by Wilfrid Ward. (Oxford University Press. 1s. 6d. net.)

The two versions of the *Apologia* dated 1864 and 1865 are here shown in a convenient form, with Newman's pamphlet containing the correspondence between himself and Kingsley, and Kingsley's reply, 'What, then, does Dr. Newman mean?' Mr. Ward's Introduction throws light on Newman's share in the controversy, and supplies some personal details which are of special interest. The original title-pages are shown in facsimile. Altogether this is a unique volume, which every student will want to put on his shelves. It is a distinct enrichment of the *Oxford Edition of Standard Authors*.

The sixth volume of *Wesley's Veterans* in the 'Finsbury Library' (C. H. Kelly, 1s. net) is not the least attractive of this precious series of Methodist autobiographies. It contains six of the *Lives of Wesley's* early helpers, and, amongst them, two of the first order, those of John Valton, the saintly evangelist, and Thomas Rankin, the intrepid preacher and administrator. Valton was a French-English Methodist of Roman Catholic ancestry, and Rankin was a Presbyterian Scotchman with deep roots in Calvinistic soil; but both, in different ways, caught Wesley's spirit of deep, personal devotion to the Saviour, and their widely different experience, as here related, in their own peculiar manner, is a mine of

precious things for students of religion and psychology. The story of their lives is a veritable spiritual romance, and makes exciting reading for the sympathetic soul. Valton's was the finer nature, but both he and Rankin will for ever shine in the bright firmament of early Methodist history. Valton's *Life* is of special interest in connexion with Methodist work in the Army; and Rankin's in connexion with American Methodism. As in the earlier volumes, the editor's notes are of much interest and value. Nothing seems to have escaped his eye.

*The French Revolution.* By E. E. Kellett, M.A. (Kelly. 1s. net.)

This is another volume of the *Manuals for Christian Thinkers*. Into the allotted space Mr. Kellett condenses a readable account of the critical years of the French Revolution, with an exhibition from his own standpoint of its causes and issues. Suggestions as to further reading are appended, with an explanation of the Republican calendar and of the formation of the metric system. The index is unusually full. Altogether the book is well designed to introduce a student to the history of one of the greatest events of modern times. Its specific gravity is high, but the treatment is clear and effective.

Messrs. Longmans send us the first two volumes of a new impression of *Lecky's History of England in the Eighteenth Century*. It is the Cabinet Edition (2s. 6d. net per volume), and no one should miss the opportunity of putting such a masterpiece on his shelves. It is by far the best record of the eighteenth century that we possess; an illuminating, sagacious and broad-minded review of the whole period. Its descriptions of Walpole, Fox and the elder Pitt are great historic portraits. The volumes are very convenient to handle, and are printed on good paper with wide margins. The first two volumes close with a fine tribute to George the Second.

*Abraham Lincoln the Christian.* By William J. Johnson. (New York: Eaton & Mains. \$1 net.) Dr. Johnson has heard much of Lincoln as lawyer, citizen, statesman and friend of man, but has seen little about his religious beliefs. He has now supplied the lack, and has done it admirably. He shows him to have been a God-fearing, prayerful man, with a strong belief in an overruling Providence. When he was President he attended a Presbyterian church in Washington, and greatly enjoyed the weekly prayer-meeting. He always had a spirit of deep reverence, but as cares and responsibilities multiplied 'he grew more and more into the image of his Maker.' The book will have a great welcome, and some fine illustrations add much to its interest.

*Analekta Bollandiana* (Tomus XXXII. Fasc. II and III). A Greek life of Daniel the Stylite, with a study of the sources and learned notes by Hippolytus Delchaye; an ancient representation of the translation of St. Theodoro Studita, with valuable articles on St. Hilarion of Iberia, and Ignatius Loyola and Father Oliver Manare, are some of the most important

features of this number. The Bulletin of hagiographic publications fills nearly seventy pages. It is impossible to speak too highly of the research and learning lavished on such work by the Society of the Bollandists.

*Old John Brown.* By Walter Hawkins. (Kelly. 1s. net.) We have long wanted a brief but reliable Life of the Great American abolitionist, and here it is. Brown's passion for the slave does not blind his biographer to his faults, but he makes us understand the man and see the fires through which he had to pass. It is a spirited little book.

*The Soldier's Friend,* by Sarah Robinson, with twenty-seven illustrations (T. F. Unwin, 8s. 6d. net), is a revised edition of Miss Robinson's Autobiography, which appeared in 1898 and has long been out of print. It is a story that every one ought to read. Lord Roberts says the high reputation that the British soldier bears to-day is largely due to her and her fellow-workers, and her bodily infirmity enhances the interest with which we follow the story of her abounding labours. She still lives to rejoice in the fruit of her heroic service, and her book will win many new friends for the soldier and his family. It is a touching and stirring record.

*A One-sided Autobiography.* By Oscar Kuhns. (New York : Eaton & Mains. 1s. net.) Prof. Kuhns was born in the heart of the agricultural district of Pennsylvania, and was a lover of books in his childhood. He tells us about his favourite writers, especially the great poets who early wove their spell around him. Books have been his lifelong companions and still give him 'a vision of the wonderful history of the world of nature and of men.' He owes to them many an hour of happy thinking, and not least a contented mind and rich intellectual treasure. It is a delight to share the professor's confidence, and many will turn with fresh zest to books new and old as they scan these inspiring pages.

## GENERAL

*The Crown of Hinduism.* By J. N. Farquhar, M.A.  
(Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d. net.)

HINDU at last is a first-class modern book on Indian religion and Christianity. This book aims to provide, by way of sample, not exhaustively, a sound apologetic for Christianity as fulfilling and crowning all that is good in essential Hinduism. And right nobly it fulfils its aim. Certain points in the Hindu system of belief and practice are selected, the idea of the Hindu family, of caste, the status of women, the doctrines of Karma and rebirth as affecting the Eternal Moral Order and the Divine Social Order, the Vedanta philosophy—'the summit of Indian thought'—the theory of asceticism, the use of images, and these are treated historically and analytically. What is fundamental is clearly marked out, and the essential imperfection of the Hindu concept is shown as being supplied in the similar Christian idea. The preface points out that one supreme idea in Hinduism is not dealt with in the volume, that of the sacrifice and the priest, a matter that the writer thinks, as yet, has not been thoroughly investigated by scholars. But even without that and many other aspects of Hinduism, there is abundant matter in this noble volume to justify the main thesis that the completion of Hinduism is to be found in Christianity. The author claims to have made original investigations into Hinduism conceived of as a practical religion and seems to make good his claim. The chapters on the Hindu family, on the Vedanta as the Summit of Hindu thought, on the Divine Social Order, and on Image Worship are extremely valuable. Nor behind them in interest is the long introduction giving a most vivid and powerful presentation of the situation created in India by the incursion of Western ideas and the utter dissolution of the fundamental beliefs on which was made to rest so much of the social order. Seldom or never have we met with a more sympathetic and discriminating view of fundamental Hindu ideas and practices. The writer has transcended the prejudices of race and merely sectarian religion, if it may be so put, and has done what Gordon declared to be the absolutely essential thing for a Governor if he is truly and effectively to rule another and an alien race—'got under the skin of the native.' Or to put it as the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone once did : 'It is not enough to give new laws or even good courts. You must take the people along with you, and give them a *share in your feelings*, which can only be done by *sharing theirs*.' Mr. Farquhar, in addition to studying Hinduism in books—which he appears to have done admirably—has succeeded in studying it in life, through his Hindu friends themselves. Here is no ignorant denunciation of alien ideas, but a careful and sympathetic exposition of fundamental and ruling Hindu conceptions, treated historically and analysed carefully. Needless to say the very sympathy of the point of view makes the more

telling the inevitable exposure of that which is lacking in the Hindu system; and at certain points when it is really necessary to dwell on the base and cruel elements of Hinduism, derived probably from aboriginal Dravidianism, the plain speech of the writer is, by its measure and simplicity, terrifically deadly. At the same time the gravamen of the attack upon Hinduism, which this Apology implies, is not dependent upon its exposure of the fearful perversion which superstition has sometimes wrought in its fundamental ideas, but is found in those ideas themselves, in their inadequacy in some cases, and in their mutual contradictoriness, when viewed among themselves, in others. Able, indeed, is the criticism of Hinduism from the moral point of view, on the ground of its fundamental divorce of essential morality from essential divinity, so that the Supreme Being is no more than an intellectual Absolute in which Intelligence, Bliss and Inactivity inhere, but from which Righteousness is excluded.

We can think of no book quite the equal of this to place in the hands of a thoughtful Hindu student, and none that we could as well recommend for the preliminary reading of a theological student bent on mission work in India. We only wish for a glossary of the Sanskrit words and titles, not always explained; and we look forward some day to Mr. Farquhar's book on the correlation of the priest and the sacrifice concepts in Hinduism with the like or similar concepts in Christianity.

We had hardly expected so transcendental a thinker to have named the Eucharist as 'the central and most precious element in Christian worship.' We had thought his type of mind would have grasped the Word as that—'preach the Word' is the central Apostolic exhortation, not 'Break bread.' We fancy a Hindu would give Mr. Farquhar trouble at that point. 'Crede et manducasti,' as Austin said, points to the Word and faith as 'central and most precious.' But that gives the case away to the Quaker, when ultimates are come to. He who cannot dig to ultimates, however, is of little use in dealing with those whose first question is: Are you *admittis* or *admittis*? A ritualistic Christianity gives the case away when we deal with image-worship.

While we say this we are profoundly thankful for a noble fragment of a great apologetic, which probably no man will ever completely work out alone. For Hinduism is a jungle wherein are found specimens of all kinds of human thought and practice on religion. It lacks but one thing: the divine historic fact of God Incarnate declaring the Father, the Key to distinguish the false from the true, *ways* from reality, wrong from right.

*The Fringe of the East.* By Harry Charles Lukach. (Macmillan & Co. 12s. net.)

Mr. Lukach returned from his tour through the past and present provinces of Turkey in 1908, so that it has not been possible to adapt the narrative to every changing phase of recent events, but it gives a vivid picture of lands and places which every one wishes to visit or to see through the eyes of some reliable traveller. The record begins with the Monasteries of the Levant, which were introduced to English readers many years ago in one



of the most fascinating of all books of travel. Owing to their numbers, wealth, and influence the monasteries have from early times played a very important part in the life of the Levant. In many parts they are the only places where strangers can find food and shelter. 'No monastery, however small, is without a guest-chamber and accommodation for beasts; and the guest-master is one of the recognized monastic officials.' The buildings are of Early Byzantine architecture, and have many treasures, though times have changed since Curzon gathered his goodly store of manuscripts. Mount Athos is a commonwealth of 7,800 monks. It has twenty monasteries. The study of these Mr. Lukach found of absorbing interest. Some seemed completely aloof from the world, in others he discovered the keenest interest and the most active participation in all that was going on. Rhodes and Cyprus were visited, then Mr. Lukach turned to Jerusalem. Even at first sight it appears as a place apart, enshrouded by a veil of sanctity which isolates it from the outer world. It is poor and small, with an absence of the bustle and movement common to Eastern towns. 'Its bazaars are mean, and only adapted to the needs of its inhabitants and poorer pilgrims. Its streets are often quiet and deserted; its people, except at certain ecclesiastical ceremonies, grave and preoccupied.' There is a rare charm about the Haram which is the sanctuary of Islam, and of it and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre Mr. Lukach has much to tell that helps a reader to form a living picture of these great centres of pilgrimage. From Jerusalem the travellers visited Samaria and Galilee and pushed forward to Hebron, Damascus, and the Euphrates. The volume is altogether fresh and unconventional, and many illustrations from photographs add sensibly to the interest of a narrative that makes a strong appeal to Bible students and to all who wish to know something about these provinces of Turkey.

*The Cathedrals of Southern France.* By T. Francis Bumpus.  
*The Cathedrals of Southern Spain.* By C. Gasquoine  
 Hartley (Mrs. W. M. Gallichan). With 82 Illustrations.  
 (Werner Laurie. 6s. net each.)

France is an agglomeration of ancient and distinct provinces, each of which has its own peculiarities in architecture. Mr. Bumpus groups the cathedrals in their respective architectural regions. In Brittany these localisms are strongly marked, and there are distinct styles in Normandy, in the country round Paris, and in Champagne. It has been found impossible to include every cathedral south of the Loire without unduly condensing the account of those that are more celebrated. The book has cost Mr. Bumpus more labour and research than any of his previous seven volumes. He has studied all that has been written on the subject and has visited the cathedrals with the eager interest of an expert and an enthusiast. He begins his pilgrimage at Poitiers, the interior of which revealed some fresh beauty at every visit. Venantius Fortunatus composed the famous *Vexilla Regis* when a portion of the true cross was sent for the cathedral

by the Emperor of Constantinople. Aquitaine has a wonderful set of Romanesque churches in its towns and even in its small villages. In the department of La Charente there are five hundred of these churches. The dominant feature is the dome which almost invariably surmounts the arms of the cross. Auch demands several days' close study. Its almost unrivalled collection of Early Renaissance stained glass and the sumptuous furniture of its choir are notable features. The chapter on Bourges Cathedral is worthy of that colossal building, which is one of the glories of France. The book will be hailed as a treasure indeed by all who wish to study these wonderful masterpieces. Its illustrations are very effective.

Mrs. Gallichan says that we must go back to Rome for another country that has spoken in its buildings with the same overwhelming force as Spain. Roman, Byzantine, Arab, Gothic and Renaissance art—all have flourished here. In each province there is a wealth of interesting monuments on which a national stamp has been set. Burgos and Toledo, 'though fundamentally French, are superbly Spanish in their final effect.' Seville, whatever part German Gothic architects took in its construction, 'is, in all its essentials, the supreme type of the great Spanish Church, the most living Gothic building in the world.' This 'Historical Sketch' is of great interest and well prepares the way for a tour through the southern and eastern provinces. The descriptions of the cathedrals of Seville, Cordova, and Granada bring out skilfully their chief features, and the less known buildings are described in a style that will excite eager interest. The interior of the mosque at Cordova is the most surprising and most beautiful in Moorish Spain. Mrs. Gallichan felt as though transported into another and more joyous world. The first impression on entering Seville was one of absolute wonder at its size and soaring magnificence. The illustrations are well chosen and beautifully executed.

*The Jews and Modern Capitalism.* By Werner Sombart.  
Translated with Notes by M. Epstein, M.A., Ph.D.  
(Unwin. 15s. net.)

Prof. Sombart has made the rise and development of capitalism one of his favourite studies, and he has a way of presenting his conclusions that quickly arrests attention. He sets himself in the present work to discover whether certain well-known business principles are specific expressions of the Jewish spirit. He does not accept the assertion that Jews have no inventive powers. Jewish inventors are to be met in the sphere of technical science and economics. The rise of various towns to commercial importance may be traced to the appearance of Jewish refugees from Spain and Portugal. Leghorn, Hamburg, Frankfort, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Rouen all owed much to Jewish settlers. In England also economic development ran parallel with the influx of Jews. Cromwell protected them, as he felt that he would need the help of the wealthy Jewish merchants to extend the financial and commercial prosperity of the country. Colbert also recognized their value to France. In 1549 the Jews were driven out of Antwerp and the city lost no small part of its glory. Prof. Sombart thinks

that they influenced the outward form of modern capitalism and gave expression to its inward spirit. The Jews formed nearly one-fourth of the traders at the Easter Fair in Leipzig. From 1700 to 1890 the average number of Jews was 8,185, of Christians 18,005. The fashionable world of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had to depend on Jews for the supply of luxuries. Great exporters, they placed the staple articles of modern commerce on the world's markets. They were keen colonial settlers, and a constant stream of Jews poured into the United States from their earliest foundation. Jewish influence on the Stock Exchange led to the dictum: 'There is only one power in Europe, and that is Rothschild: a dozen other banks are his underlings, his soldiers are all honest merchants and workmen, and speculation is his sword.' The Jew made the stock market international. He followed business for its own sake. His end was to get hold of customers. He drew up the earliest advertisements. Dispersion over the globe led to world-famed firms with branches in all parts. An important chapter deals with the significance of the Jewish religion in economic life. Prof. Sombart holds that the Jews have remained a desert and nomadic people. Adaptability and mobility are the principal qualities the nomad must possess if he is to survive the struggle for existence, and these the Jew has never lost. Their thousand years' wandering only developed this nomad virtue. Money, of which they were the guardians, and the Ghetto, which made them despised pariahs, were principal factors in Jewish development, whilst religion and inbreeding were two iron hoops that bound them together. And 'for as long as we find the Jews exercising their particular influence on economic life—and they still do so—we may take it that the hoops are yet strong.' This is a book of real importance, and it is of quite unusual interest.

*Old Houses in Holland.* Text and Illustrations by S. R. Jones, with some additional plates in colour after other artists. Edited by Charles Holme. (*Studio*. 5s. net.)

The special spring number of the *Studio* almost forms a tour in Holland. Mr. Sydney Jones, in his Introduction, shows how the old-world atmosphere lingers in all Dutch towns that have any pretension to age. 'If the painters have gone—and with them the arquebusiers and governors and burgomasters—the gables, the sunlit courts, and many other familiar features remain.' He describes the development of domestic architecture with the skilful use of bricks and the steeply-pitched gables. The exterior features were treated with great skill and care, and a careful examination of panels, carvings, and decorative ironwork reveals 'much inventive readiness and meritorious execution.' The rare charm of the interiors is brought out by some effective illustrations in colour, after Pieter de Hooch, Johannes Vermeer, and two notable pieces of work by Mr. Jones himself. The black-and-white drawings are very beautiful, and the earthenware tiles and delft dishes make four of the most attractive pages of illustrations. Every lover of Holland will find this a most tempting volume.

*The Works of Francis Thompson.* Three volumes. (Burns & Oates. 6s. net each.)

Two of these volumes contain Thompson's poems, one-fourth of which are here for the first time printed or collected in book form. The third volume gives the prose works, including the famous Essay on Shelley, which made such a profound impression on Mr. George Wyndham, and many pieces contributed originally to the *Athenaeum* and the *Academy*, which now appear for the first time in permanent form. Mr. Meynell, the poet's literary executor, has been guided in preparing the definitive edition by Thompson's express instructions, or by a knowledge of his feelings and preferences acquired during an unbroken intimacy of nineteen years. 'His own list of new inclusions and his own suggested reconsiderations of his formerly published text have been followed.' A portrait of Thompson at the age of nineteen forms the frontispiece to the first volume, the second has a drawing by the Hon. Neville Lytton, dated October 1907, and the third one by Everard Meynell, made in May 1908. The demy octavo volumes, bound in special buckram, are very attractive, and there is a note of distinction about both prose and poetry which shows a rare gift highly cultivated and used for noble purposes. We hope to return to the subject when the standard *Life* appears. Such an edition as this is a worthy tribute to one whose work England justly regards as a national treasure.

*Pressing Questions: Profit-sharing, Women's Suffrage, Electoral Reform.* By A. H. Mackmurdo. (John Lane. 8s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Mackmurdo thinks that the domination of materialism has shown itself in a distrust by the well-to-do and the poor of each other's motives, and an indifference to each other's claims. Those in whose hearts the flame of religion has been kept burning through the night of national unbelief 'have warned the well-to-do of the consequences of a social duty ignored, and they have awakened in the toiling people a consciousness of human claims that will not be satisfied, had it bread and meat in abundance.' He regards profit-sharing as a means of raising 'the wage-earner from the state of a hireling to that of a co-operator, who shall share with the proprietor and the manager whatever profits may arise from their combined activity.' That share of the profits is not to carry with it any right of control or call to invest in the business. The subject is one of living interest, and it is expounded in a way that will arrest attention. The case against granting votes to women is forcibly put, and the extreme methods of the militant Suffragettes are strongly condemned. 'The letters of Mrs. Fawcett to the Press have done more for female suffrage than the hurling of mountains at the heads of Cabinet Ministers could do.' Mr. Mackmurdo would do away with the present district-constituency and construct new occupation-constituencies for franchise purposes. Each trade or profession would have its guild, and these would become the

new electoral constituencies. It is very ingenious but unpractical. An interesting account is given of profit-sharing as adopted by various firms. The book is one that will be eagerly read and much debated.

***Protein and Nutrition.*** An Investigation by Dr. M. Hindhede. (Ewart, Seymour & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

The author of this work is a Danish medical man who carries on his researches into human nutrition in a Government laboratory at Copenhagen. By long and careful experiment he has reached the conclusion that the value of protein has been much exaggerated and that both men and animals can live on half the amount prescribed as necessary. From their own figures and experiments he claims to have disproved the deductions of some of the chief dietetic authorities. His work has already attracted great attention in Denmark and Germany, and this English translation will bring it to the notice of students in our own country. Dr. Hindhede says nicotine 'blunts our mental capabilities and, moreover, has a debilitating effect on the heart and nervous system.' Alcohol is 'that last and worst poison of all.' He thinks that a vast number of ailments are to be attributed to over-feeding. 'Stomach troubles and intestinal disorders very often arise from fermentation caused by putrefying animal protein,' and disappear under a low meat diet. The book is one that will be eagerly studied. It is brightly written and full of interest.

***Social Service. Its Place in the Society of Friends.*** By Joshua Rowntree. (Headley Bros. 1s. net.)

The sixth Swarthmore Lecture shows how the Society of Friends grew up two hundred and fifty years ago in the conviction that Christianity is a life, not a system. 'To them all life, religious and civil, domestic and ecclesiastical, was, as our newest philosophies would have it to be, one life.' George Fox's hopes for mankind were great and wide. He felt that the call to social service sprang straight from the dictates of the Spirit of God. Many incidents are given which show how 'the Puritanism which had made Quakerism possible was carried forward by it into a yet fuller and more fruitful life. Humble members of the Society set a high standard of conduct, whilst such outstanding figures as William Allen, Thomas Shillitoe, and Elizabeth Fry did national and even world-wide service by their philanthropy.' The section headed 'Renaissance' deals with the revival of Bible study, 'which was sorely needed' among the Friends last century, and the new forms of social activity that sprang up, especially in the Adult School Movement. The lecture is full of quiet force, and throws many sidelights on the Society and its work.

***Wild Flower Preservation: A Collector's Guide.*** By May Coley. (Fisher Unwin. 8s. 6d. net.)

This thoroughly practical and beautiful manual will prove to be not only a useful guide to the collector of wild flowers, but a most instructive companion to the youthful botanist, and a delightful source of recreation

to the general reader. It is written with full knowledge and with simplicity and zest. Nothing could be clearer than Miss Coley's descriptions of the flowers she studies and of the methods of collecting and preserving them; but the twenty-nine original drawings by her sister, Miss Hilda Coley, add greatly to the utility and charm of the volume. In it there is both sweetness and light; for, if the instructions it contains give guidance to the student, the atmosphere created by the author's love of wild flowers is impregnated by their fragrance and tinted by their varied hues. We are made to feel that 'wild-flower air,' as Jefferies said, is 'the sweetest of all things'; and, as we close the book, practical though it is at every turn, we find ourselves repeating the poetic dictum:

Flowers are the love songs  
... of God's green world.

*The Bodley Head Natural History.* By E. D. Cuming. With Illustrations by J. A. Shepherd. Vol. I. 'British Birds—Passeres.' (John Lane. 2s. net.)

The Bodley Head Natural History opens well with this bright volume on favourite British birds. Thrushes, blackbirds, robins, tits, starlings, and wrens are described in a way that will assist young naturalists to identify the less familiar birds by their plumage and their song, and many useful hints are given as to their nests, eggs, migration and habits. Both thrush and blackbird enlist the help of their first brood in rearing the next. The starling takes high rank as a bird 'that spends his whole life in good works.' Mr. Shepherd's illustrations, set round the wide margins, give a good impression of the habits and appearance of the birds, and the three full-page plates are very effective. The handy size of the volume will make it the more useful as a country companion.

*The Modern Missionary Crisis.* By James Pickett. (Hammond. 2s. 6d.)

This Hartley Lecture is an intensely earnest and at the same time luminous missionary appeal. In the chapter on China we are told that 'At least a million schools are needed to adequately meet the requirements of the entire land, and forty thousand are already set up.' 'The time is indeed portentous, and big with indescribable issues.' But the 'crisis' is scarcely less acute in other lands—in Japan, India, Africa, for instance—as Mr. Pickett with wealth of illustration clearly shows. He does not shirk the critical difficulties of the situation, and he emphasizes his own Primitive Methodist share of responsibility. His book is catholic and apostolic. It echoes the many harmonious voices of the Edinburgh World's Missionary Conference. We strongly recommend it to the attention of missionary reading circles, as also to missionary preachers and speakers who are too busy to study the voluminous literature of Edinburgh.

*Rudolf Eucken: His Philosophy and Influence.* By Meyrick Booth, B.Sc., Ph.D. (Jena). (Unwin, 8s. 6d. net.) Dr. Booth studied for two

years under Eucken, and this popular account 'of a philosophy which is playing a leading part in shaping the thought of the world' will be of great service. A detailed account is given of Eucken's attitude towards Naturalism, Socialism, Civilization and Individualism. He is a practical philosopher, who holds that 'the intellectual conflict is an affair of outposts, the real conflict is between ways of living.' He rejects all philosophies 'which tend merely to gratify or develop man without changing the root of his nature.' Eucken recognizes that Christianity alone can work this change, though he fails to show that Christ is the mediator between man and the spiritual world. Dr. Booth's 'Critical Remarks' are discriminating. The book can be strongly commended to all who wish to get a clear view of Eucken's teaching.

*The Holy Land of the Hindus* (R. Scott, 8s. 6d. net) is Orissa, in which stands the Temple of Jaganath. For seven hundred years it has reared its colossal head over the province, destroying tens of thousands of devotees, and it is still 'a principal source from which a great part of India continues to be flooded with all manner of superstition, disease, and impurity.' Mr. Lacey has worked in the district for twenty-one years, and tells the story in a way that will arrest attention and inspire new hope in the triumph of Christianity. The book has some very attractive illustrations.

*Woman's Sphere: Or, The Dignity of Domestic Work*, by Mrs. W. R. Nicoll (Kelly, 1s. net), has a Foreword by Mrs. Reaney, who thinks that such a book as this was never more needed than to-day, 'when parents are tempted to think the shop or office holds a better future for their girls than homes associated with domestic service.' Mrs. Nicoll maintains that to be a good servant is a noble calling, though there is a growing tendency 'to hold all housework in contempt, to look upon it as degrading.' How foolish that is we see in four chapters on 'The Daily Girl,' 'The General,' 'The Nurse,' 'The Cook.' It is a wise and winning little book, which we should like to see in the hands of every servant in the country. It would help to make them proud of their work and happy in its opportunities of usefulness.

*Zones of the Spirit. A Book of Thoughts.* By August Strindberg. With introduction by Arthur Babillotter. Translated by Claude Field, M.A. (George Allen & Co. 5s. net.) Strindberg died last May. From atheism he had found his way to faith in Christ. 'All his faith, all his hope now rest solely on the Crucified whom once he had once demoniacally hated.' The writings of Swedenborg had helped him to conquer his scepticism, and he felt that only a personal God could satisfy his religious needs. *The Blue Book*, now translated by Mr. Field, was written when he was sixty and gives his views on life and the great masters of past and present. It is a sparkling book with aphorisms, allegories, and outspoken little essays that lure one on from page to page. Strauss's *Life of Jesus* is described as 'a feeble foolish attempt to explain God's great miracle in the Atonement.' Mr. Field's translation is full of life and spirit. He has also translated Strindberg's *Historical Miniatures* (Allen, 5s. net),

a striking series of twenty sketches of great episodes in the story of our race. They are profoundly interesting, and full of insight into character.

*Father Ralph.* By Gerald O'Donnovan. (Macmillan & Co. 6s.) This is a book that leaves a thrill. It is a picture of a family of Irish Roman Catholics. The only son becomes a priest. The father breaks his heart over the boy whom he had hoped to see married to his cousin; the mother rejoices in having a son in the priesthood, but when she becomes a widow she falls under the spell of the bishop, and gives all the family property to the Church. Father Ralph does heroic work in his curacy, but he is outmatched by the other priests, and at last the papal bull and encyclical compel him to resign his priesthood. It is a pathetic picture of the helplessness of a good man in the midst of gombeens and harpy priests, but there are a few characters that relieve the situation. Ralph himself reminds us at certain points of Father Tyrrell. Father Sheldon is a saint, though he submits rather than give up his parish, and the 'Reverend Mother' of the Convent, who is deposed by the bishop, is a high-souled woman. It is a book that every Protestant will do well to read. It is an enthralling story and we believe it is a true picture.

*The Court of the King and other Studies.* By Margaret Benson. (Unwin. 8s. 6d. net.) Miss Benson has already gained a high reputation as a thinker by her volume *The Venture of Rational Faith*; here she shows that she has the imaginative power and the felicitous literary touch of her famous brothers. She takes her readers into fairy-land through the Gates of Gold till they come by moonlight to the Court of the King. The atmosphere of the desert is around us, we move in a dream world, weird but full of beauty. It is strangely unreal, yet it fascinates us. The last study, 'From the Bank of the River,' describing a fight with death and the struggle back to health, is an exquisite bit of work.

*Caleb Matthews.* By Robert W. McLaughlin. (Eaton & Mains. 85 cents net.) This is an idyll of the Maine Coast, of which the chief figure is Captain Matthews, the lobster fisherman. He had bought photographs of Millet's pictures, *The Sowers*, *The Gleaners*, and *the Angelus*, and these form the text for some racy talk. It is a pleasant little story.

*God's Englishman.* By W. Scott King. (Kelly, 2s.) Ormond Forrister, the unscrupulous South African magnate, and his noble son, make a striking pair of contrasted figures, and Beatrice Manning has a fascination of her own. The book is full of spirit and enthusiasm, and will provoke eager discussion.

*A Little Child shall Lead Them,* by E. R. L. (Stockwell, 2s. 6d. net), tells of life in Arcadia in a way that will stir the fancy of readers young and old. It has all the impossibilities of a fairy tale with a grace and tenderness of its own.

*Wheel-chair Philosophy.* By John L. Cole. (New York: Eaton & Mains, 75 cents net.) A real record of experience in hospital. The writer was crushed by the fall of a derrick, and for two years lay helpless. Then he bravely started to preach, and is to-day doing good work as a pastor. The physical cure was wonderful, but the patience and courage of the



sufferer were heroic. It is a unique record, and one that will be a school of hope for many a sufferer.

*Musica di Futurista.* By F. Balilla Pratella. (F. Bongiovanni, Bologna. 10 lire.) The writer points out that while Germany has its Strauss, France its Claude Debussy, and England its Edward Elgar as representing futurism of music, Italy has made little progress in that direction. He therefore urges the young Italian composers not to take musical forms as an 'established fact,' but to combine together to create a new school of Italian music on futurist lines. Various new theories in technique and rhythm are advanced, and the work concludes with a pianoforte score of 'musica futura per orchestra,' which is an elaborate composition illustrating the various new positions taken up by the author-composer.

*Glimpses of the Unseen.* By W. R. Hall. (Elkin Mathews. 1s. 6d. and 1s.) This is a small volume of Poems in the Vigo Cabinet Series, a select company, which includes such writers as Harold Munro, W. B. Yeats, The Hon. Mrs. Alfred Littleton, and John Masefield. The writer has the true poet soul. Nature is to him a vestibule of Heaven, and he paints her beauties with grace and skill. The reveries of his own spirit are like the songs of birds at eventide; and kindred spirits will find his lyrics no mean aid to devotion.

*By the Equator's Snowy Peak.* By E. May Crawford. (Church Missionary Society. 2s. 6d. net.) Mrs. Crawford has worked in East Africa with her husband for twenty years, winning the gratitude and admiration of every official in the Kenia Province. Wonderful results have followed Dr. Crawford's labours, and crowds of eager patients have gathered round him. Mrs. Crawford describes her difficult and dangerous journeys with spirit. Once she was carried through a swampy bamboo forest where the bearers struggled through deep mud, and Mrs. Crawford's chair had to be steadied by additional porters, hauled up almost inaccessible places and dragged through well-nigh impenetrable walls of bamboo. It is a vivid record of life among tribesmen almost untouched by any previous workers, and many good photographs add to the effect of the story.

Miss Clementine Ward, who is responsible for the *Music* (Kelly, 2s. net) to accompany Rev. George E. Young's *Revolt of the Birds*, has been very happy in her treatment of the subject. The various numbers, though simple in character, have a good vein of melody running throughout, and possess a rhythmic swing which makes an instant appeal to the listener. The accompaniments, which contain many bird-like imitations, although a little thin in places, are on the whole well laid out, and, while easy to play, are effectively written. This little work should help to achieve the object for which it has been prepared, and may be confidently recommended to the notice of school choirs and others who are seeking unambitious music of a bright and melodious character.

*'Where He Dwelt,' or Mind Pictures of Palestine.* By Alfred T. Schofield, M.D. (Sampson Low & Co., 4s. 6d. net.) Dr. Schofield has twice visited the Holy Land, and feels that through those visits his Bible

is now alive on every page with a new and strange beauty. He finds himself travelling 'in spirit with the Saviour, or some man of God, seeing what they saw, and investing the whole narrative with life.' The wild flowers of Palestine are unequalled even by the mountain pastures of Switzerland or the richest meadows of Devonshire. Jerusalem has 'no foliage or verdure, no waving palms, nothing but the grey olive, dotted all over, with here and there a fig-tree.' Dr. Schofield draws ten pictures of Bible scenes, closing each with a homily based on the Scripture narratives connected with it. The pages bring us vividly into touch both with the land and the book, and the photographs are excellent.

*In the Trail of the Pioneers*, by J. H. Morrison, M.A. (Hodder & Stoughton, 2s. net), is a sketch of the Missions of the United Free Church of Scotland. It takes the form of a visit to the various Mission Stations in the Holy Land, in India, Africa, and the Pacific. It is vividly done, and good pictures enhance the effect. Such a book will do much to awaken the interest of young readers.

Mr. Tryon, Secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society, sends us a reprint of his article in the *Yale Law Journal* on 'A Permanent Court of International Justice.' It is a suggestion for the consideration of the Programme Committee of the Third Hague Conference. He does not advocate the creation of a new international Court, but the proper relation to one another of those already formed or proposed. The Permanent Court of Arbitration and the Court of Arbitral or International Justice would be combined in one institution with two chambers. It is a well-thought-out scheme, and it seems to be workable and well-fitted to promote international peace and justice.

*Wise and Winsome*, by Uncle Reg (Kelly, 1s. 6d.), is a happy title for a set of stories for boys and girls. They are chiefly drawn from Nature, and are full of wholesome counsel quaintly expressed. Uncle Reg is always popular, and this book will greatly please young readers.

*My Picture Story Book* (Kelly, 1s. 6d.) will be a treasure indeed for little folk. It is fully illustrated in various colours, and the stories and verse are delightful.

*Early Days'* volume for 1918 (Kelly, 1s. 6d.) is one of the most attractive magazines for young folk that we know. It is splendidly illustrated, and it has such variety that every taste is met by its stories, its brief papers, its poetry, and its 'Young Authors' Page.' There is no dull line in *Early Days*.

## Periodical Literature

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### BRITISH

In the July-September Quarterly *Review* there are several biographical papers of great interest, a brief sketch of George Wyndham by 'W. W.', probably Mr. Wilfrid Ward, another on Sir Alfred Lyall, by Lord Cromer and Prof. Bernard Holland, and a longer review of the *Life of Disraeli*, by Miss Haldane. There are also striking papers on *The Individual Atom*, with diagrams, by Mr. W. C. D. Whetham, and on *Modern Pessimism and Sec-Antisecism*, by Ethel Colquhoun. But the articles to which one turns with even greater interest are those on *A Modern Bengali Mystic*, by Mr. S. G. Dunn, and *The Poetry of Robert Bridges*, by Mr. John Bailey. The former is on Rabindranath Tagore, of whose poetic prose the writer says, 'it is not too much to hope that we have in it not merely the achievement of a solitary genius, but the firstfruits of that new culture which is to combine the artistic qualities of India with those of our own land.' Incidentally it is noted that mysticism has 'hardly flourished in our northern climate; the great mystics of the world have been the children of the sun and the warm winds of the south. St. Francis and St. Teresa strike a more passionate note than our own Lady Julian of Norwich.' Another observation is to the effect that, at the present moment, we must turn to the East, that 'home of impersonal religious and vast philosophies,' for the highest expression of man's belief in God that has been made in our time; and in proof of this he quotes extensively from the writings of Tagore, and contrasts them with the deliverances of our sceptical philosophers. To Sir Francis Youngblood's declaration, e. g. that 'the old guardian God of our childhood never existed'; that 'He did not make us, we made Him,' and that 'we should now trust in ourselves and one another,' Tagore replies: 'O Fool, to try to carry thyself upon thy own shoulders! O beggar, to come to beg at thy own door! Leave all thy burdens on His hands who can bear all, and never look behind in regret.' The article on Robert Bridges was written before his appointment to the laureateship, and Mr. Bailey's estimate of his poetry will be read with eager interest. Dr. Bridges is said to have 'the gift of gifts for a laureate,' the ability 'to take the set things provided for him by an official occasion and make of it an opportunity for the production of a noble poem.' In the poems that are here analysed and appraised he is said to 'touch to new life and higher energy the most ancient and universal of the hopes and loves of man'; and the writer does not doubt that his official utterances 'will give us poetry not only fully expressed, but far transcending the mere event it celebrates.' *Now comes!*

In the *Edinburgh Review* (July-September) Prof. Herman Schoffner has an appreciative article on *Nietzsche the Man*, chiefly as revealed in his letters. There are eight volumes of these letters in the original German edition, and it is a pity that none of these have yet appeared in an English dress; for, as the writer says, 'He who would know Nietzsche must seek him in his letters. They were the scriptures of his soul. In them he will experience an inspiring contact with a mind and character noble, pure, sensitive, with an incorruptible sincerity and a resolute integral will—frequently dominated by a kind of inspired oracular fury.' The article aims at removing some popular misconceptions. 'In the place of the hypothetical monster upon whom madness was sent as a doom, stands the man upon whom suffering was laid in a measure larger than falls to the lot of most men. If a new Lucifer, he was also the old Prometheus; if a destroyer, he was also a redeemer. . . . One might even say that this German anti-Christ was in his life and attitude a more exemplary Christian than many of the orthodox who profess to see in him all that is mad, nihilistic, and satanic.' Here is part of a letter to his friend Gast. It may tend, the writer thinks, to soften the acerbity of 'the raging feminist who is prone to revile Nietzsche for what the wise old woman told Zarathustra: "When thou goest to women, forget not the whip!"—My best thanks, dear friend for the hint. I do not wish to convey the impression of having any contempt for woman, and so I have deleted the passage. It is, nevertheless, true that originally it was man alone who considered himself a human being—the study of language will give evidence of this—woman was really reckoned as an animal. The recognition of her humanity is one of the greatest steps in moral progress.'

The *Dublin Review* (July-September) has a brief editorial note on George Wyndham that forms a beautiful pendant to a paper in the *Quarterly* signed 'W. W.' Among other things it refers to Mr. Wyndham as a poet, and, of course, is highly appreciative of his literary tastes and powers. Among the more striking articles is a paper by Mr. Stephen Harding on *The Chinese Republic and Yuan Shih-K'ai*. 'Taking all things into account,' he thinks that 'Yuan should realize his crowning ambition and place himself upon the Dragon Throne.' There is also a readable paper by Mr. Harry Graham on Toussaint L'Ouverture, the Napoleon of San Domingo, the man of whom the Spanish Hermone said that 'in all the world God had never inspired a purer soul than his'; a negro who justly boasted that the colour of his skin had never interfered with his integrity and courage or prevented him from serving his country with zeal and fidelity. Though he sleeps beneath an alien sky, 'the most unhappy man of men,' as Wordsworth calls him, he has left behind 'Powers that will work for him—air, earth, and skies,' &c. The longest and most interesting article is on *Blessed Thomas More and the Arrest of Humanism in England*, by Prof. J. S. Phillimore, in the course of which we have many extracts from More's less known works, and many valuable appreciations of his English prose. It has 'the easy elastic abundance of Boccaccio,' 'all the qualities of a great prose style: sonorous eloquence, less cumbersome than

Milton; simplicity and lucidity of argument, with unfailing sense of the rhythms and harmonies of English sound. He is a master of Dialogue, the favourite vehicle of that age. We can see that if Lucian was his early love, he had not neglected Plato. Elizabethan prose is tawdry and mannered compared with his; and with his colloquial, well-bred, unaffected ease he is the ancestor of Swift.'

In the August number of *Blackwood*, Prof. Mahaffy has an instructive paper on *Old Country Houses in Ireland*, which he uses to illustrate the social condition of the country at various periods in its history. It was Cromwell's settlement, he says, that first gave genuine security to Ireland. There is also a delightful paper by Louise Imogen Guiney on *Some Account of Acready*, in which she gives a charming picture of rural life in the Cotswolds, 'a rugged polygon lying askew on the map of Gloucestershire and overlapping Oxfordshire and Worcestershire by ever so little.' It is a county of magnificent stone mansions, farms, cottages, and churches, where mediæval games and scraps of ancient song still form part of the life of the people, and art is still a standing fashion, still a craft which the conditions of modern life have not succeeded in debasing. The writer expatiates on 'the heavenly valleys of the Churn, the Colne, the Lech, and the Windrush, "free from a rail or a cinder"'; but she sees ominous signs of desecration in the shape of tarred and oiled roads and the horns and fumes of the ubiquitous motor. 'That old agrarian and pastoral life which Chaucer and Shakespeare looked upon still lingers, but it is about to become the victim of that new restless England changing its whole spirit under our very eyes.'

In the *Contemporary* for August, Sir Sidney Lee commences a series of papers on *Shakespeare and Public Affairs*, in which he proposes to trace the dramatist's views on political matters. He does not admit that Shakespeare was 'no friend of democracy.' The truth is, he says, that 'modern theories of popular government escaped his notice, not because he was out of sympathy with them, but because they lay beyond the limits of his horizon.' He frequently indulged in severe criticism of oligarchical and monarchical theories of government, and was a sort of Whig before his time.

The August *Fortnightly* has a paper by Mr. Franklin Petersen on *Heine on Music and Musicians*, that is chiefly valuable for its extracts. But there is a passage on Heine himself that is worth noting. 'In wit,' he says, 'Heine was not allied in any degree to the German, whose sense of humour is much more latent than that even of Sydney Smith's mythical Scotsman. His short, pregnant, well-proportioned sentences, showing at once the worth of the jewel each contains, the flash of its well-cut facets, and the richness and appropriateness of its setting, practically revolutionized German prose.' The extracts from Heine are mostly adverse criticisms of the great modern composers, but there is one marked exception in favour of Chopin, 'the one musician about whom he has not written an unkind word.'

**Hibbert Journal (July).**—Rabindranath Tagore's paper on *The Problem of Evil* is finely conceived and eloquently written. But it misses the main problem of moral evil, recognizing only the necessary imperfection of finiteness. Pain, poverty, intellectual error, disease, and death do not present the difficulty that is raised by the perversion of the will. But many will rejoice in the exposition of the truth that 'in pain is symbolized the infinite possibility of perfection, the eternal unfolding of joy.' J. N. Larned discusses the same problem in the form of a symposium, and the contrast between the two contributions is great. Prof. Preserved Smith ascribes the origin of the stories of Peter in St. Mark's Gospel, including his denial of our Lord, to the fact of his hostility to the Pauline doctrine of Christ. The evangelist has 'worked over' some sayings of Paul into this legendary form! What wonderful things the educated critical eye can discern! Prof. M'Giffert's article on *Christianity in the Light of its History* points the moral that 'even Christ is not static and unchanging,' and that 'we need not faith in the past but faith in the future.' Other articles in this number are *The Fall of Lucifer* by Dr. A. Smythe Palmer, *Occasion and Object of the Epistle to the Romans* by Dr. James Drummond, *Antiochus the Brilliant Madman* by R. B. Townsend, and an unsparing denunciation of the dangers of the cinematograph by Canon Rawnaley. The surveys of recent theological and philosophical literature by Dr. Moffatt and Dr. Dawes Hicks respectively are a valuable feature in this Review.

**Journal of Theological Studies (July).**—The present number contains no 'leading' article. The most interesting 'notes and studies' are: *The Testimony of Ignatius and Polycarp to the Apostleship of St. John*, by Rev. H. I. Bardaley; *Greek the Original Language of the Odes of Solomon*, by Father Connolly; a note on *enpharmer*, by Prof. Burkitt, and a paper by Rev. B. H. Streeter on *Was the Baptist's Preaching Apocalyptic?* Dean Inge's review of von Hügel's *Eternal Life*, and Miss Constance Jones' critique of Dr. Tennant's *Concept of Sin*, deserve mention.

**The Expositor (July and August).**—Dr. Moffatt describes the sacramental position of the Fourth Gospel as it appears to him. He holds that the evangelist deliberately omitted the institution of the Eucharist, substituting for it the acted parable of the Feet-Washing and inserting in his sixth chapter a spiritual interpretation of the Eucharistic rite, in which the main teaching is the communion of Christians with the living Christ. Two series of articles are continued in these numbers—Prof. Gray's *Forms of Hebrew Poetry*, and Principal Skinner's *Divine Names in Genesis*. Amongst a number of able papers we may select as specially suggestive, Dr. Garvie's *Psychology and Esoteris*, Canon Hill's *History and Mysticism, and Pragmatism in Theology* by Rev. W. Johnstone. The account of Albert Schweitzer, the brilliant Biblical critic, who sailed last March for the Congo as a missionary, describes a remarkable personality.

**The Expository Times (July and August).**—Dr. Sanday's reply to critics on *The Value of the Subconscious* is—it is needless to say—well

written. Dr. Sanday's position in this paper seems to us much less open to objection than some previous *obiter dicta* of his. These latter have no doubt been misunderstood. Sir W. Ramsay writes—when has he ceased to write?—on *What were the Churches in Galatia?* Dr. Rendel Harris contributes an appreciation of Eberhard Nestle, whom he knew well. The Editor's Notes in the August number deal with a paper by Dr. Denney in the *Constructive Quarterly* on 'The Constructive Task of Protestantism.' Dr. Hastings describes without criticizing; it does not follow that he thinks that Dr. Denney's position is beyond criticism. Other articles that may be noted are *Job and Buddha*, by Rev. H. Townsend, and *The Unjust Steward in a New Light*, by Rev. W. Arnot.

*The Constructive Quarterly* (June).—Dr. J. H. Moulton writes on *Methodism in the Catholic Unity*. He says 'our friends in the Church of England who are eager for Home Reunion must not waste their energy in these days on schemes of outward union. Such appeals will produce absolutely no response on our side. We do not want the Church of England to spoil its own church machinery to accommodate some features of ours. And we know that our own machinery works exceedingly well for the tasks which we believe God has committed to us.' His dream is that of a Great Federation, 'including all forms of British Christianity, meeting together to see how far we can co-operate, and to narrow down to definite and well-considered issues the subjects on which we must disagree.' The September number deals with many vital questions in a way that will arrest attention and provoke discussion. Archbishop Platon's paper, 'Unity is Possible,' is invigorating. As a member of the Orthodox Church, he pleads for 'the importance of living intercourse between the members of various confessions.' 'We must become one' is its keynote. The Bishop of Cremona's appeal for Unity does not hold out any hope that Rome will recede from its position on 'any essential point of its doctrine.'

*International Review of Missions* (July).—J. O. F. Murray writes an appreciative notice of *In the Brakmans' Holy Land*. 'The facts are no doubt familiar, but we cannot but be grateful for any experience that enables us to realize them once more in their awful intensity.' There is an interesting account of the French Mission in Basutoland and of Islam in the Eastern Soudan. Under the Khalifa Abdullah, who was the real political and military master even under the Mahdi's rule, 'religion served only as a cloak for political ends and for the satisfaction of personal interest and of the lust for cruelty, so that it became difficult even for the most faithful followers to see anything of God's will in the new state of affairs.'

*Halbera Review* (July).—Noteworthy articles in this number are *Evolutionary Philosophy, Old and New*, by W. Harvey-Jellie; a study of G. K. Chesterton by W. Upright; a paper on the philosophy of Plotinus by J. Pinchen, and a sketch of Thomas Erskine—a teacher and saint too soon forgotten—by F. J. Sainty. Other articles not here named are of equal ability; the whole number presents a wholesome variety of interesting contributions.

**Church Quarterly (July).**—The Rev. Dr. Moore, of the Church of Ireland Training College, Dublin, writes on 'The Sunday School in the Twentieth Century.' He says 'the one thing which the teachers want is leading, and this, if the Sunday School is to maintain and improve its place, the clergy must supply.' Dr. Moore thinks that only a limited proportion of the clergy would emerge successful from the tests which every elementary teacher passes. 'The future of the Sunday School can scarcely be considered safe until some knowledge of the principles of education is required by the Episcopal Bench as a condition of Ordination.'

### AMERICAN

**Methodist Review (New York) (July-August).**—Amongst the articles in the current number are *The Traditions of Balak and Balaam*, a thoughtful exposition by Prof. Milton Terry; *The Religion of a Scientific Man*, by L. H. Hough; a comparison between the Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches in America, by Dr. H. K. Carroll; *Poetry as an Asset for the Preacher*, by a writer who evidently does not think it time that Browning had a rest from use in the pulpit, and who comments on Pippa's Song thus, 'Whew! what a collocation!' We find also in this number a high-flown eulogy of *Bishop Quayle as a Maker of Literature*, which we should imagine would make the good Bishop hesitate to publish in future. The short paper on the *Social Ideal of St. Paul*, by J. B. McClelland, is thoughtful and to the point. The writer points out that what is needed for social regeneration is not a new or a better ideal, but a more consistent effort to realize that set before us in the New Testament.

**Methodist Review (Nashville) (July).**—Dr. Gross Alexander issues a very interesting number. The first article shows that the Christian Home is in peril in America, and Englishmen need not cross the Atlantic to understand the danger. *The Religious Experiences of E. L. Stevenson* are interestingly described by D. M. Key, and an appreciation of Dr. Forsyth and his theology by R. E. Zeigler follows. In *Personal Observations in the Philippines* A. Burbank describes the new American colony, praises its missions, and urges the development of agriculture. The Y.M.C.A. and its relation to the World's Problems are discussed in a paper which gives deserved praise to the work of the Association without concealing its defects and mistakes. The titles of other articles speak for themselves: *The Amazing Progress of the Negro Race*, *The Religious Status of Little Children*, *The College under Fire*, and *The Challenge of the New China*. A timely and appetizing bill of fare!

**Princeton Theological Review (July).**—Two most valuable articles appear in this number, each of them worth the price of the number and deserving preservation. One is theological: *The Range of the Logos-Title in the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel*, by Prof. Vos; the other, on *The Hymnody of the Methodist Revival*, by Louis F. Benson, is one of the fullest and most satisfactory discussions of the subject that we have seen. The Reviews of Recent Literature are excellent.



*The Review and Expositor* (Louisville) (July) contains *Modernism*, by Prof. Luzzi, *The Kind of Ministry needed To-day*, *The Genesis of the Epistle to the Romans*, and other articles.

*American Journal of Theology* (July).—It may seem late in the day to be discussing the question 'What is Theology?' But the opening article in this number by Dr. Lyman of Bangor Seminary answers it to some purpose in the light of modern thought. The meaning of Dr. Lyman's proposed definition—'the scientific interpretation of the Christian religion with direct reference to its further development and that of life as a whole'—can only be appreciated by a study of the article. Such study would be well bestowed by theologians generally. Prof. Wendland discusses 'Hellenistic Ideas of Salvation' and their bearings on early Christianity, and Prof. Joh. Weiss unfolds what he takes to be 'the significance of Paul for modern Christians.' The article describes that very slender residuum of St. Paul's teaching which the 'modern Christian' can graciously allow to be worth anything. Dr. James Moffatt recalls the fact that it is nearly one hundred years since the publication of Bretschneider's *Probabilia*, and shows how far that work foreshadowed the course of recent criticism in relation to the Fourth Gospel. Two other leading articles are full of interest—*Aristotle as a Corrective in Present Theological Thought*, by G. R. Dodson, and *Adaptation of Modern Christianity to the People of the Orient*, by Bishop Bashford of Peking. The *Critical Notes* furnish a collection of the text of the Freer Gospels and a comment on Harnack's collation of the Paris MS. of Justin's *Dialogue*—both by Prof. Edgar Goodspeed. The reviews of recent theological literature contain, as usual, valuable material for the student.

*Bibliotheca Sacra*.—The July number opens with a sane article on *The Minister and Truth*, by Dr. McGlothlin. 'The preacher's interest in truth is pragmatic; he cherishes it for its value to life. This leads him to make sharp distinctions among truths, so as to be able to put them to use according to their respective values.' The article is a powerful plea for 'vital preaching,' and therefore for a dismissal from the pulpit of irrelevant themes. 'Official ecclesiastical orthodoxy may be just as barren of the fruits of the Spirit and the graces of the Christian life as the most radical liberalism. . . . Silence would be better than the barren, blatant, negative criticism, or the dry, dreary, droning polemics that are sometimes heard.' The practical application to preachers is: 'In the pulpit let us seek to build up life, not to kill and destroy, and let us select our truths accordingly.' Writing on *Physiological Psychology*, the Rev. H. H. Beach enters a forceful protest against materialistic tendencies in some writers on psychology and against confused metaphysics. 'No more serious error appears than ascribing the grace of God to an exercise of human will under natural conditions.' There are some helpful thoughts in Dr. H. C. Mabie's paper on *The Atonement and Conscience*. His main contention is that 'the conscience itself may become so reborn, through the grace of the atonement, that in the end it will just as exultantly approve its new self in Christ, as once it condemned its old self in the natural man. . . . That

very conscience which, at the first, as grounded in the moral God, condemned us as sinful, becomes, when refounded through our reconciliation with the Godhead as Redeemer, the potency of our eternal, ever-enlarging felicity and glory.' Dr. Harold M. Wiener continues his *Studies in the Septuagintal Texts of Leviticus*, and Professor Ben Kori his translation from the Arabic of *The Book of Enlightenment*, by the Samaritan High Priest at Nablus.

**Harvard Theological Review.**—In the July number Dr. George Howard Parker, Professor of Zoology in Harvard University, gives *A Brief Survey of the Field of Organic Evolution*. In view of numerous statements of the downfall of evolution, it is rightly held to be desirable to make clear the real grounds for this suspicion. The theory of descent with modification is distinguished from Lamarck's, Darwin's, and De Vries's explanatory hypotheses. Objections urged against these hypotheses are frankly considered, the result being to show that 'the popular distrust which has recently arisen concerning evolution is based on a confusion of natural selection with descent.' Dr. Parker's position is briefly summarized as follows: 'The theory of descent with modification is an established fact. As an explanation of descent, Lamarckism is a possible but unlikely factor because of the improbability that the inheritance of acquired characters takes place. Darwinism, or natural selection, on the other hand, is apparently a real factor in organic evolution, at least roughly outlining natural species. Its chief defect, the inability to produce useful traits from small beginnings, is apparently fully met by the imitation theory, which, however, is too novel to be passed on with any degree of certainty.' A thoughtful article on *Finalism and Freedom* is contributed by the Rev. Howard N. Brown, of Boston. Theism ought, it is urged, to reconcile its ideas with existing facts. 'Where the biologist can only say that nature seems to display some limited degree of intelligence, Theism is required to explain how that might be, though the intelligence behind nature were practically unlimited.' Mr. Brown's conception of the Theistic reconciliation is that 'from first to last life shows limited intelligence, because God has waited for it to try its own experiments. No doubt it has brought forth much that is useless and much that is not seemly, but it has found its way at last to the creation of man; and may we not say that the whole of its history, whether of failure or success, stands thereby justified?'

## FOREIGN

**Theologische Rundschau.**—Reviewing recently published works on *The Synoptic Gospels* in the July number, Dr. Johannes Weiss expresses his conviction of the futility of trying to explain the Gospel of Mark without taking into account the synoptic problem. He holds that, apart from any desire to establish a special hypothesis, it is clear that 'Matthew and Luke are often the oldest witnesses to the text, and that

they interpret the oldest Markan text.' Zahn's Commentary on St. Luke's Gospel, of which the first volume is published, receives high praise, notwithstanding the differences in the critical position of the author and the reviewer. Enough is said to make it appear most desirable that an English translation of Zahn's New Testament Commentaries should be undertaken by some enterprising British firm. J. Weiss expresses his concurrence with Zahn, who concludes, after a lengthy discussion, that Marcion knew and accepted the tradition of the Early Church that Luke was the author of the Third Gospel. Zahn makes use of an interesting life of St. Luke which is contained in the Itala Codex ff 2 (Corbejensis). A German translation is given: Luke is described as an Antiochian and a disciple of the Apostles, who died in Berothia at the age of eighty-four, being unmarried. Zahn contends for the trustworthiness of this information and for the possibility that Luke's death should be placed in the last decade of the first century A.D. In the section on *Church History*, Dr. Ficker calls attention to a new series of publications issued for the praiseworthy purpose of rendering accessible to a wider circle of readers the writings of the German mystics of the fourteenth century. It deserves to be noticed that it is an evangelical minister, Pastor Lehmann, who has translated into excellent modern German the principal works of Heinrich Suso, 'the Minnesinger among the mystics.' Granting that Suso allows his fancy great freedom in describing the soul's love for the heavenly Bridegroom, Ficker recognizes fully that Lehmann is right in maintaining that Suso was pure in heart, and that his writings are of great value because of their intense feeling, and because of his remarkable skill in clothing his emotions in words. Dr. Otto Baltzer refers at some length to a volume, containing translations of *Ten Sermons* by the Rev. R. J. Campbell. That the English preacher does not deny the historical Jesus is evident from his criticism of Drews, 'yet,' says Baltzer, 'the super-historical, eternal Christ is everything to him. . . . He lives in us, and this Christ in us Campbell strives to arouse.' To the contention that this is not new truth, Baltzer replies: 'To the statement that he explains old truth, we must add, he explains it away.' The religious power of the preacher is recognized; nevertheless 'it sounds strange to us when we hear this religion of absolute Immanence proclaimed from the pulpit.' The sermons are said to be frequently 'too philosophical,' and it is regarded as a concession to English pious sentiment that Mr. Campbell should seek to prove that his view is the truly biblical one. German complacency finds expression in the statement, 'Here we should be more outspoken, because we can credit our hearers with more historical culture and inward liberty.' In pointing out the gain that will result from reading the sermons, Baltzer says: 'Let us not be unmindful of the transcendent God, but no harm would be done if we were to say more about His immanence.'

**Religion und Geisteskultur.**—The first article in the July number discusses, in the light of history, the question, *Are There Any Atheists?* Its author, Dr. Hubert Röck of Innsbrück, rightly insists on the necessity

of first defining the meaning of 'atheist'; this cannot be done unless there be agreement as to the meaning of 'Theist,' and ultimately there is involved the definition of 'God.' Inconsistencies in the use of these terms are pointed out, and Dr. Röck is of opinion that some who call themselves agnostics would be more correctly described as atheists. A clear account is given of *Animistic Elements in Chinese Beliefs*, by Dr. C. J. Voskamp, of Toingtau. China is said to be 'the land of belief in ghosts.' A young Chinaman explained a shrill cry heard in the hills as the voice of a mountain ghost. A Taoist monk, looking at the flickering lights on a morass, declared that it must have been a battle-field in ancient times, and that the flames were the souls of those who had fallen in the fight. The evil influence of this superstition on the Chinese mind is pointed out. It forms the dark background of thought. As the result of long study, Dr. Voskamp has arrived at the following conclusions: the Chinese believe that at death the human spirit does not sink into a state of unconsciousness. It lives on in an incorporeal form, but is able to make itself visible. These apparitions arouse terror amongst men, for they are seldom friendly appearances. The spirits are, however, limited both as regards time and power, when they seek to interfere with human destiny. The avenging ghosts, which manifest themselves in terrifying forms, are always those whose death was due to violation of the will of heaven, or who passed into the world of shadows with the guilt of some unforgiven sin on their consciences. Over this world of departed spirits, good and evil, he whom the popular faith calls 'The Ancient of heaven' holds sway. But Dr. Voskamp says that this faith is but a surviving gleam of an earlier knowledge of God, which he compares to a light that is setting amid the gloomy shadows of a night of terror. The entire article is a powerful statement of China's need, and therefore an urgent appeal for the reinforcement of all Christian agencies at work in that empire. An interesting account is given by Dr. Arthur Buchenau, of Charlottenburg, of *Religious Life in America*. Roman Catholicism in America is said to be more influenced by the Reformation than in Europe. Processions take place *inside* the churches, and several Catholic festivals are never celebrated. Giving his statistics in millions, Dr. Buchenau says that in 1910 there were in America twelve millions of Roman Catholics, six and a half of Methodists, six of Baptists, two of Presbyterians and one of Episcopalians. Concerning some New York churches it is said that their property brings in a large income, and that the money is sometimes used in further speculations instead of in benefiting the poor. A good influence has been exerted by the 'Inter-Church Federation,' formed in 1907 and comprising twenty-one confessions. It is destined to promote the harmonious co-operation and ultimately the union of the Protestant churches.

*Theologische Literaturzeitung.*—In No. 15 there is an instructive review of a work by a Dutch theologian. It is entitled *The Modern Trend*, and its author, Dr. A. M. Brouwer, is described as 'mildly positive,' and as possessing the scholarship and judgement which qualify him

for the difficult task of presenting a trustworthy summary of the history of dogma in Holland during the last half century. As long ago as 1861 a Utrecht professor wrote a book on *The so-called Modern Theology*. In the interval extreme critical positions have been occupied by Dutch scholars; in England to-day the Dutch school is chiefly known from the radical views of Loman, Van Manen and others, who out-Baur Baur in their denial of the Pauline authorship of the four Epistles, regarded as indisputably authentic by the Tübingen school. In this work Dr. Brouwer surveys the theological literature of the last fifty years, and is able to show that the dust is settling in the arena of strife. 'Gradually a more conservative tendency is gaining the upper hand. The consciousness of sin is once more asserting itself, with the result that there is a longing for redemption and for the Redeemer, Jesus Christ.' It is noteworthy that a work, which is said to take cognizance of every variety of theological hypothesis in a land where speculation has been rampant, should conclude with these words: 'Christ is the Way and the Truth; in Him the various tendencies of thought must find their centre; nor must they be severed from history, that is to say from the tradition of the living Church. To Christ belongs the future.' In No. 10 the veteran scholar, Dr. Bernard Weiss, describes his new work entitled *Jesus of Nazareth*. It is not an abbreviated and popular edition of his well-known *Life of Jesus*, but embodies the results of recent researches into the sources of the Synoptic tradition, and into the historical character of the Fourth Gospel. The results of many years' devotion to the study of this great theme are presented in the hope that the portrait of Jesus in its true historical framing may make its own impression upon the minds of students of the Gospels.

The *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* (July-September) opens with an elaborate examination of Bergson's philosophy of intuition and intelligence, and places some effective spokes in the wheel of his popularity. It shows that the intellect plays a much greater part, according to Bergson himself, than he seems to be aware of in the intuition for which he appeals. This is followed by a most eloquent and delightful lecture by Professor Diès on *The Socrates of Plato*, in which considerable use is made of recent literature on the subject by such English writers as the late Prof. Adam, A. E. Taylor, and J. Burnet. Four-and-thirty pages are devoted to *Moloch*, by M. A. Lemonnyer. This is one of a series of articles on *The Worship of Strange Gods in Israel*, and is of special interest, not only to Bible students, but to students of the Science of Religions. All the recent literature is summarized, and the writer's judgements are marked by shrewdness and sobriety. Most of the *Bulletin de Philosophie* is given to recent books on Ethics and Sociology. Nothing of importance in Europe or America seems to elude the eye of this splendidly edited quarterly. An appreciative page is devoted to Prof. Lofthouse's book on *Ethics and the Family*. There is also a special bulletin of the Science of Religions covering fifty-seven pages, and including in its survey an amazing number of important works in English, German, French, and Dutch.