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THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

APRIL 1914

THE UNITY OF THE HUMAN RACE

THE Christian religion contemplates a single Kingdom of God : the followers of Christ look for His universal reign. This expectation is largely produced by faith and hope, but into it there enter also some ingredients due to knowledge. And though faith and hope must always be required for an expectation of universal scope, it is both a duty and a privilege to make effort to increase the contribution of knowledge also. We can do this by studying our religion and increasing our discernment of its inherent goodness and worth ; and, further, by increasing our acquaintance with the other religions of mankind and tracing in them the features which are incapable of universality and must be removed, and the features which are congenial with universality and can be taken up into the ultimate and world-wide religion.

In both these ways great progress is proceeding in our day. But there is also a humbler task : it is incumbent upon us to acquaint ourselves with the increase of knowledge in regions underlying these highest levels ; to inform ourselves how it stands as to the physical and mental nature of man in respect to the question of his unity or his manifoldness.

Is there, in fact, a single Human Race ? or is Humanity, in truth, only a name for a group of different races ? If the latter, it is plain that we should expect that there are profound differences of religion to correspond with the racial differences, whereas the expectation of unity of religion implies a belief in the unity of human nature. Whoever has grave misgivings as to the singleness of mankind is sure to be affected by them when he is thinking upon the future of religion.

There is no doubt that many Englishmen who come home after sojourning abroad, whether as Government officials or in commercial pursuits or as travellers, are very deeply impressed by the differences they have observed in the natural characters of the peoples they have known. And this causes them, although accepting Christianity for themselves and for European races, to be unable to feel sympathy with the missionary work of the Churches of which they are members, or to give to our missionary societies the benefit of their experience abroad. Their standing aside in this way becomes, indeed, a serious obstacle to this work, for those who have never been abroad themselves are naturally affected by this neutral or even opposing attitude on the part of those who have been. There is no influence more chilling to missionary zeal in a parish or a congregation than the neutrality or the opposition of retired officials or merchants from, say, India or China, who are themselves in other respects participators in Christian work.

That the Christian gospel went forth with the assumption of the unity of mankind, and that the Church at once became a Missionary Church, are patent facts. It is true also that it so continued in the Middle Ages, and at the time when Europeans began their expansion over the New World and entered upon new relations with Asia and Africa ; the conversion of the peoples of those continents and islands was more or less explicitly a feature of the policy and a factor among the motives for expansion. But, as acquaint-

ance with non-European peoples has extended, there has arisen in some minds a belief that diversities are of so deep-seated a character that confidence in the possibility of a single religion, whether the Christian or any other, is in some respects less universal than it was either in the early Church or in the Middle Ages.

It seems, therefore, to be incumbent on Christian men to look into the present state of opinion as to the manifoldness in the unity of mankind on the levels of physical and mental nature. To offer some evidence as to present opinion is the purpose of this article.

In the sciences which are devoted to the study of human nature there has been, and is, great activity, and the result has been an immense enlargement of knowledge. Man never knew so much about himself as he does to-day. Both on the physical side and on the mental, physiology and psychology have advanced by improvements in their methods no less than by vast enrichments of their material, and the comparatively new sciences of anthropology, ethnology, and sociology have taken their place as studies of university rank. It is for us to ask what is their answer to our present question.

It will not be within my compass here to examine the question of the singleness of origin. There is great interest in this in connexion with theological doctrines, no doubt, for these are usually stated with singleness of origin as a presupposition, and Christian theology turns with interest to learn what recent scientific inquiry has to say about it. Yet we are by no means clear whereabouts in the long history the singleness should be looked for ; e.g. whether it must be in the prehistoric stage that we look for it, or whether the presupposition would be satisfied if we commence with the tribes and nations which can be said to have come into the daylight of history, or, to put it in another way, when first man was conscious of moral responsibility and entered upon a religious outlook. The importance of this reference is

momentous, however, only for those who continue to regard Genesis iii. as strictly history, and St. Paul's use of it as a fundamental of Christian theology. But to those who have other views as to the historicity of the one and the fundamentality of the other, who hold for example with Dr. Garvie that the reference to Adam is 'not a foundation but an ornamentation in Paul's theological structure' (*The Gospel for To-day*, p. 86), the interest is of a less urgent character. However this be, it is not the problem of singleness of origin that I desire to treat of here, but of the singleness of human nature as we can observe it. Is human nature, as it lies before us in records of the centuries which have left us records, and in all its varieties from China to Peru, one or many? Is it more accurate to think of men as forming a single race or as a number of races?

We should note, at the outset, that there is much in the trend of modern science that tells in favour of the great importance of differences. The progress of organic life generally is effected by the accumulation of differences: varieties and species go branching out, becoming more and more separated; the process of creative evolution is, in Bergson's term, by way of *canalizations*, settling into diverse channels or streams of change. And these are not merely spatial divergences like those of the various branches of an oak, the structure of all the branches remaining identical; our branching out leads to increasing differentiation in qualities. Within the human race, even if we may assume singleness of origin, the appearance of differentiations both in body and in mind is on a par, therefore, with the process of physical and mental development generally.

Further, there is the Mendelian conception of 'fixed characters': qualities become settled; so much so that a mixture of them is only temporary; in succeeding generations the dominant characters are sure to re-appear. This is established for bodily qualities, and Mendelians are inclined, with more or less assurance, to carry forward the conception

into the mental sphere, and to expect that variations of instinct, sentiment, and intellectual capacity tend to become fixed in a similar way.

However it be as to the attractiveness of relying upon these general conceptions, we shall learn more by looking for the evidence offered by the sciences above-named as to the extent and nature of differences in the human race.

Let us begin with physiology. Here the evidence is clear; there is no such thing as 'racial anatomy' in the sense of a different anatomy for each of the races of mankind. 'After prolonged and highly specialized research,' to use the words of Dr. Kohlbrugge, of Utrecht, it has not been found that there are any substantial differences in the fundamental structures or functions of the body between European and other races, either in the elementary structures concerned with, e.g., breathing or digestion, or in the higher structures concerned with consciousness. It is found by medical science that all races react to drugs in approximately the same manner, and are susceptible, within minor variations, to the same principal diseases. Such variations as are found are amenable to explanations from varieties of climate, food, habits of life, and the like. The outstanding mark of differentiation is that of *Colour*, and it is this that plays so prominent a part in the popular valuation, leading to unfounded inferences as to deeper differences, and giving rise to antipathies which are out of proportion to causes which science can discover. There is no doubt that difference of skin-colour is one of the greatest racial barriers; and yet colour does not penetrate to the innermost or true skin; it is not fully even skin-deep. It is a matter of 'climatic control,' writes Mr. Lyde, Professor of Economic Geography in the University of London; and he proceeds to specify how climatic control works through the related activities of the lungs, the intestines, and the skin, the tropical climate throwing upon the skin and the intestines work that is done in temperate climates by the lungs, and the skin becomes

dark in consequence. In short, man is 'pigmented against too much sunlight' (*Inter-racial Problems*, London, 1911, p. 104). We Northerners have lost part of the protective pigment because its utility has disappeared: and now, if we expose ourselves to the sun we get our pale skin burned, just as our eyes suffer when we walk on glaciers blazed by a sunlight to which we are not adapted. Features and shape count for much in the antipathy between races, no doubt, but colour has from ancient times counted for most: and it may alleviate its separative influence, and gradually weaken the antipathy, if we can reduce its differences to their proper place as highly useful natural provisions for dwelling in very varied climates.

For mental differences we turn to the anthropologists and the psychologists. Let us hear an authority in both their sciences, Dr. C. S. Myers, a first-hand observer in the Malayan Islands and in the Sudan, and now in charge of experimental psychology at Cambridge. He laid before the Universal Races Congress (London, 1911) these two propositions:—

'The mental characters of the majority of the peasant class throughout Europe are essentially the same as those of primitive communities.'

'Such differences between them as exist are the result of differences in environment and in individual variability.'

The first proposition protests against separating off a European race, and the second assigns differences not to the organism in itself, but only as acted upon by environment, and assigns variation to the individuals without admitting a different variation due to race.

Dr. Myers, in the same paper, is specific as to some important mental functions: 'We conclude, then, that no fundamental differences in powers of *sensory acuity*, nor, indeed, in *sensory discrimination*, exists between primitive and civilized communities. Further, there is no proof of any difference in *memory* between them. . . . In *temperament*

we meet with just the same variations in primitive as in civilized communities.' This is surprising, perhaps, but Dr. Myers proceeds to concrete statement, 'In every primitive society is to be found the flighty, the staid, the energetic, the indolent, the cheerful, the morose, the even-, the hot-tempered, the unthinking, the philosophical individual.' And, still more surprising, 'It is a manifest error to suppose that primitive man is distinguished from the civilized peasant in that he is freer and his conduct is less under control . . . if desired, I could bring before you many instances of *self-control* which would put to shame the members even of our most civilized communities.'

A similar testimony was placed before the Royal Institution in January of this year by Dr. McDougall, a fellow-investigator with Dr. Myers in the Pacific, and now Reader in psychology at Oxford, from a study of the natives of Borneo.

From America Dr. Woodworth, Professor of Psychology in Columbia University, writes : 'One thing the psychologist can assert with no fear of error. Starting from the various mental processes which are recognized in text-books (of psychology), he can assert that each of these processes is within the capabilities of every group of mankind. All have the same senses, the same instincts and emotions. All can remember the past, and imagine objects not present to sense. All discriminate, compare, reason, and invent.' (*Science*, 1910.)

In the higher range of mental capacity an interesting observation has been made by a prominent sociologist, Dr. Gustav Spiller. He has asked what success has attended the students at universities in Europe and America who have come from non-Caucasian races. These students have included Chinese, Japanese, Indians, Persians, Turks, Egyptians, Negroes, Maoris and others ; and he has been informed, after detailed inquiry, that members of all these races have completed their courses substantially as well as

those of European race. And as the peoples enumerated compose together with the European, perhaps nine-tenths of humanity, there is little room left for any race incapable of intellectual capacity and power of concentration in study of a university standard. (*Sociological Review*, October, 1912.)

In comparison with such evidence the haphazard impressions formed by European travellers and sojourners among other peoples are of small account. Of course the hastily-formed notions of rapid travellers no one seriously attends to, though the highly dogmatic character of utterances which have but slender basis of knowledge gives them a vogue which counts as influence on the popular mind. But even the opinions of those who have had long residences in foreign lands are often of slight value, owing to the entire absence of comparison, and of possession of the materials for comparison, on the part of those who form the opinions. Many an Indian Civilian or African merchant, for example, who has returned with the idea of separate races, had no intimate knowledge of the uneducated people of his own country before he went out. He has passed from school and college or counting-house and the society of his compeers to find himself for the first time at close quarters with people of the 'peasant' or the 'artisan' class. Or in some cases the returned merchant has neither at home nor abroad come into personal knowledge with any of the working classes except domestic servants or the lower employés in the business: of the general population he knows nothing worth knowing in either case. Then, again, for travellers who have applied themselves with some seriousness to collect information, very few have had any training in observation or have any wide range of knowledge in general with which to compare their quota. We are now fortunate to have before us studies by observers so sympathetic as Mary Kingsley and Mr. Dennett in his *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind* (1906), or so well trained in anthropology as Professor

Spencer, who has done much to unveil the social life of the Australian aborigines.

Henceforth there is justification for our possessing an opinion worth having only if we have acquainted ourselves with reports of observers who were trained and sympathetic, or men capable of surveying the data over a very wide field and themselves pursuing methods of interpretation of a properly scientific character.

The testimonies adduced above are from authorities in the sciences which take the whole range of man's physical and mental life, on its ordinary levels, into view. If, then, we find that in their judgement the peoples of the world are, apart from education and the influences of higher civilized life, alike in sensory perception, in memory, in imagination, in reasoning power, in instinct, in emotion, and even in self-control, what need we more when asking whether or not there is a singleness of human nature which relegates race distinctions to a subordinate level of influence, and exhibits all men everywhere as capable of receiving the same religion?

There is another difficulty, however, which deserves our attention. There has been a turn of recent feeling, as I observe it, against the *Mixture of Races*. This, *prima facie*, seems to assume that the differentiae are deep; and it finds support in the conception of 'fixed characters' of the Mendelian type, already alluded to. But it has arisen chiefly in the field of observation on the ordinary level. Mixed races have been looked at by sojourners among them and impressions unfavourable to them arrived at. The feeble and unstable character of some mixtures has been dwelt upon, e.g., of the Eurasians in India, Mulattoes of the United States, and the half-breeds of South America. When the General Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Bishop Montgomery, returned, two or three years ago, from an extensive visitation of the Society's missions, he was impelled to press upon us the very definite opinion he had formed that missionary policy should place no

reliance upon admixture of races as a preparation for the extension of the gospel: rather that we should look favourably on separation and the continuation of a supposed 'purity' of type.

But anthropologists are now more than dubious as to the utility of speaking of 'purity of race' at all. Doubt is thrown as to its existence in any substantial degree, and still further doubt upon its value, so far as it may be allowed to exist. The apparent cases of poor quality in Eurasians and Mulattoes are subject to the consideration that these particular mixtures have arisen in social conditions highly unfavourable to the offspring: most frequently these people have had to suffer loss by being outcast from the main social order: despised by the whites, they have also been hated by the native community, and have lived outside the camp in a moral and social sense. Where a proper place has been allowed to them in the social order, when self-respect and self-confidence could be possible, a different result appears.

On the other hand, evidence is forthcoming that over and over again in the history of man, races, when left alone, have stagnated or even deteriorated, while a timely admixture of some different blood has been followed by a marked rise in the level of vitality and power. This has taken place not only in bodily vigour and caused the appearance of tribes conquering in wars, but it has penetrated to deeper springs of life and given rise to outbursts of poetry and art and the inventiveness which produces fresh forms of civilization.

As matter of fact, in ancient times the great Babylonian civilization sprang from a mixture of two quite different racial elements, as also did that of Egypt; the northern Barbarians twice leavened Italy; the relative homogeneity of the inhabitants of the interior of Russia, and of China, must be contrasted with the admixtures which resulted in the peoples of England, of France, and of Germany, between

which it would be hard to choose in point of complexity of composition. So far are seclusion and separation from being the evident way of advance that 'in the South Sea Islands it is the full-blooded Polynesian natives that are disappearing (Maori, Hawaii, Samoan, &c.), while their places are being taken by half-breeds of all kinds.' (Keane, *Ethnology*, p. 155.) And even as to the race which has most benefited by civilization, Sir Harry Johnston has ventured to say, 'Perhaps a white race which receives no rill of blood from the other human types from time to time may die of physical degeneration.' Ethnologists are on the look-out for what they call *eugenesis* in the admixtures, and, of course, it is likely that the best comminglings will not be between types which occupy wide extremes of divergence. In America fusion has been hindered by the setting side by side of people so proud of race as the British colonizers on the one hand, and Negroes, not from the virile tribes of the cooler uplands of Africa, but of the depressed tribes from the swelter of the Guinea coast, from which the slave-ships loaded for Virginia and Carolina and Jamaica. On the other hand, in the United States there is now a large element from Southern Europe which already contains some congeniality with other races, and there is also an intermingling of the fairly high type of American Indians who are being quietly absorbed into the increasingly composite mass of the 'American'; and, as their own leaders declare, this absorption is their own desire, and they have sufficient self-respect to believe that they themselves are contributing an element of value to the American people of the future.

Readers of this article will differ as to the degree in which they have been affected by the recent tendency to acquiesce in the separateness of races on the ground of reports of ill-effects of intermixture. The writer confesses to have been led in that direction, personally. But he has found the disapproval of admixture largely removed by a wider knowledge of the facts as disclosed by ethnology. These results

outweigh the sporadic observations which have led to the condemnation. And the introduction into the inquiry of the necessity of considering whether the alliance carried with it social and moral reprobation, or not, has been of vital importance. If self-respect is preserved by both of the intermingling races, no other factor appears to be of such force as to make condemnation well-founded.

St. Paul declared before his audience at Athens that all the nations of men were made ἐξ ἑνός—we must not add αἰματος, according to the best texts, but unity of source under God's activity is plainly meant—to dwell together on the face of the earth. The Apostle to the ἔθνη may have been thinking only of the nations of the Mediterranean region, or he may have been moved by the universal factor in his faith to sweep into his meaning all peoples who might live beyond the ken of either Judaic or Hellenic knowledge. It is always impressive to remember that beyond both those horizons lay the great masses of Central and Eastern Asia, and of the large part of Africa. And in our time, when all the compass of the globe is brought under our survey, we ought to make up our minds, so far as we possibly may, what is the evidence for that unity of all the races on the round earth which the hope of universality for our religion assumes. What is here offered is the removal of a demurrer from the point of view of the supposed evil of intermixture and the inference from this to fundamental diversity; and the presentation of the trend of interpretation of the widely extended and well-considered additions to our knowledge of the bodily structure and the mental faculties of men of all races which we owe to the energetically worked sciences which are devoted to their study.

The effect of the dissipation of erroneous beliefs and the possession of well-founded ideas can be vividly illustrated by a reference to the Negroes in the British West Indies, especially in Jamaica, where the greatest mass of them is found. In the times of slavery the planters adopted for their

own guidance, and endeavoured to impress upon the Negroes for theirs, the view that the Negro, though human in outward semblance, had not the full qualities of humanity. They welcomed the suggestions of ethnologists of those times that the Negro might be of the same 'genus' as the European, but was not of the same 'species'; they appealed to comparative anatomy as then known, and certified their conclusion by a review of the gradations of intellectual endowment, omitting to note that the people they were referring to were in bondage and without the aid either of education or religion. Under this sinister influence the Negroes of the West Indies stagnated or deteriorated for a hundred and fifty years. Since emancipation, the level of civilization and morality of the Jamaica Negro, though it may not be high—their freedom is not yet a century old—is, as a recent Governor of that Colony, Sir Sidney Olivier, told the Church Congress last October, on a markedly different level. And the elevation has been due, in Sir Sidney's words, to 'the continuous application to the race of the theory of humanity and equality . . . applied by men and women who believed in their principles and who did not believe in the finality and permanence of racial distinction and disabilities. . . . This is not theory; it is history.'

In this way, too, the faith and hope which lead us to look for the eventual unity of religion receive support from the increase of knowledge. For confidence in Foreign Missions there may still be needed the faith which reaches beyond knowledge; but there is gain in the removal of opposition derived from what is known as to the lower levels of the physical and the ordinary mental natures of man, and the venture of faith is remitted to the higher levels of morality and religion.

A. CALDECOTT.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

ALTHOUGH the name of Rabindranath Tagore belongs to the Bengali, it has suddenly become a well-known and a welcome word in both our hemispheres. There is something wonderful and assuring in this rapid world-wide fame. His popularity with his own people is surprising. He is not without honour in his own country. His writings are published in many dialects. His songs are sung by the boatman on the river, the labourer in the field, and the bullock driver on the highway. When he visits the city the educated will crowd to hear him, and if he enters the village, men, women, and children will strew flowers in his path.

If the homage of the West has not been so dramatic and pictorial, it has been equally sincere and profound. Rabindranath has lately visited Europe and America. The students in both countries have listened to his lectures with feelings akin to reverence. His fellow literary craftsmen have sat at his feet. All the critics have sounded his praise. His poems have passed into several editions, and, to crown all, the Nobel prize for literature has been awarded him. Such facts as these are fraught with a singular significance. This unstinted appreciation which the Western world has shown to the Eastern stranger is twice blessed. It sheds as much honour upon the giver as on the receiver. It is the gracious act of a generous race. But it means more than this. It is not merely a tribute paid to a supremely perfect artist. The author of *Gitanjali* is a man of noble mien and of saintly character, and it shows that even in an age which falls down to worship a golden image there are men and women who have not lost the grace to admire the

good and beautiful and true. 'We needs must love the highest when we see it.' Perhaps other considerations, secondary it may be, have also influenced us. We have been passing through a period of decadent art, literature, and music—marked by a striving for effect, a passion for novelty, and a daring disregard of whatsoever things are pure and lovely. It is an immense relief to get away from a pleasure-ground of garish lights, discordant sounds, and artificial beds, to the open fields where the flowers grow of themselves and the birds sing freely, and where we can drink once more from the well of English undefiled.

We have no reason whatever to be jealous of this Hindu renaissance. It is undoubtedly a new creation, but without the inspiration of European thought it could never have been. It is true that the ideas which it has borrowed have undergone a sea-change which has often enhanced their native beauty, but, nevertheless, the spirit of the West may sometimes see her reflection in the literature of the East; as, Milton tells us, Eve beheld her own image in the waters of Paradise. But there is yet another reason why we have welcomed this great poet so warmly. He is a herald of a coming day for which the whole world is longing—a day of universal love and righteousness and peace.

The genius of Rabindranath Tagore owes much to hereditary influence. He is one in a long succession of gifted men. His father, Maharshi Dabendranath, was like a Moses to the Hindu tribes. His home was an abode of piety, a nest of singing birds, and a school of art. In his youth Rabindranath was brought in contact with spiritual teachers, like Keshab Chandra Sen, and with leaders of the literary revival, such as Bankim Chandra Chatterji, who was considered the most brilliant writer of his age. The latter must indeed have been a Bengali prose laureate; for one day, near his end, as Mr. Andrews, of Delhi, has informed us, the people gathered about him and put a garland round his

neck. The old man wore it for a moment and then placed it on the shoulders of the young man sitting at his feet. He had true prophetic insight, for Rabindranath Tagore was destined to become one of the noblest characters and one of the most distinguished authors of his race. He is a poet, mystic, teacher, and prophet—all in one.

The poems of Tagore are wide in their range and varied in their motive. They mark the growth of the poet's mind, and the deepening of his soul's experience. The *Crescent Moon* is a collection of child-poems: the *Gardener* a volume of 'lyrics of love and life.' In the *Gitanjali* or 'song-offerings,' we have the sighs and aspirations, the longings and the love-gifts of a devout, adoring heart. In the interval of time between the second and the third of these works, when the poet had reached his thirty-fifth year, he had a great sorrow. The *Gitanjali* marks a turning-point in his career, as the *Trojan Women*, according to Professor Gilbert Murray, had done, in the history of Euripides. Henceforward the consecrated harp forsakes the courts of love and strikes out the music of the temple.

All the notes of true greatness are found in Rabindranath's poetry—simplicity, mystic insight, proportion, and authority. He is conscious of his inspired vocation, but speaks of himself humbly, 'Thy little flute of a reed thou hast carried over hills and dales and hast breathed thro' it melodies eternally new.' And again he avows, 'I am here to sing thee songs. When in the morning air the golden harp is tuned, honour me, commanding my presence.' To his unseen King he ventures to say, 'I know thou takest pleasure in my singing. I touch by the edge of the far-spreading wing of my song thy feet which I could never aspire to reach.'

The spirit of simplicity is apparent in the poet's choice of subjects and selection of images. His mind is naturally moved by the beauty of common things. Leaves, grasses, and flowers show him their loveliness. The birds and the

beasts confide their secrets, and the stones of the field are in league with him. This sympathy with nature is evident also in the sketches of scenery which appear upon his pages. Look at this from the *Crescent Moon*—‘The palm-trees in a row by the lake are smiting their heads against the dismal sky, the crows with their draggled wings are silent on the tamarind branches, and the eastern bank of the river is haunted by a deepening gloom.’

All these English odes are translations by the author from the original Bengali. Whether they have lost anything of their intellectual content I am unable to say, but certainly nothing of their melody can have fled in the process. They were composed to be sung and were set to music by the author. They are chanted by the Hindu peasantry as they sit on the ground and sway their bodies to and fro in rhythmical sympathy. They may be recited by ourselves beneath the trees, when the branches are swinging in the summer wind or in the cornfields when the wheat is undulating in the breeze. Their cadence is touched with a melancholy which is painfully sweet. It falls upon the ear like the sound of a wave that breaks softly and dies away on some moonlit shore. It is a perilous experiment to tear a stanza from its setting, but this is only one of a hundred examples :—

Have you not heard His silent steps,
He comes, comes, ever comes.
Every moment and every age, every day and every night, He comes, comes,
ever comes.
In the fragrant days of sunny April thro’ the forest path, He comes, comes,
ever comes,
In the rainy gloom of July nights on the thundering chariot of clouds, He
comes, comes, ever comes,
In sorrow after sorrow it is His steps that press upon my heart, and it is
the golden touch of His feet that makes my joy to shine.

In the *Crescent Moon* the Hindu poet shows that he possesses the secret which unlocks the heart of children. He becomes one with them for the time being, like William Blake, Francis Thompson, or George MacDonald. He knows

their ambitions and their fancies, their joys and their sorrows. He goes with them to school or to the fair, where the crowd is thick. He bends over them when their books are open, or stands watching when they sail their paper boats. He understands that the wealth of childhood is its innocence and its kingdom the infinity of love.

On the seashore of endless worlds children meet. They know not how to swim, they know not how to cast nets. Pearl fishers dive for pearls, merchants sail in their ships, while children gather pebbles and scatter them again. They seek not for hidden treasures. On the seashore of endless worlds children meet.

Perhaps a poet gives no surer sign of his creative power than when his mind absorbs the thoughts of others, and reproduces them in life and beauty all his own. In all Rabindranath's poetical works there are reminiscences which show his wide acquaintance with English literature; and the dialogues of Plato tinge his prose philosophy. As he tells us of the look of his lover which came to him 'like the bird of the evening that hurriedly flies across the lampless room from the one open window to the other, and disappears in the night'—we remember Bede's Anglo-Saxon story. He must have read at some time Robert Burns' lament,

But pleasures are like poppies spread, you seize the flower, the bloom is shed,
Or like the snowfall in the river, a moment white—then lost for ever !

Or he could not have written,

Pleasure is frail like a dew-drop, while it laughs it dies. But sorrow is strong and abiding. Let sorrowful love wake in your eyes.

And yet the idea in the one has become transfigured in the other and a truthful reflection is added which unspeakably enhances its worth.

Both the philosophic thought and poetic feeling of this Hindu writer have had their birth in Mysticism. It is in the main the mysticism common to the spiritual life of all religions, while it bears upon itself some birthmarks belonging peculiarly to the East. It assumes that God can only be known intuitively—the fundamental axiom of the Mystic's creed—as Tagore puts it: 'The vision of the Supreme One

in our own soul is a direct immediate intuition not based on any ratiocination or demonstration at all.' It is in this consciousness that the soul realizes itself, and in this vision that it continues to grow. Its union through love with God, the source of life, unites it inseparably and by many ties with universal life. After reading the *Gitanjali* and the *Sadhana* one hesitates to regard their author as a Pantheist. Although the Supreme One may be an all-pervasive presence, God is indeed to our poet a Personal Lover. His heart longs for Him as the heart of St. Augustine did and almost in the same language. 'Away from the sight of Thy face, my heart knows no rest or respite and my work becomes an endless toil in a shoreless sea of toil.' Like another St. Paul he is conscious of the indwelling of the Holy One in the temple of his being and must keep it pure. 'Life of my life, I shall ever try to keep my body pure, knowing that Thy living touch is upon all my limbs. . . . I shall ever try to drive all evils away from my heart and keep my love in flower, knowing that Thou hast Thy seat in the inmost shrine of my heart.' He can, it is true, deny the King of the Universe an entrance to that sanctuary, for it is the self of man which He has not shadowed with His throne. He has left it free. His armed force, the laws of nature, stand outside its gate, and only beauty, the messenger of His love, finds admission within its precincts.

In the *Sadhana* Rabindranath tells us that 'our roots must go deep down into the universal if we would attain the greatness of personality.' It is, however, in the *Gitanjali* that we have the revelation of this universal life and realize what unity with it implies. 'The same stream of life that runs through my veins night and day, runs through the world and dances in rhythmic measures. It is the same life that shoots in joy through the dust of the earth in numberless blades of grass, and breaks into tumultuous waves of leaves and flowers. It is the same life that is rocked in the ocean-cradle of birth and of death in ebb and in flow.'

This personal sympathy with all life links itself with all men; they are brothers. It binds man also to the beasts of the field. They were once friends, and the poet wonders 'through what primal paradise in a remote morning of creation ran the simple path by which their hearts visited each other.' Those marks of intercourse have not been altogether effaced, although their kinship has been long forgotten. Whenever the friends meet now they wear masks and vaguely know each other.

It is not easy to understand this mystic's theory of the ultimate destiny of the soul. He looks forward to the end. When Death comes it will be welcome. Because he has loved this life he knows that he will love death as well, and he likens himself to a child which cries out when from the right breast the mother takes it away—in the very next moment to find in the left one its consolation. But what will further await the soul is not made clear. In some of his sayings we seem to see a belief in a distinct personal immortality; for instance, 'The flowers have been woven and the garland is ready for the bridegroom. After the wedding the bride shall leave her home and meet her lord alone in the solitude of the night.' Surely it shall be so—and then the eternal marriage feast. A simile such as this cannot possibly apply to absorption or annihilation, but when in the same poems we meet with this declaration—'When it shall be thy wish to end this play at night I shall melt and vanish away in the dark, or it may be *in a smile of the white morning* in a coolness of purity, transparent'—we begin to fear that he is standing where Professor Tyndall stood when he proclaimed that our conscious personality would one day melt away into the infinite azure of the past. But the fear is groundless. The author of *Gitanjali* is approaching nearer, step by step, to Him who has brought life and immortality to light.

Rabindranath Tagore is no ascetic. He is a mystic who 'warms both hands before the fire of life.' 'He is the first

among our saints who has not refused to live, but has spoken out of life itself,' a distinguished Bengali said lately to W. B. Yeats, 'and that is why we have given him our love.' It is here, in one man that the contemplative and the active have met in a strangely beautiful conjunction. 'Every morning at three,' says one who saw him, 'he sits immovable in contemplation, and for two hours does not awake from his reveries upon the nature of God.'

And yet no mystic of the West—not even Tauler battling with the black death in Strasburg—could be more blessedly busy than this Eastern dreamer. He is for ever proclaiming the gospel of work as strenuously as Carlyle, but far more wooingly :—

Leave this chanting and singing and telling of beads !
Whom dost thou worship in this lonely dark corner of a temple with doors
all shut ?
Put off thy holy mantle and even like Him come down on the dusty soil !
Come out of thy meditations and leave aside thy flowers and incense ! What
harm is there if thy clothes become tattered and stained ! Meet Him
and stand by Him in toil and in sweat of thy brow.

For the teaching of Tagore other than is to be found in his poems, we must turn to *Sadhana*, a series of lectures on the 'Realization of Life.' They were delivered in substance to his own students in Bengal, and afterwards in England and America. They contain an interpretation of the *Upanishads* and other Hindu sacred writings, with original comments. The style in which they are written is lucid and musical, and their thought is supremely suggestive. They aim at an organic unity and completeness. Beginning with the individual in his relation to the universe, they show in what way his soul becomes conscious—how it faces the problems of self and of evil—and then having attained its true personality and cleared its path, passes on to the realization of its full-orbed being in Love, in Action, in Beauty, and in union with the Infinite. In describing this upward way he quotes freely from the *Upanishads* and the *Vedas*, but he cites the words of the New Testament again

and again. Indeed, these Eastern and Western scriptures seem to run together for a while like the Arve and the Rhone within the same banks, although the colour and temperature of their waters are different. It is everywhere evident that this Hindu teacher has sat reverently at the feet of the Great Master. In the *Gitanjali* one of Christ's lately discovered sayings is set to music, and points a moral. 'Raise the stone and there thou shalt find me; cleave the wood and there am I,' becomes—

'He is there where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the pathmaker is breaking stone. He is with them in sun and shower, and His garment is covered with dust.'

More than once in the *Sadhana* Jesus and Buddha are brought upon the page together. Their utterances are compared, and one is used in confirmation of the other. But whenever this is so, the supremacy of Him who spake as never man spake is not left for a moment in doubt. The saying of Buddha may have been spoken centuries before the Son of God appeared, but nevertheless the divine teacher can turn its water into wine.

The theory of sin unfolded in the *Sadhana* and the poems is both arresting and suggestive. It does not possess the poignancy of the Pauline analysis nor the sombre import of a tragedy of Æschylus. It is nevertheless powerful and convincing, and in its vivid reality far removed from Oriental shadowy shapelessness. Although it differs from the Platonic doctrine of ignorance, it is near akin, for we are told that sin is the blurring of truth which clouds the purity of our consciousness. In its essence it is selfishness—a selfishness bent upon self-destruction. 'For in sin man takes part with the finite against the infinite that is in him. It is the defeat of the soul by his self. It is a perilously losing game in which man stakes his all to gain a part.' In striving to secure this fragment man builds around himself a wall of isolation. The awakened sinner thus makes confession. 'I am ever busy building this wall all around, and as this wall goes

up into the sky day by day I lose sight of my true being in its dark shadow.' In deliverance from this dungeon and in union with the infinite the emancipated soul realizes its salvation. 'As the child in its mother's womb gets its sustenance through the union of its life with the larger life of its mother, so our soul is nourished only through the good which is the recognition of its inner kinship, the channel of its communication with the infinite by which it is surrounded and fed.'

In the finding of his true self man not only loses his misery, but learns the secret of joy in unselfish service. So long as he strove to save the beauty and sweetness and movement of life for himself, he forfeited all :—

Why did the lamp go out ?

I shaded it with my cloak to save it from the wind, that is why the lamp went out.

Why did the flower fade ?

I pressed it to my heart with anxious love, that is why the flower faded.

Why did the stream dry up ?

I put a dam across it to have it for my use, that is why the stream dried up.

But when the great surrender of self is accomplished, then,

'The lamp gives up its oil,' and 'holds its light high,'—'then the flower sweetens the air with its perfume'—'then the river has its everyday work to do and hastens through fields and hamlets; yet its incessant stream winds towards the washing of God's feet.'

Rabindranath Tagore is not only singing his song and teaching his lesson to the present century—he is a prophet of the dawn of a coming day. Like a true patriot he is in perfect sympathy with the renaissance which is stirring the hearts of his fellow countrymen. In the revival of learning, in the yearning for further self-government, and the spread of spiritual enlightenment he has a share. He thus prays for the India that he loves :—

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high; where knowledge is free; where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls; where words come out from the depth of truth; where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection; where the mind is ever led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought and action—Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake !

But his sympathies are not bounded by the Himalayan Hills or the Indian Ocean. His heart is beating with love for all mankind. He maintains that we can never have a true view of man unless we have a love for him. Civilization must be judged and proved by the degree in which it has evolved the love of humanity. The wholeness of the world and our oneness with it are becoming clearer every day. The joy and freedom of the individual will come when he 'feels the rhythmic throb of the whole world in his own soul.' As this love of humanity presses on valiantly, all forms of serfdom and oppression will be swept away. Caste will disappear and woman will come to her own. She is admired and bedecked and yet kept out of the movement of the world and compelled to be silent. 'Amidst the rush and roar of life, O Beauty carved in stone, you stand mute and still, alone and aloof. Great Time sits enamoured at your feet and murmurs, "Speak, speak to me." But your speech is shut up in stone, O Immovable Beauty.' So says our poet, but the light of the new dawn will one day fall on the stony figure and bring out its music.

More than once this Hindu poet speaks pathetically of his departure as if it were nigh at hand. No one who has heard his voice and seen the light on his face can believe that the set time has yet come. He has already done much for India and something for the world, but there is more to be done. He has brought the East and West together by the bridge of his song, and he has helped to reconcile social differences and to harmonize the discords of religious belief, but the day for his *nunc dimittis* has not yet arrived. May he not look upon death until the eyes of India are open to see the Lord's Christ.

EDWARD J. BRAILSFORD.

S. T. COLERIDGE AS A TWENTIETH- CENTURY FORCE

Biographia Epistolaris. Edited by A. TURNBULL. (G. Bell & Sons.) 2 vols.

Coleridge. By H. D. TRAILL. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.)

Coleridge. By S. L. BENSUSAN. (T. C. & E. C. Jack.)

A MEMORIAL of some kind to Benjamin Jowett is being contemplated by his native Camberwell, and the secondhand booksellers unanimously declare they never knew so great a demand for the prose works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. These two announcements have, it can easily be shown, more close and real connexion than that of coincidence. Throughout the successive stages of his more than half a century's reign (1838-98) first as fellow and tutor, then as Master, at Balliol, Benjamin Jowett's worldly wisdom and adroit dealing with all kinds and conditions of men may sometimes have testified to the influence of his English favourite, Samuel Johnson, but always reproduced with not quite undesigned fidelity the personal aspects of the Athenian philosopher on whom at least two mutually opposed schools of thought founded themselves. Socrates was equally ready to instruct Alcibiades in the science of life, or in the art of politics. Jowett, with the same facility and point, could teach a pupil born in the purple like Lord Lansdowne how to govern the empire generally, and India in particular, or could throw out useful suggestions to the famous Balliol oarsman, A. Morrison, 1862-5, on the economy of strength in aquatic practice, and to the cricket captain, R. A. H. Mitchell, about the order in which he should send his men to the wicket. Next he would turn with the same glib mastery of the subject to the

ambitions and difficulties of a hard-working Snell exhibitor like Edward Caird, who eventually became Jowett's successor. As years went on, the great man fell into the manner, less of Socrates than of Samuel Johnson; indeed the lexicographer's friars down Fleet Street, and other frolics in the small hours with Topham Beauclerk, were themselves modelled on the diversions of Socrates with his pupil, the high-born profligate, the deterioration of whose genius, equally fitted for philosophy or politics, exemplified to his master the morally destructive influence of party warfare in democratic Athens.

From the different aspects of Socrates himself and his habits there sprang corresponding philosophic schools. The Cynics reflected his ruggedness of manner and contempt for the conventions of polite existence. On the other hand he never affected superiority to the pleasures of sense any more than Johnson or Jowett shunned the 'best houses of his time.' Hence the Cyrenaics, the precursors of the Epicureans, could claim the son of Sophroniscus for their founder and exemplar. It has been much the same with Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Free-thinkers, 'new theologians' and 'higher critics' on the one hand, the most spiritually minded of Churchmen and the most transcendental of Christian mystics on the other, have equally derived themselves from the *Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit* and the *Aids to Reflection*. These two works indeed have often laid the foundations of personal piety, as well as quickened devotion, public and private, and have even coloured entire modes of worship. After the same fashion, Coleridge's political course and writing have supplied a basis for every variety of doctrine in Church and State, from Erastianism to Theocracy, from high flying Toryism, not only to Radicalism, but to rebellion against all constituted authority.

What he taught was the outcome of how he lived. Something therefore about the different stages of his development must precede any remarks on his connexion with the

ideas of his own or any subsequent age. His parentage and early nurture go some way towards explaining the idiosyncrasies of his intellect, as well as the eccentricities of his life. The father—much caricatured, it seems likely, in De Quincey's well-known description of his grammatical freaks and cumbersome erudition—was an amiable and utterly unpractical pedant, realizing his son's notion of Fielding's Parson Adams, with a turn for speculation, but without the power of pursuing his thoughts on a clear line to a definite point. His mother, an Exmoor farmer's daughter, thrifty, active, bustling, but ever mistaking worry for work and fuss for energy,—such were the two chief personal influences dominating his childhood and moulding his mind.

Mrs. Coleridge, whose maiden name was Bowdon, came of an agricultural stock, all whose members, through many generations, had gloried in their contempt of drawing-room arts and graces, and had loathed every effort at accomplishment not connected with the poultry yard and the milk pantry. His father, one of a large Devonshire tribe bearing the Coleridge name, doubled the parts of Ottery St. Mary vicar and free grammar-school headmaster. His first wife presented him only with daughters (three), his second with one girl and nine boys. Of that group, he with whom we are now concerned was the youngest. To prevent the danger of loss in the Coleridgian labyrinth, Mr. H. D. Traill has considerably explained that only three of S. T. Coleridge's brothers lived into the nineteenth century. The first of these became the father of Henry Nelson Coleridge, who married his cousin, the poet's daughter, and edited his uncle's works: Henry's brother John eventually developed into Mr. Justice Coleridge, Thomas Arnold's and John Keble's Oxford contemporary, father of the nineteenth-century judge and Lord Chief Justice, and consequently the present and second Lord Coleridge's grandfather.

'Sam,' to give him the family name, learned from his

father much Latin and even more Greek, but otherwise had few of the advantages which sometimes attend home training. His mother's influence, so far as he felt it at all, was for evil rather than good; not because this excellent woman failed in any domestic duties or showed any indifference to her husband's and her children's comforts. All this Sam, however, like other boys, took as a matter of course. The only thing which impressed him was the severity of his mother's home rule, and of the punishments dealt out to all about her who indulged untidy habits or left parts of their meals uneaten on the plate. The experience and memories of this drastic regimen raised from the first in Sam, more than in any of his brothers, a spirit of revolt. 'I hate cleanliness and neatness,' he chalked up in Latin and Greek on the kitchen wall; 'when I am a man,' he told his fond parent, 'I shall be as unpunctual and disorderly as I like.' The juvenile horoscope was truly drawn, and the defiant prediction fulfilled itself to the letter.

The material experience of his childhood in the Devonshire vicarage reacted upon his social and intellectual being through life. The paternal lessons, however, not only disciplined and furnished his mind, but were also instrumental in opening to him the door of the great world. For among the paternal pupils of a generation before Sam was the scion of another Devonshire house, who eventually rose to be Mr. Justice Buller; his was the influence that obtained for his old tutor's youngest son a presentation to Christ's Hospital. He entered the school as a child of between ten and eleven during the summer of 1782, in the same year as Charles Lamb. Leigh Hunt and Thomas Barnes, the editor of the *Times*, came at a much later date. The amiably whimsical *Elia* counted it one of his chief blessings at Christ's to have had Coleridge as his school-fellow. Coleridge himself showed a characteristic *penchant* for antiquity even in these tender years, by proudly dwelling on the fact that the foundation to which he had been

admitted was adorned in a remoter period by two right reverend spiritual fathers of the Church, Bishop Middleton, of London, the biographer of Cicero, and Stillingfleet, of Worcester, who wrote the *Origines*, as well as by Ralph Allen, of Prior Park, Bath, the eighteenth-century patron of letters and Post Office reformer. The head master of Coleridge's time and down to the eighteenth century's close was James Boyer, in comparison with whom Horace's Plagiosus Orbilius was gentle, Busby of Westminster humane, and the terrific Keate meekly tolerant. Of all the much smiting pedagogues of that ferocious period, this rabid pedant was the most pitiless as well as from some points of view most grotesque. Kinglake has drawn in *Eothen* a vivid picture of the Etonian Keate, as a Napoleon in widow's weeds, quacking like an angry duck. Obligated by duty to take a leading part in the Easter anthems, Boyer sounded forth his notes like the music of a pencil grating on a slate. Wackford Squeers, of Dotheboys Hall, expatiated on the bliss of flogging a boy in a hackney coach. The tyrant of the Newgate Street school had a pleasant way of reading the parliamentary debates while applying his scourge, punctuating, as it were, the orator's sentences by a lash drawing blood from his victim's back. The more timid and shrinking his prey, the more brutal the executioner in handling him; a weeping child fresh from the nursery was assailed with a knotted fist, simply that its owner might see the indelible mark made on a virgin face.

In phraseology as well as in what he mistook for fun, the Christ's Hospital boy showed himself father of the man. 'Primum tempus, sir,' remarked some offending new boy, as Boyer's cane was about to descend, 'we were never told not to do that.' On this the Coleridgian comment is, 'this exquisite irrecognition of any law, antecedent to the oral or the declaratory, struck so irresistibly on all us who heard it (the pedagogue himself included) that remission was unavoidable.' In the same ponderously sportive vein the

Ottery St. Mary boy made many other jokes about his teachers not worth repeating here.

As an undergraduate at Jesus College, Cambridge, Coleridge was the same self-absorbed, impracticable, unintelligible youth that his father's training before he went to Christ's Hospital had made him. He had also carried to the point of rebellion against anything like personal neatness or regard for polite conventions the spirit of reaction from the orderly methods and the taming discipline of his excellent and ignorant mother. He never did anything but study and talk, and only this if the season and the subject were left entirely to himself.

He had picked up more than an ordinary amount of Greek from his father, without a tinge of even grammatically accurate, still less genuine scholarship. It seems incredible that a man who went through life without knowing which tenses of the verb *λογίζω* were transitive and which intransitive, should have sufficiently concealed his ignorance to carry off prizes for original compositions in the language of Pindar and Anacreon. Yet, during his 'freshman's' year, he won the Browne medal for a Greek ode on the slave trade, condemned by Porson for its scholarship, but successful through its poetical flights, such in particular as the speech addressed by Death to those whom he came to deliver. In 1798 Coleridge failed in another Greek competition, an ode on astronomy; his remark on this incident is characteristic. 'My poem,' he said, 'was the finest I ever wrote in that language, while that which won the prize was contemptible.'

Even before his school days were over, he felt convinced that his genius was absolutely universal. Thus the observation of his brother Luke's exercises as a medical student left him no doubt that he could do all he saw better himself; he was at the point of running away to be apprenticed to a surgeon. Cambridge at least stood in the way of that freak, though not before a library of Greek and Latin medicine

books had been read. Next came a series of capricious incursions into the realm of metaphysics and theology, as writer not less than reader.

All this ended for the present in an attachment formed during a school or college holiday to an old school-fellow's elderly sister. Philandering poetry in the shape of his juvenile *Songs of the Pixies* chiefly occupied the close of Coleridge's school days. Debts at college or distresses of heart were the cause in 1798 of his sudden disappearance from Cambridge, and, after a narrow escape from starvation in London, of his enlistment as a trooper in the 15th Light Dragoons by the name of Silas Titus Cumberland (not Cumberland), in allusion to the burden he felt sure his bad riding would make him to the horse. A Latin sentence, made up rather than taken from Boethius, scribbled on the white wall of the cavalry stables at Reading, put the commander of the regiment on the track of the recruit's identity.

Bought out at Hounslow in the April of 1794, Coleridge returned to his university. He occupied his next leave, not in another escapade of the same sort, but in a visit to an old Christ's friend at Oxford. That experience marked an epoch in two well-known lives; for within a week of his reaching the Isis, Coleridge first saw and at once began his friendship with Robert Southey, then a Balliol undergraduate. During the Long Vacation of 1794 the pair were together at Bristol. There Coleridge was to find a publisher in Robert Lovell and a wife in Sara Fricker, Mrs. Lovell's as well as Mrs. Southey's sister. Sara changed her name to Coleridge in 1795. This union was one less of love than of convenience, and it naturally followed the whim which after his French revolutionary fever had attached the husband to the Pantisocratic scheme on the Susquehanna. The promoters of the Utopian enterprise, Lovell and Southey, had discovered that they, like all their associates, must contribute a wife towards its realization. That qualification for membership was acquired by their latest recruit in the same

year that witnessed his first appearance on any public platform.

By this time he had fulfilled the prediction made by the head of his old college, Jesus, that he would no sooner have his head in London or elsewhere than the academic Pantisocrat would show himself a subversive radical and Jacobin of the reddest dye. This display began with the *Conciones ad Populum*, opened at Bristol when the eighteenth century was nearing its close. The heaven-born minister, Chatham's son, then personified the repressive force of England before the world. The guilt of all the crimes committed during the Reign of Terror was said by Coleridge in his lecture to rest with the younger Pitt, 'who supplied the occasion and the motive, on whom heaven hath bestowed a portion of its ubiquity, giving him an actual presence in the sacraments of hell, wherever administered, in all the bread of bitterness, in all the cups of blood.' This is almost up to the mark of Jefferson Brick on the libation of freedom in *Martin Chuzzlewit*. The entire passage to-day reads like an exaggeration of the vein caricatured by Canning and Frere in the *Anti-Jacobin*, with, however, one significant reserve and shining exception.

Unlike the 'friends of the people' and other declaimers of the stump, Coleridge, if at first sight sometimes enigmatic, never talked nonsense, and tempered his most passionate utterances with practical wisdom and shrewd philosophic as well as political insight. So, with these initial jeremiads about an arbitrary statesman and the popular rights trampled under his foot. In the next paragraph to that abusing Pitt and his 'devil's work,' come a cool and closely logical account and analysis of despotism in all its known forms.

In print Coleridge first came before the world as part author with Southey, 1794, of an historic drama, *The Fall of Robespierre*. The earliest composition entirely his own was an ode to the departing year, published by

the *Cambridge Intelligencer*. This composition contains the first undoubted signs of a new poet, remarkable equally for his imaginative genius and intellectual power, having risen on the world. In it occurs the often quoted couplet :

Not yet enslaved, not wholly vile,
O Albion ! O my mother isle !

Then comes a less known but really noble apostrophe to the British Isles, and their immunity from invasion. Its finest images were manifestly suggested by the scenery amid which the poet on his marriage had pitched his tent at Clevedon. Here, from the cottage, through the little garden fronting the coach road, in full view of the samphire-covered Brean Down¹ and the Bristol Channel out of which it rose, there frequently issued a well-set young man, noticeable for his pocket shaped mouth, fine brow, and his dress in the style of the French Directory. This was the bard, philosopher, and preacher in readiness for the passing conveyance that would take him to Bristol as the starting-point of his didactic and evangelical progress throughout the kingdom. For as the nineteenth century approached Coleridge added to his functions of revolutionary lecturer those pertaining to the most zealous, if the least conventional, of Unitarian preachers. His costume in the pulpit, a blue coat with brass buttons and a buff waistcoat, exactly reproduced that brought into fashion by Charles Fox. 'At least,' he said to one of his chapel managers, at first a little startled by this costume, 'not a rag of the woman of Babylon can be seen on me.' His discourses, however, occasionally covered the whole ground of primitive Christian tradition, including the growth of Mariolatry and the Gnostic heresies, supplemented by a whimsical identification of what he called Christian Rechababism with the superstition of an anchorite, St. Aquarius.

¹ As an instance worth noticing of what Ernest Renan has called *la grande curiosité*, Coleridge, it may be said, took the trouble of comparing the Brean Down samphire with that then growing on the Dover Cliffs (*King Lear*, Act 4, Scene 6) and found the two specimens the same in every detail.

In his earlier, less dreamy, and generally less impracticable days, Coleridge showed himself a perfectly wide-awake and prosaically keen man of business. Thus, on the tours just mentioned, he carried about with him the prospectus of a little weekly print to be called the *Watchman*, of thirty-two octavo pages, having for its motto 'that all might know the truth, and that truth might make them free.' To escape the newspaper tax, it was to appear at somewhat irregular intervals, though, as nearly as might be, on every eighth day. Coleridge's canvassing experiences are recorded with a delicious humour shown by him nowhere else but in the *Biographia Literaria*. Here, rather than on any French or German page, is to be found the genesis of Matthew Arnold's satirical sportiveness, the jests at the expense of Mr. Bottles and the Rev. Josiah Jupp in *Friendship's Garland*. The tallow chandler who tells the *Watchman's* projector that though as great a one as any man in 'Brummagem' for liberty, thirty pages is more than he ever read all the year round, and fourpence a week comes to a deal of money, is a Coleridgian experience that directly inspired much of Arnold's badinage. How great in other respects is the debt of the younger to the older writer, and how closely Arnold as a literary critic proceeds on Coleridge's line, may be seen on most pages of the work now mentioned, and especially in the earliest explanation of the *Lyrical Ballads*. The innocent simplicity and egotism which went with his humour, often at his own expense, showed themselves as drolly as his humour itself. One of his travelling adventures described with as much gravity and minuteness as if it had been some sudden convulsion of nature, the successive stages in an attack of illness, headache, fever, culminating in severe nausea caused by nothing more than smoking his first pipe of tobacco.

The *Watchman* duly came out. Its less than half a dozen numbers show how the writer had steeped himself in the pulpit rhetoric of the seventeenth century, and how, with a

growing hatred of the slave trade, he had begun taking the turn which led him to the most coercive form of the formerly abominated and execrated Toryism. In 1796 Coleridge began the comments on philosophy and theology which first stamped him as a transcendentalist. These also at the same time made him the pioneer equally of the latitudinarian and the sacramental movements whose beginnings he lived just long enough to witness. Coleridge's Old and New Testament exegesis foreshadows and has inspired that of the *Lus Mundi* School, though, unlike the fashionable assailants of the Thirty-nine Articles, he never placed the Church above the Bible, or applied to the Old Testament the uncomplimentary epithets which, coming from Bishop Gore and other of H. P. Liddon's pupils, saddened and embittered the last days of the eloquent and devout Canon of St. Paul's. To Coleridge, indeed, the Bible was always the book of books. He connected no definite and original system of philosophy with his name; he denounced the bibliolatry of the early Reformers; but at last protested the Holy Scriptures alone afforded a sound basis for philosophical inquiry, and formed the one guide to all attainable truth. The divine discipline of the world to law and order, and of the individual to piety and duty, were the great principles revealed and enforced by the Bible alone.

Thus, when Mr. Brook, an Oxford theologian and chaplain to the Bishop of Wakefield, cites distinguished testimony to the personal appeal, instruction, and guidance recognized by men of all religions and of none in the Bible, he finds no words so suitable as those of Coleridge in *Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit*.¹ At the same time, on this subject Coleridge nowhere says anything to claim for the inspired pages an immunity from the critical examination beginning in his time to be applied to historical records generally, and to their sources.

The Socratic search after truth in Coleridge went together

¹ *Foundations* (Macmillan), p. 29.

with the Socratic love of ease and hatred of whatever interfered with the free course of his daily life. In the curve of the Bristol Channel shore, nearly opposite Clevedon, two or three miles inland, is a little village called Holford. The immediately surrounding hills are surmounted by the park and house known as Alfoxton, rented 1796-8 by Wordsworth for a nominal sum, and visited constantly by Coleridge, then living some three miles off at Nether Stowey. Issuing from the grounds of Alfoxton into the adjacent Holford Combe, the two friends found their footsteps dogged by a mysterious man in velveteens with a nose remarkable for length and breadth, something between a bailiff and a gamekeeper. He was in reality a detective constable secretly employed by the absentee owners of Alfoxton to report concerning the company kept by their tenant and the nefarious purposes with which rumour connected him. Amongst the philosophers discussed by the pair of poets was Spinoza, the two last syllables of whose name were alone and incorrectly caught by the representative of the law. 'Call me nosy, do they?' he murmured to himself. The supposed terms of disrespect thus applied to his physiognomy really provoked the policeman into giving an account so unfavourable to the Alfoxton tenants that their term of occupancy abruptly closed. That event was marked by Coleridge's final outburst of fury against Toryism and all its works. The democratic and revolutionary fit ended during those Quantock walks with Wordsworth, out of which grew the *Lyrical Ballads*. During the Continental travel period with the Wordsworths, 1798-9, Coleridge executed the right-about-face movement whose preliminary note he had faintly sounded in the *Watchman* three years earlier. That brochure, financed by Joseph Cottle, of Bristol, supported the party then in opposition, and eventually became the diminutive organ of the Whig Club. While learning German under the personal conduct of the Wordsworths in their European wanderings, Coleridge prepared

himself for reception into the political faith he had formerly vilified. The early years of the nineteenth century restored him to England as one now converted from the errors of his way to the championship of Altar and Crown, the whole existing constitution in Church and State. The literary platform for proclaiming, illustrating, and enforcing the new social and political gospel was the *Friend*. This began to appear in August, 1809, and struggled on to the March of the next year. Its editor, and with one or two exceptions, its sole contributor, with a fond complacency of philosophic egotism, had modelled it on Addison's *Spectator* and deplored the stupidity of a public who did not give it the same support. The moral and philosophical essays were generally variations on the thesis that Providence would in the long run be found on the side of the Tories, and that the return of the Whigs to power must mean not only red ruin and the breaking up of laws, but the destruction of the national Church and of all the blessings assured by the Reformation settlement. Not indeed that the gospel, according to Coleridge, implied any fanatical admiration for the seventeenth-century rupture with Rome.

Writing about 1809, he set the prose note taken up by Keble some seventeen years later in his *Christian-Year* references to Roman Christianity. After all, the Church on the Tiber is the real mother of that on the Thames. She must be dealt with respectfully, tenderly, even when most mistaken.

For the rest, on other matters than these, the *Friend* is a landmark in the spiritual and intellectual progress of English letters, because for the first time it acquaints its readers with the general results and practical value of German metaphysics, philological and mental science. A feature even more notable was its discriminating and truly admirable analysis of the causes and meaning of the Wordsworthian romantic reaction from the classical school of poetry. This contains the germ of Principal Shairp's set dissertations and

obiter dicta on the true inwardness, genesis, and significance of the Rydal cult. The series of recantations, social or political, constituting so large a part of Coleridge's course, reflected themselves in the successive contrasts of his personal habits, and the constantly changing phases of his private life. The well worn and inaptly used tag *noctes coenaeque deorum* threw a conventional glamour over the convivial meetings with Charles Lamb at the Cat and Salutation in Newgate Street, 1799-1800, but in reality marked the beginning of the descent to Avernus. His practical morality, however, was being sapped and weakened by the disease which intermittently preyed on his will power and character till the close of his life in 1834. This and not any intellectual decline explains the failure that overtook one series after another of his London lectures during the nineteenth century's two first decades. Neither the uncertainty of his appearance in the lecture room, nor the frequent feebleness of his voice prevented his addresses from rivalling Goethe's insight into the genius of Shakespeare and from laying the foundation for a British school of Shakespearian criticism. The strong drinks were broken off during the foreign tours, the most important of which had been taken by 1818. But the philosophic prodigal did but revisit his native land to compete as an opium-eater with De Quincey himself. Amid all this, he remained not only constant but passionately devoted to his earliest spiritual faith. In fact, the redeeming and coercive power of religious belief, never shaken in him for a moment, kept him from the lowest depths of degradation, till he found a haven for body and soul with the Gillmans of Highgate. There his wholesome life established him to the end as the sage of the generation and century. In that character he deserved the description of 'old man eloquent,' fondly given him by his disciples. The essential truth of the whole Christian revelation rather than the sacred right of free inquiry and cosmopolitan criticism were his last watchwords. The anthropologist Blumenbach's early and enthusiastic

pupil, and as earnest a student of physical science as Sir Oliver Lodge, he prefigured the twentieth-century reaction towards Scriptural faith, so justly associated with that master of natural phenomena. He thus began the movement which seems likely to end in the Bible coming by its own again. The actuality of Coleridge's message to-day and its energizing influence upon contemporary teachers and workers of widely different kinds are shown not only by the sustained demand for his writings and the constant addition of books about him, but the pervading temper of addresses which reach the masses from writers and speakers of all schools. The interpenetration of secular work and life by the spirit of religion and a spiritual sense of duty was pre-eminently a Coleridgian idea animating the popular discourses, not more of Bishop Gore than of Mr. Silvester Horne. So, too, the earnest tone in which newspapers deal with spiritual themes and moral issues of wide-reaching moment recalls and undoubtedly owes much to Coleridge's leaders in the *Courier* and the *Morning Post*. As a journalist Coleridge not only always valued himself, but with less of egotism, more of regularity and normal will power, would have had no superiors in the craft and have been more widely acknowledged than is the case to-day as its intellectual benefactor. In 1840 his philosophical and theological testament supplied the basis on which his disciples Arnold, Bunsen, and Hare organized the Broad Church party. About the same time his newspaper articles were creating models for the Hunts in the *Examiner* and for Rintoul in the *Spectator*. To the *Times* he never gained admission, chiefly or entirely because of his insistence on conditions which would in effect have made him the controller of the paper. In other periodical writings his commanding combination of aptitude for thought and action appeared in his proposal to organize, re-animate, and generally modernize without subverting. That indeed forms the burden of the lay sermons and the *Statesman's Manual*; or, *the Bible the Best Guide to Political Skill and Foresight*.

The ideas here unfolded are noticeable for their union of views in many respects so opposite as those of Thomas Arnold, the chief assailant of Tractarianism, and of its most subtle champion, W. E. Gladstone. A national Church, according to Arnold, must be independent of doctrines like apostolic succession and the Eucharistic sacrifice, foisted on the gospel by a designing priesthood; it must have for its supreme aim the bringing to bear upon each soul of the nation that the only guarantee of practical goodness is the power of the life and death of Jesus Christ. The ecclesiastical problem of problems seemed to Gladstone¹ the building up of the inward man in all his faculties and aspirations. The Church, says Coleridge, is the sustaining, correcting, befriending opposite of the world. All our clerical and lay misunderstandings, he thought, might have been avoided if only Henry VIII had specified in a statute the three estates of the realm symbolized in its unity by himself. These estates were the great body of the people, the commercial and, in part, the professional classes, and the clergy. That is the only fit name for the educated and devout order supplying to every parish its pastor, presbyter, or parson (*persona*). That functionary, who, from the necessities of the case must be a married man, is the representative and exemplar of his community, of their duties and rights, their hopes and prejudices. He must, therefore, minister in the things not only of heaven but of earth. He must bring the best culture of the time, the most quickening and elevating ideas of the day, secular as well as theological, within the reach of all entrusted to his care.

In all this, are we not listening to the keynote of the pleasant, homiletic strains, with much addition and elaboration, sounded forth by the nineteenth and twentieth century prose poets of the pulpit and the press, who evaporate theology into culture, identify, after the old Greek fashion, the good with the beautiful, and display to polite audiences

¹ Morley's *Gladstone*, Vol. II., p. 157.

spellbound the whole Christian system as an attractive branch of aesthetic philosophy? The poet and critic had been famous in Coleridge long before the preacher and the prophet. In the two earlier capacities, he was yet on the sunny side of middle age when by his own verses, and by his observations on those of others, he made himself the intellectual backbone of the romantic movement. The criticisms which prepared the way for the close of his co-operation with Wordsworth appeared between 1803 and 1807. In some points they are so obscure as to be almost incomprehensible, but some idea of them may be gained from page 269 of the first volume, and 25 of the second of the *Biographia Epistolaris* in Messrs. Bell's new edition. The chief force in completing the reaction against the classical school of poetry, he became at the same time the sole founder of sympathetic and interpretative criticism afterwards to be perfected by Matthew Arnold.

Regarded from the social point of view, Coleridge was the first in his generation to restore conversation to its traditional place of honour as a didactic agency. This he had begun to do before the rays of the setting sun fell upon his wholesome and dignified old age at Highgate. Samuel Johnson heads the list of famous Englishmen who chose purely social, sometimes convivial occasions for administering instruction by the method of question and answer.

According to the received story, Jeremy Bentham's one death-bed regret was that through life he had not always been attended by a shorthand writer to take down everything he said. Even on his own particular subjects, Bentham, as I have heard from those who had listened to them both, was not so good a talker as Sir Henry Taylor; while, among all the colloquial oracles of the dinner-table or the library, the one who reproduced most of the Coleridgean omniscience and originality was, [in the late Lord Blatchford's opinion, the latest survivor] of the Wordsworthian group, Aubrey de Vere, who died in 1902. Next in the catalogue of Coleridge-

inspired conversationalists came De Vere's contemporary, the stately Master of Trinity, with the gently biting tongue and the silvery hair, William Hepworth Thompson (1810-86), to whom belongs the credit for many of the most characteristic of good things affiliated to Benjamin Jowett.

'Every man,' said Coleridge, in his *Table Talk*, July 2, 1880, 'must be either an Aristotelian or a Platonist.' Every man who is good for anything, he might have added and shown by his personal example, must have something of both, taking the words in their popular meaning of practical or speculative, utilitarian or idealist. Had the table talker united always the sound mind with the healthy nervous system, he would have illustrated as forcibly as was done by Dante, Shakespeare, Byron and his own true friend Southey, that at his best the man of thought has it in him to be pre-eminent among the men of action. And here in passing it is to be observed that Coleridge knew perfectly well the conventional opposition between the two Greek masters is but partially justified by fact. For the loftiest and most spiritual point reached by Aristotle is that august wisdom, the expression of the imperishable mind. These two words contain the idea elaborated and elevated by Aristotle's Arabian commentators into pantheism. What would be the Coleridgian way of dealing with twentieth-century difficulties of religion may be gathered from Aubrey de Vere's essay on this subject¹. A hundred difficulties, Coleridge would say, need not make one doubt. If there is a wish to believe, it need not be weakened or unfulfilled by those thoughts concerning the Deity, which the existence of evil, or the doctrine of eternal punishment, may involuntarily cause to cross the mind. For the stage as well as the study, Coleridge's services to Shakespeare have been mentioned. To understand what he wrote on the subject, one ought, said Aubrey de Vere, to have heard something of what he said, representing with vivid and vital freshness the personality of

¹ *Subjective Difficulties in Religion*. May, 1883.

the man, derived from the autobiographical touches in his plays and sonnets. Hence, perhaps, the idea in other respects all his own so ingeniously and powerfully developed by Mr. Frank Harris in *The Man Shakespeare, His Tragic Life Story*.

One veritable specimen of Coleridge's talk, as heard by A. W. Kinglake, who told it to the present writer, may conclude this estimate of the 'harp of Quantock's' relations to his own time and to later generations. The subject was the Eucharist, with its treatment by the Sacramentarians and the Roman Catholics. 'Both,' said Coleridge, 'are equally wrong. The first have volatilized the rite into a metaphor, the second have condensed it into an idol.' The same old friend recalled for me some of Coleridge's remarks on the two great political leaders of his time. These, fortunately, are to be found in the *Biographia Epistolaris*, vol. 1, page 190, and may well be quoted here. Pitt and Fox completely answered my preformed ideas of them. The elegance and high finish of Pitt's periods, even in the most sudden replies, is curious, but that is all. He argues, but does not reason, and says nothing rememberable. Fox, on the other hand, possesses all the over-flowing eloquence of a man with a clear head, a clear heart, and impetuous feelings. Does not something of this critical contrast find its echo in the estimates placed on record by W. E. H. Lecky and Lord Morley of Blackburn ?

T. H. S. ESCOTT.

ST. PAUL THE HELLENIST

IT has often been observed that the Cross of the world's redemption bore an inscription which challenged three civilizations. Is it without meaning that the first and greatest missionary of the Cross was one in whom these three distinct lines of development converge? Roman and Greek and Jew was St. Paul; he moved in three worlds and inherited the wealth of the triple tradition. There is no danger that we should forget that he was a Jew—a Benjamite who was given the name of the one great hero of his tribe—a Pharisee of the strictest sect—a pupil of Gamaliel, instructed in all the subtleties of rabbinical dialectic. The impress of the Old Testament scriptures is unmistakable in all that he wrote. Nor can we overlook the pride and practical statesmanship of the Roman citizen who plants his standard in great strategic centres, whose fields of enterprise are pro-consular provinces, whose eyes are continually turned with ardent desire to the centre of imperial rule. Has there not been some danger that we should do less than justice to the element of Hellenism in St. Paul? This neglect may find some justification in the grotesque results of certain recent attempts, which have reduced Paulinism to a patchwork of phrases and conceptions borrowed from the medley of religious cults that flourished in later Hellenism. And yet the first fact that meets us is that this Jew of Tarsus writes and speaks in Greek. His quotations from the Old Testament are taken from the LXX.¹ On occasion he addresses a crowd of

¹ Deissmann (*St. Paul*, p. 131 ff.) thinks that Paul the Christian's rallying cry 'in Christ' was first suggested by the phrases (so common in the LXX of Psalms and the Prophets) 'in God,' 'in the Lord,' which he came to interpret in a mystical sense.

turbulent compatriots in Aramaic to secure a silent hearing ; but as traveller in strange lands and preacher to Gentiles of many races he speaks in the Greek Koinē, that *lingua franca* of the lands that enclosed the Mediterranean. Even the great theological manifesto to the Romans, in which he expounds his gospel *urbi et orbi*, is written not in Latin but in Greek.

Pedantic Atticists have found no place for one whose idiom was so different from that of Plato or Demosthenes. But a change of attitude is already apparent. One of the most brilliant of living scholars, in tracing the four stages of Greek religion, makes honourable mention of St. Paul. Even though his gospel comes under the alarming heading, 'Failure of Nerve,' we are told that Paul 'is certainly one of the great figures in Greek literature.'¹ A still nobler tribute has been paid by that great Hellenist, the late Prof. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff: 'That this Greek of his has no connexion with any school or with any models, that it streams as best it may from the heart in an impetuous torrent, and yet is real Greek, not translated Aramaic (like the sayings of Jesus), makes him a classic of Hellenism. Now at last, at last one can again hear in Greek the utterance of an inner experience fresh and living.'²

But the Hellenism of St. Paul involves something more than the spontaneous utterance of a living experience in the Greek tongue. His mental standpoint is not that of a pure and narrow Jew. Sir William Ramsay³ tells us of a conversation which he had some years ago with two of the most learned Jews of modern times, who were both perfectly certain that none of the Pauline letters could be genuine, because there is much in them which no Jew could write. Highly as they appreciated the non-Jewish element

¹ Gilbert Murray, *Four Stages in Greek Religion*, pp. 145-6.

² Quoted by Edwyn R. Bevan in *Quarterly Review*, No. 424 (July, 1910), p. 219. (Art. *Christianity and Paganism*.)

³ *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 9.

intermingled in his writings, their intimate knowledge of Judaism drove them to the conclusion that they were spurious, for the Hellenic strain in St. Paul had not then gained the recognition of scholars.

At the present day there is no aspect of Paulinism which is receiving closer attention. A great literature has sprung up in the last few years, dealing with the religious influences that were at work in that restless, wistful world into which St. Paul was born.¹

The scope of the present article will only allow us to consider briefly the way in which Greek principles and ways of thought impressed themselves upon the Apostle's mind, and the traces which his epistles bear in their vocabulary and teaching of contact with the religious cults of the Hellenistic world.

I

Tarsus, standing as it did on the threshold of two civilizations, is surely the key to the Hellenism of St. Paul. In the midst of the wide plain of Cilicia lie the remains of a once important city, through which there used to pass at the angle of its northward sweep that great highway of the nations from the opulent East to the newer civilization of the West. Away beyond the blue heights of Amanus and round the gulf of Alexandretta lay the Semitic world and all the mystery of the Orient. Right from the north to the north-west stretched the snow-clad range of Mount Taurus. Through the narrow gorge of the Cilician Gates the way opened to the world of Hellenism. From time immemorial this has been the route of caravans and of armies, of merchants, of the great kings of the east and of the empire builders from the west. Perhaps a Jewish boy

¹ See especially Camont, *Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain*; Anrich, *Das antike Mysterienwesen in seinem Einfluss auf das Christentum*; Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen, ihre Grundgedanken und Wirkungen*; Dieterich, *Eine Mithraditurgie*.

stood one spring day in that plain, as did a German scholar 1900 years later, watching the homeward flight of an army of storks on their return from an African winter by way of the Nile Valley and the valley of the Jordan. Did not he too 'hear in the rustle of wings over the lonely Cilician plain the eternal rhythm of travel?'¹ At any rate, 'born in the borderland between the Hellenic and the Semitic world. . . Saul the Semitic Hellenist, who was also called Paul, felt a vast compelling impulse to traverse the world from its eastern to its western end.'² Yet the roaming spirit of adventure which must have grown in one who passed his boyhood in this frontier town never lessened his loyalty to the city of his birth. The words that first leapt to his lips in a moment of peril and excitement long years after are some evidence of this: 'I am a Jew, a Tarsian, a citizen of no mean city.' If we accept Ramsay's argument³ that St. Paul was sprung from one of the families which were planted by Antiochus Epiphanes and given the Tarsian citizenship in 171 B.C., it is easy to understand his pride in the hereditary rank and privilege which had two centuries behind it. Of still more importance is the fact that Antiochus found far less antagonism to Hellenizing customs amongst these extra-Palestinian Jews than amongst the zealots of Judaea. One has only to contrast the hatred of Greek athleticism shown in 1 Macc. i. 14-15 and 2 Macc. iv. 9-12 with St. Paul's fondness for the metaphor of the stadium to see that, zealous Pharisee though he was, St. Paul had breathed from childhood in Tarsus a freer air than that of Judaic Pharisaism. It does not greatly matter whether, with Garvie, we look to the visit after his conversion as the time when Paul was most affected by his Tarsian environment, or think with Ramsay that the impressionable years of boyhood prepared the mind of the Apostle 'to appreciate

¹ Deissmann, *St. Paul*, p. 33.

² *Ibid.*, p. 186.

³ *Cities of St. Paul*, pp. 184-5; cf. p. 235.

fully and make clear to the world the spirit of freedom and universalism in the teaching and life and death of Jesus.'¹ But we surely do well to keep in mind the unconscious influence of a city's public life upon the personality of a youthful citizen. The playing-fields no less than the classroom leave their impress on the character of the modern public schoolboy; and the Pauline vocabulary reveals an attitude of mind that is seldom acquired in later years. 'The spirit of the competitors in the course was, on the whole, one of the best and healthiest facts of Greek city life. Paul had learned this from participating in the life of a Hellenistic city as a boy; there is no other way in which the lesson can be learned so thoroughly as to sink into the man's nature and guide his thought and language as this topic guides Paul's.'²

There is yet another feature of Tarsian life in the first century that we cannot overlook, although its importance may easily be exaggerated. Tarsus was the seat of a university, or to speak more accurately, was the home of a school of philosophy made famous by Athenodorus and Nestor and other exponents of the Stoic creed.³ There is no evidence to show that the youthful Saul haunted the lecture halls of the successors of these renowned teachers. His professional training was sought in a very different school—that of Gamaliel at Jerusalem. Nevertheless Prof. Percy Gardner has good ground for saying that Tarsus, when Paul was

¹ See the controversy carried on so courteously between these eminent writers in the *Expositor*, 8th Series, Vols. I. and II.

² Ramsay, *Luke the Physician*, Chap. X., 'On Greek metaphors in St. Paul's writings.' Deissmann, however, thinks that Paul drew these phrases from the stock of formulae current in Asia Minor. He even suggests that the 'artisan missionary' may have picked them up from wayside inscriptions! (*Light from Ancient East*, p. 302.)

³ In Hastings, D.B. iv. 687, Ramsay spoke of Tarsus as one of the three great university cities of the Mediterranean world, and quoted Strabo's statement that it surpassed in some respects those of Athens and Alexandria. He corrected this in *Expos.*, Oct., 1906, p. 373. Only in the enthusiasm of its students could Tarsus bear favourable comparison with those famous centres of learning. See *Cities of St. Paul*, pp. 228-35.

born, was one of the chief seats of the Stoic philosophy, and 'the Apostle was almost as much born into the ethics of this sect as he was into rabbinical ways of argument.' ¹

II

When we examine the Pauline writings to find more precisely in what fashion they reflect Hellenic modes of thought, two rather different characteristics command our attention. There is the direct use of abstract terms only explicable as the product of Greek culture, and there is also a general point of view, or mental attitude, which distinguishes St. Paul from all the other New Testament writers, save only St. Luke the Hellenist.

A few instances only of the former need be given. Johannes Weiss² detects profound anthropological and psychological thought in the use of πνευματικός, ψυχικός, σαρκικός and presupposes a theory of religious perception for the phrase νοούμενα καθορᾶται (Rom. i. 20). The same writer is impressed by the accurate consideration of psychological questions revealed in the use of νοῦς (Rom. vii. 23, 25), and of συνείδησις; by the appeal to φύσις (1 Cor. xi. 14), and his employment of the philosophical word ἀπειροσθέντως (1 Cor. vii. 35); by the occurrence of θεότης and θεότης, of ἀφθαρσία, ἀίδιον, and ἀόρατον in defining the idea of God; and not least by the delicate discrimination shown in such distinctions as μορφή and σχῆμα, μεταμορφοῦσθαι, μετασχηματίζεσθαι, μίμνησκειν. But when Weiss says that in St. Paul 'we have constant echoes of the thought of the Stoa, however popular in form,' we think not so much of these technical terms as of those remarkable coincidences of thought and diction to which Bishop Lightfoot drew attention in his classical dissertation, 'St. Paul and Seneca.'³

It is almost impossible to doubt that the Stoic portrait of the wise man was in the Apostle's mind when he wrote such passages as 1 Cor. iii. 22, 23, iv. 8, 10; 2 Cor. vi. 10,

¹ *Religious Experiences of St. Paul*, p. 141.

² *Jesus and Paul*, English Trans., p. 60. ³ *Philippians*, pp. 304 ff.

ix. 8, 11; Phil. iv. 11, 18, 18. The very contrasts between the two portraits strengthen the probability of conscious imitation. "Here and here only (ἐν Χριστῷ) the Apostle found the realization of the proud ideal which the chief philosophers of his native Tarsus had sketched in such bold outline, and painted in these brilliant colours.'¹

Again, is it a whimsical fancy which finds a Christian counterpart of the Stoic cosmopolitanism in the heavenly citizenship of St. Paul? The universalism that breaks out in the challenge of Rom. iii. 29: 'Is He the God of the Jews only? Is He not also of the Gentiles?' grows in volume and in majesty until we meet with the spacious conception of a humanity unified in Christ Jesus, whereby all distinctions of race and privilege are forgotten for ever in the corporate life of the city of God.

It is with rather less confidence that we trace the moulding influence of Greek thought in certain characteristics of St. Paul's teaching. Sir William Ramsay argues ingeniously that the spirit of the Tarsian Hellene is found in the prominence given in the Pauline philosophy to the idea of growth and development. He also claims that St. Paul enriched the Christian society by appropriating two of the cardinal principles of Hellenic life: the harmony of personal freedom with ordered government, and the value of sound education.'²

The first of these suggestions seems highly probable,³ the third is a rather precarious deduction from 1 Cor. ii. 6 ff., and the second, drawn from Galatians, recalls, as Ramsay

¹ Ibid., p. 306; cf. also Clemen (*Primitive Christianity and its Non-Jewish Sources*, pp. 60-73), who examines with critical acumen the alleged parallels between St. Paul and the Stoic writers, and concludes that it is highly probable that St. Paul was indebted, not only in his figures of speech but in much of the substance of his thought, to Stoicism, which had such a pre-eminent influence at Tarsus. But he regards Stoicism rather as a buttress of his thought, supporting principles at which St. Paul had arrived independently of philosophy.

² See *Cities of St. Paul*, pp. 33 ff.

³ Thus, according to Ramsay, moral excellence is to St. Paul not a mere quality; 'it is a purpose to be attained, an end to be reached, a prize to be won by a course.

himself reminds us, the teaching of Jesus in the eleventh of St. Matthew.¹ But without entering into a discussion of such debatable propositions we can readily acknowledge that the entire education and experience of St. Paul prepared him for a remarkably full understanding of the implications of the Christian gospel, and, 'after he had been laid hold of by Jesus, vitalized for him features which others had failed to appreciate.' Thus, when the call came for missionary enterprise throughout the eastern half of the Empire, St. Paul was able to interpret the Christ of history and of his own experience in such a fashion as to win for the gospel a hearing in the great centres of Hellenism.

III

At the present time the question of paramount interest in Pauline studies is that of the Apostle's relation to the ritual and terminology of the Mystery-Religions.² Archaeology has brought few things to light in our generation more astonishing than the widespread and deep-rooted existence of these cults and secret religious societies in the early Roman Empire. With their mystic lore, their impressive *mise en scène*, and their promise of 'salvation,' they made a powerful appeal to those whose spiritual needs were no longer met by the decaying systems of established religion. The ancient mysteries of Eleusis had their counterpart in an immense variety of esoteric cults attached to divers deities. Anrich³, whose researches gave a great stimulus to the investigation of this subject, pointed out three distinguishing marks of all these Mysteries. They had purificatory rites of initiation for their votaries, they provided means of communion with a deity, and they gave assurance of a future life of bliss.

¹ cf. Mt. xi. 28-30 with Gal. v. 1-13.

² The fullest study of this subject in English is a series of articles in the *Expositor*, 8th Series, Vols. III., IV. and V., by Prof. H. A. A. Kennedy. (Now republished in book form under the title, *St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions*).

³ Anrich : *Das antike Mysterienwesen* (1894), especially pp. 34-60. See also P. Gardner, *Rel. Exp. of St. Paul*, cc. iv. and v.

The most superficial comparison will easily discover points of resemblance to the two sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, whereas a closer study shows us that St. Paul continually makes use of words that undoubtedly belonged to the nomenclature of the Mysteries.¹

One thing is certain; we can no longer deny that the Apostle of the Gentiles was acquainted with the general principles and terminology of these religious societies. Whether the Jew of Tarsus was familiar with them from youth we cannot say, but no religious teacher could work for any length of time at Antioch, Ephesus and Corinth, as Paul did, without coming into close contact with this popular side of Hellenistic religion. We need not suppose, with Reitzenstein,² that he was familiar with its literature, although the books which his Ephesian converts burnt in such numbers were probably similar to those magical papyri which the sands of Egypt have lately yielded to the spade of the excavator. It is not to be wondered at that some of the more enthusiastic pioneers in this department of comparative religion tried to prove that Pauline Christianity was largely an adaptation of these pagan Mysteries.³ What more natural than that his rich mystical nature,⁴ which had been diverted for a while into the channels of Jewish allegory, should find an outlet in the freer symbolism

¹ e.g. μυστήριον, μυσταῖοι, φωτίζειν, σωτηρία, ἁρρητα ὅρματα, ἰδωότης.

² *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*. (Appendix, Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Paulus, pp. 209-12.)

³ Thus Prof. Gardner in 1893 made the suggestion that St. Paul borrowed the idea of the Eucharist from the Eleusinian Mysteries while staying at Corinth (*Origin of the Lord's Supper*). The present Bishop of Lincoln criticized this theory severely in his famous paper on St. Paul and Hellenism (*Studia Biblica* iv.), 1896. Prof. Gardner modified this view in *Exploratio Evangelica* (1899), and in his latest work argues that the two sacraments were rites of Jewish origin, taken up and interpreted in a manner parallel to that of the Mysteries.

⁴ cf. Reitzenstein, *ibid.*, p. 199. Ein Mystiker ist Paulus gewesen schon vor seiner Bekehrung; das bestätigt ja auch jene allegorische Schriftauslegung, welche ihm die Tatsachen in der heiligen Überlieferung seines Volkes zugunsten einer nur auf die eigene innere Überzeugung begründeten Konstruktion aufhebt.

of the Hellenistic cults? This theory is so plausible that we need Deissmann's reminder of the distinction between analogical and genealogical resemblances. Some points of agreement that we discover may be parallelisms of religious experience 'due to equality of psychic pitch and equality of outward conditions.' We need not look for proof of dependence when we are dealing with the naïve expression of inward emotions of religious experience in word, symbol, or act. That is to be looked for rather in the case of 'a formula used in worship, a professional liturgical usage, or the formulation of some doctrine.'¹

Perhaps the best chapter in Schweitzer's brilliant book² is that in which he examines with remorseless logic the alleged instances of St. Paul's borrowing from the Mystery-Religions. In some passages his argument is weakened by attributing to St. Paul a belief in some magical efficacy in the sacraments, but a wholesome corrective to this has been given by Carl Clemen in his recent study of the non-Jewish sources of Christianity. We may consider that it has now been fairly established that the Christian rite of baptism owes nothing to the blood-baptism of the taurobolia and the criobolia which were celebrated in the Mysteries of Cybele and Mithras, for such rites were not introduced into these cults earlier than the second century.³

Indeed, no amount of investigation has so far succeeded in discovering any theological significance in the lustrations of the Mystery-Religions that can compare with the Pauline teaching concerning baptism, nor indeed of any baptism 'into the name.' The Apostle's interest is not in the

¹ *Light from Ancient East*, p. 262.

² *Paul and his Interpreters* is both a labyrinth and a cemetery. The mass surrounding the shrine of Paulinism has been exhaustively explored by Schweitzer, who has raised a tombstone in every *cul-de-sac* with a suitable epitaph recording the blunders of all the German scholars who have perished therein. He has discovered the clue, and assures us that he is also making a key to unlock the door of the shrine. Whether the key will break in the lock we shall know when the sequel (*Pauline Mysticism*) appears.

³ cf. Clemen, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

performance of the rite, but in the confession of faith for which the rite provides the occasion.¹

Finding the rite in general use in the Church, St. Paul by a far-fetched metaphor reads a doctrinal symbolism into the act of immersion. By what means this mystical experience of death and resurrection in fellowship with Christ, and the resultant newness of life, are produced in baptism, he does not think of explaining. 'The act and its effect are not bound together by religious logic, but laid one upon the other and nailed together,' whereas in the Mystery-Religions the impressive appeal of symbolism is brought to bear in every part.²

With regard to the Lord's Supper again, we do well to remember Cumont's warning³ against inferring too much from superficial resemblances. The cultus meal of the Mysteries has scarcely anything in common with the Eucharist. The symbolism of corporate communion with Christ expounded in 1 Cor. x. suggests to St. Paul a parallel with the sacrificial feasts of heathen worship. But the crude, magical conceptions of these heathen rites were almost as far removed from the elaborate representations of the Mysteries as they were from the exalted mysticism of St. Paul.

Then, again, the Mysteries with their imposing accessories are designed to represent certain religious conceptions which stand apart from any historical basis. For St. Paul the Lord's Supper is an existing institution which is linked indissolubly to the death of Jesus. Therefore all the redemptive efficacy of the Cross and resurrection must find expression in this sacred rite.

¹ cf. 1 Cor. i. 14-16, Gal. iii. 26-27, Rom. vi. 2 ff. See Clemen, *ibid.*, pp. 214-35, who suggests (with 1 Cor. xv. 3 ff. in mind) that the death, burial and resurrection of Christ were referred to in the baptismal confession.

² Schweitzer, *ibid.*, p. 213.

³ *Les Religions Orientales*, p. xiii. 'Des ressemblances ne supposent pas nécessairement une imitation, et les similitudes d'idées ou de pratiques doivent souvent s'expliquer, en dehors de tout emprunt, par une communauté d'origine.' Dieterich (*Mithraeum*, p. 163) speaks even more severely about this tendency.

It is a question of the association of ideas rather than of strictly symbolical interpretation. Schweitzer is thus justified in asserting that Paulinism is 'a theological system with sacraments, but not a Mystery-Religion.'

The attempt to reduce the Pauline system to a mere appropriation of the Greek Mysteries, baptized into Christ, has broken down ignominiously, and some of the more inventive speculators of the *religionsgeschichtliche* school have deserved the scorn which Harnack heaps on them for their complete oversight of the Jewish element in the Apostle's mind.¹ Nevertheless Paul the Hellenist shows himself in the facile and exact use of the religious vocabulary of the Greek Orient, without which his rare mystical genius might have remained mute and incommunicable. 'He found in existence a tone system in which the modulations necessary for the development of his theme offered themselves for his disposal.'

St. Paul's familiarity with the technical terms of the Mysteries has been illustrated quite recently by Sir William Ramsay,² who discovered the clue to a difficult passage in the Epistle to the Colossians in some inscriptions from the sanctuary of Apollo of Klaros. The verb *ἐμπαύρειν*, which has exercised the ingenuity of commentators for so long, is now shown to be a technical term to denote the higher stage of initiation into the sacred Mysteries. St. Paul used it because it was technical. 'Its effect depends on the

¹ *op. cit.*, p. 215. Schweitzer the musician repeats the contrast on p. 223, 'To treat Græco-Oriental and Pauline mysticism as corresponding factors, is to perform a piece in two-four time and a piece in three-four time together, and to imagine that one hears an identical rhythm in both.'

² *Date of the Acts and Synoptic Gospels*, p. 61 footnote. But contrast with this Schweitzer's estimate of Reitzenstein's achievement (*Paul*, p. 226).

³ Schweitzer, *ibid.*, p. 219. Dr. H. A. A. Kennedy, however, seems hardly to allow so much as this. On the other hand, Deismann (*Light from Ancient East*) observes one of the marks of the highly popular style of St. Paul's missionary methods in his use of 'the technical phraseology and the cadence of the language of magic,' p. 302.

⁴ In the *Contemporary Review*, August, 1913. This highly condensed summary of his treatment of that important passage in Colossians makes the reading of his entire article the more necessary.

fact that it was a religious term familiar to his Phrygian readers. They caught the sarcastic innuendo that a person who is alluded to had formerly "entered." This theosophical leader in the Church was introducing ideas which he had brought over from his old belief in the Mysteries. Thus the entire passage (Col. ii. 8-19) is treated by Ramsay as a clear indication of St. Paul's attitude to the Mysteries. It shows that the Apostle was opposed not to philosophy itself, but to the kind of philosophers that he encountered; that he gave the outward ceremonial of the Mysteries credit for veiling philosophic thought and appealing to a certain religious feeling in mankind; but that, whilst recognizing the good intention, he condemned them as absolutely wrong in their methods and views.

He condemns the paraphernalia of the Mysteries on the same ground as that on which he condemned the ritual of Judaism when writing to the Galatians. The religion of Jesus Christ is essentially spiritual, and any kind of symbolism which hardens into an external rite is fatal to the liberty of the Spirit of the Lord.

We need not go further than this one chapter in one short epistle to see how much St. Paul had in common with the world of Hellenistic thought in which he lived, and yet how far he rose above it. Writers like Prof. Gilbert Murray, who exaggerate his debt to pre-Christian Gnosticism, are content to discover the differentia in the strict monotheism which he owed to his Jewish blood. Now we may readily grant that the Jewish nature was the strongest part of St. Paul's endowment, but the truly creative element in his system of thought is the vivid experience of the liberating power of God in Jesus Christ, incarnate, crucified, exalted. And being a debtor to the Greek as well as to the Jew, he dedicated his flexible mind to the twin tasks of preaching the foolishness of the Cross to the world of Hellenism, and of 'speaking the wisdom of God in a mystery.'

W. F. HOWARD.

CHARLES ELIOT NORTON AND HIS FRIENDS

Letters of Charles Eliot Norton. With Biographical Comment by SARA NORTON and M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE. 2 vols. (Constable and Co., 1918.)

I WANT to introduce myself to you that I may tell you what a capital speech you made. My name is Stedman. Mr. Lowell has often spoken of you to me. I knew you were a scholar, but I fancied you were a muff; now I know you are a poet and a good fellow.' Such was the 'surpassing grace' with which that charming writer (in years to come) of both poetry and prose, Edmund Clarence Stedman, introduced himself to Charles Eliot Norton at a Press Dinner to Dickens in New York in 1868! Norton was certainly not a muff; neither, however, was he a poet; but he was undoubtedly a scholar of the finest and most catholic culture, and, in the truest sense, a good fellow—a man of unusual charm. A few months before his death, in a letter to his eldest son, he alluded to Tennyson's reference to Scott as a 'true gentleman.' In that word, he said, lay the characteristic distinction between Scott and such a man as Lincoln, though he believed that as time went on, and the democracy reached its full development, there might be just as complete gentlemen in the United States as in any aristocracy with its long tradition. 'But a gentleman,' he added, 'is not an immediate product of a new country, nor of a society starting on new principles like ours.' Still, in no land or society was there a truer type of gentleman than Norton himself—simple, gracious, and dignified in life, noble in character, benignant and inspiring in influence on friends and students alike. W. D. Howells wrote that he was the

only man he had ever known who had developed by cultivation in a most perfect measure every original resource and talent and intellectual power. Goldwin Smith, in his *Reminiscences*, declared that Norton combined the highest European culture with the most fervent love of his own country. And George Eliot expressed it all in a phrase when she attributed to Norton 'fine rarities of speech and action.'

Good fortune attended him with almost unwearied persistence for eighty years. His father, for a time Lecturer in Biblical Criticism, and, afterwards, Professor of Sacred Literature at Harvard, was a learned theologian of advanced sympathies, who took a pious pride in his descent from learned and militant Puritans. The home circle was welded by strong family feeling, and a devoted relation was maintained between the older and the younger Norton. In parents, training, college life, and associates, as well as in wife, children, home, work, advantages of foreign travel, and freedom from worldly anxiety, and above all, perhaps, in friendships, Norton was singularly fortunate. Once, however, the steady flow of good fortune was sadly interrupted. Not quite ten years of perfectly happy association had passed when his wife was taken from him. This abiding but unparaded sorrow was controlled by the austere traditions of emotional reticence he had inherited; and yet, his friends must think of him always as feeling through and through his heart that he has been blessed with a blessing that endures. An occasional word alone indicates his grief; its fullest disclosure is made when, more than twenty years after, he writes in sympathy to Leslie Stephen, then suffering from a similar loss, 'The death of her whom one has wholly loved is the end of the best of one's self. I have often told my children that they have never, since their early childhood, known me. There is no help for this—after her death the springs of life are fed from the outside, the natural vein ceases to flow.'

The chief value and attractiveness of these letters will

lie, for many readers, in their fascinating record of precious and notable friendships. 'If you see to the inscription over my grave,' Norton once wrote to Lowell, 'you need only say, "He had good friends, whom he loved."' With no claims to the genius of many of his acquaintances, he had, beyond them all, a positive genius for friendship. How charmingly, to the end of his days, he corresponded with his friends! 'What should the good wishes be for his seventy-five-years-old friend of one who is himself seventy-six?' he wrote in a birthday letter to Weir Mitchell. 'They should be what he would wish for himself—first, health; second, freedom from heavy sorrow; third, life so long as the grasshopper does not become a burden; fourth, a painless death and a happy memory in the hearts of a few friends. If you have any other wish for yourself, I wish it for you. . . .'

The serenities of friendship make beautiful these pages. Even as a student Norton shows to a marked degree his capacity for friendship. One of the first names to appear is that of Longfellow, and every word concerning him breathes of affection. Immediately after the tragic death of Mrs. Longfellow—in whose life there was nothing that was not delightful to remember—Norton is with him, and he tells Mrs. Gaskell that he has never seen any one who bore a great sorrow in a more simple and noble way; but Longfellow is very desolate. When the poet is busy with the final revision of his translation of the *Divina Commedia*, every Wednesday evening Lowell and Norton meet at his house to consider with him the last touches of his work; and on Saturday evenings he and Lowell come to Norton to read over with Norton his translation of the *Vita Nuova*. When Norton returns from his five years' stay in Europe, Longfellow is delightfully unchanged: he seems no older, and the sweet wine of his life runs clearer and clearer as the years go on. Five years later Norton thinks that Longfellow is more truly delightful than ever in the sweet mellowing of

his old age: 'The world will be greatly poorer in the best things—things "that are lovely"—when he is taken from it.' When, for almost the last time, Norton sees his friend, he says, as he enters Longfellow's study, 'I hope this is a good day for you,' and Longfellow answers, with a not uncheerful smile, 'Ah, Charles, there are no good days now.' For Norton he has always the old familiar sweetness and the brightness of his smile of greeting. Longfellow passes away, and Norton writes to Lowell, then in Europe, of the immeasurable change and loss the death is for them both who have known him so long and loved him so well. 'His friendship has been one of the steadiest and longest blessings of my life. It dates back almost half a century. . . . And in all this time I have not a single recollection of him that is not pleasant and dear. . . . Even the memory of his sorrow is beautiful. His life has been an essential part of the spiritual atmosphere of yours and mine.'

Emerson, also, is his friend, and though Norton hardly seems to understand him—Emerson's 'optimistic philosophy,' he says, 'has hardened into a creed, with the usual effects of a creed in closing the avenues of truth. He can accept nothing as fact that tells against his dogma. His optimism becomes a bigotry . . . of the quality of fatalism'—he does not fail to recognize his genius, his fine spiritual insight, his purity of tone, his elevation of motive, his radiant whiteness of soul. He further asserts that whatever limitations Emerson's creed may have put to his intelligence it has served as the foundation of a large and beautiful morality, and that Emerson's simplicity, modesty and manliness are conspicuous in all his talk—there is not a touch of vanity or conceit in him; all sweet and pure and generous. He thinks that Emerson 'would find no difficulty in entering any kingdom of Heaven; his sympathies would be perfect with its denizens. If by mistake he were to visit Hell he would deny its existence, or find it what he believes it, still the abode of good and the realm of order'! We are amused

when Emerson says to Norton, 'What a pert piece of cleverness and conceit is Tyndall! There was never a phrase more wearisome than his perpetual "Quite so! quite so! quite so!"'—for did not Tyndall write in his copy of Emerson's *Nature*, 'Purchased by inspiration'? But we are touched with sadness when Emerson's memory is shattered, and his mind moves at times as in dreams, and he even strangely speaks of the pleasure he once had in a visit from Carlyle at Concord! or when, his recollection gone, his mind wavering, but his face pure and noble as ever, he approaches Longfellow's coffin and in complete perplexity gazes long at the face of the dead, and afterwards feebly takes Norton's arm up the path to the grave. Soon Emerson follows Longfellow, and Norton confesses to a great change in life to him by the death of these two friends; not any marked change in the course of common days, but in the spiritual background of them all. It is as if two of the noblest, most familiar, best-loved objects had disappeared from the landscape, and half its beauty had departed.

He still rejoices in the friendship of Lowell, with whom for more than forty years the most affectionate relations are maintained. Once, when Lowell is Minister in Spain, Norton tells him how glad and grateful he is for all that his life owes, and has so long owed to Lowell's love. 'Few men,' he says, 'can look back on so many years of mutual affection as you and I can do, absolutely unshadowed by even the most passing cloud of difference. Fewer still have been so blessed in a friend as I in you.' When Lowell is dead, Norton thinks that the loss to the nation is the heaviest that could have fallen to it, for Lowell had done more than any man of his day to maintain the level of good sense and right feeling in public affairs, and he and Curtis are the two men who in their time have done the most for the civilization of America. He seems to Norton the best and most characteristic specimen of democratic manhood

that New England has produced ; an American such as Americans should be, with the rare and exceptional grace and charm of genius added to character. George William Curtis—writer, editor, orator, publicist and politician—lives a year longer than Lowell. His gifts and achievements are pre-eminently those to win and hold the admiring sympathy of Norton. With Lowell, and like him, he is Norton's dearest and nearest friend during more than forty years, and for sweet, easy, daily pleasantness he has no rival—it is perpetual summer with him. This friendship, also, holds no worm in the bud, but is perfect and entire. Then, later, Francis J. Child, the last of those friends who have been in his heart from boyhood, is taken. He is to Norton the most learned of the scholars of English, the most faithful of Professors, one of the sweetest and soundest-hearted men, a lover of all good things, a humourist, genial, original, excellent in talk, a most constant friend. Norton can now meet with no other such loss—he is almost the last, so he pathetically says, to call him by his Christian name—and it makes a great change in life for him.

So the closest friends pass into the great silence. But the chilled and darkened way of life is not only peopled by shadows ; it has in it still some warmth and brightness, and there are other gracious intimacies. Loving intercourse with Weir Mitchell, William Dean Howells, and Horace Furness is maintained to the end, and only a week before the closing day he bids Furness think of him as without pain, as surrounded by comforts, and as rich in blessings ; he also tenderly tells him that there must be no more words between them as if their lives were not yet to be long.

But the record of his friendships which includes only those of America will be far from complete. Strong indeed are the ties that bind him to England. One of his earliest and best friends is Arthur Hugh Clough, and the friendship between them is one of those that are measured by essential sympathy rather than by time. When Clough visits

America he declares that 'Charles Norton is the kindest creature in the shape of a young man of twenty-five that ever befriended an emigrant stranger anywhere,' and many years after Clough's untimely death Norton speaks of him still with deep affection and declares that he was the most courageous of poets—he really trusted his own soul. Dickens, also, is drawn to him, and each opens his heart to the other. There is for Norton a great regard on the part of Dickens, and the better Norton knows Dickens the more he loves him; and no death, except one of the few friends within the closest circle of affection, can touch him more deeply. Mrs. Gaskell, with whom he becomes acquainted in old days in Italy, is soon among the foremost few. Every day he learns to feel towards her a deeper affection and respect. She is like the best things in her books, he says; full of generous and tender sympathies, of thoughtful kindness, of pleasant humour, of quick appreciation, of utmost simplicity and truthfulness, and uniting with peculiar delicacy and retirement, a strength of principle and purpose and straightforwardness of action, such as few women possess. The first printed copy that reaches her of her *Life of Charlotte Brontë* she gives to Norton, and the first American edition of *Sylvia's Lovers* is dedicated 'in an especial manner to my dear friend, Charles Eliot Norton, and to his Wife, who, though personally unknown to me, is yet dear to me for his sake.' To the last he keeps his friendship with Mrs. Gaskell's daughters, whom he assures, only a few months before his death, that so long as he has consciousness he remains their affectionate old friend. Matthew Arnold, too, is among his intimates, and when the news of the poet's sudden death reaches him it is a great happiness to Norton that he knew him so well, and had learned the real sweetness, simplicity, and elevation of his essential character. He has lost a true and dear friend, and the world seems emptier for it. Burne Jones is his close friend for more than thirty years, with a friendship which

does not depend on frequency of intercourse, but which is so firm-knit that when they meet or interchange letters there is no need to link a broken chain, for they are at once as intimate and familiar as if they had lived side by side. He has never thought of this friend dying before himself, but the painter of richest poetic gift passes away, and with sad significance Norton remarks to Leslie Stephen how full their letters to each other of late years have been of the death of friends, and how solitary they are left. And Leslie Stephen, man of delightful heart and admirable mind, who dedicates to Norton his *Freethinking and Plain-speaking*, has a place in the inner circle. When Norton leaves England, in 1873, Stephen writes to him that he doesn't know what his friendship has been and will be to him. Now that Norton has gone, he not only cannot fill his place, but he cannot get even a moderately good make-shift. Stephen's death touches him deeply: he is the last of the men in England with whom he has had long and intimate communion.

But Norton's supreme friendships with great Englishmen are those with Ruskin and Carlyle, of whom, indeed, he has a well-nigh perfect understanding. Where, apart from these letters, except perhaps in Sir E. T. Cook's *Life of Ruskin*, is to be found such a true picture of that complex character, that strongly individual nature? No one who has read *Præterita* can ever forget the beginning of Norton's friendship with Ruskin; and here in these letters we find the continuance of the intimacy in adequate and engaging completeness. Those who wish to know Ruskin dare not ignore the long letter concerning him which Norton writes to his friend Curtis; and many another page gives a revealing glimpse of the man. With what touching affection does Ruskin regard this friend, and with what fullness of interest does Norton repay it! When, in 1872, Norton, about to leave for home, bids farewell to Ruskin at Oxford, Ruskin says, 'I wonder why I always feel as if you were so

much older than I, and so much wiser.' And his last words are, 'Good-bye, papa, be sure to take care of yourself.' Ruskin is to Norton one of the most gifted and sweetest natures the world has ever known—a kind of angel gone astray; meant for the thirteenth century, he gets delayed on the way, and when he finally arrives, is a white-winged anachronism. Don Quixote in his noblest aspect is, however, the comparison that pleases Norton best; and, again, he thinks that Ruskin has the stuff of a saint in him, and should have been a contemporary of St. Francis and an earlier Fra Angelico. But Norton considers Ruskin's life to be essentially one of the saddest of lives—his feminine nature needed support, such as it never got. With playful precision of touch Norton sometimes ventures to describe Ruskin to himself, as when one day he says to him, 'If you see a sunset you forget that you saw a sunrise this morning, and indeed rather disbelieve in the existence of sunrises altogether. But to-morrow morning if the sunrise is beautiful you will think nothing of the sunset.'

Norton is not quite forty-two and Carlyle is seventy-four years old when they first meet, but there can be no question as to the resultant friendship, and the loyal and unswerving devotion with which thereafter Norton is inspired; he is to become Carlyle's most doughty defender. From the first he insists that behind and interpreting Carlyle's wilful and reckless sallies is a keen sense of fun, and that, after making allowance for his extravagance, there remains a vast balance of what is strong, masculine, and tender in his nature. At bottom Carlyle is more mild than grim; and his humour is closely allied with kindness of heart and disposition. His essential nature is solitary in its strength, its sincerity, its tenderness, its nobility. He is nearer Dante than any other man. He belongs to the same order of spirits. But it is impossible here to do justice to Norton's work in behalf of Carlyle—a work to which he gives his very heart for years after Carlyle's death. Does not Matthew Arnold say that

the Carlyle and Emerson correspondence, as edited by Norton, is 'the best memorial of Carlyle which exists'?

The service rendered by these letters to the memory of Carlyle and of Ruskin is of unique and abiding value.

There are informing, and more or less full and intimate references, in these perfectly edited volumes, to many friends, to all of which the reader will turn with interest again and again. And almost every page abounds in just and arresting appreciations; the pure-hearted and deeply influential humanist, teacher, and citizen, the fine scholar, the discerning critic of art and letters, the man of true taste for the best, the lover of Chaucer and Spenser, and Shakespeare, and Donne, and Scott, and, beyond all besides, of Dante, is everywhere in evidence.

The agnostic attitude of mind of this man of highest-toned morality would require much careful and sympathetic consideration, but it must be noted that while he may not compromise his own opinions he is not ungenerous in interpreting the opinions of others. It was the writer's privilege to receive great kindness from Norton. As these closing words are written he looks up at a fine portrait which came from its delightful donor, with other tokens of regard, only a little time before his death. At the foot of this portrait the giver has written: 'Charles Eliot Norton. Shady Hill, 14 July, 1908. "Pensa che questo di mai non raggiorna."' This line, 'Think that this day never dawns again,' from the twelfth Canto of the *Purgatorio*, may well stand for his motto; he would, however, have surely added, 'Obey the new commandment.' Thus, two years earlier, he wrote to Goldwin Smith: 'Why dwell on differences? Here we are, old men, near the end of life, and awaiting the end without anxiety or a shadow of fear; perplexed indeed by the mighty mystery of existence and of the universe, and happy in the conviction that the chief lesson of life is that of love.'

R. WILKINS REES.

BROWNING'S PORTRAITS OF WOMEN

Browning's Heroines. By ETHEL COLBURN MAYNE. (Chatto & Windus. 1918.)

IS Browning 'the first feminist poet since Shakespeare?' The answer depends upon the meaning given to a recently coined and ambiguous word. 'Feminism' as it appears in the journals of to-day, belongs to politics rather than ethics or aesthetics, it savours of sex-prejudice, if not of sex-antagonism. Its advocates seem chiefly anxious to secure a reconstruction of society, which would provide women with fuller scope for development upon an independent political, social, and economic footing. With such matters poetry is not concerned, and a 'feminist' poet would be a contradiction in terms. But there is a larger, richer, more satisfactory use of the word. It may be employed to mean a poet who is able to do full justice to woman as such, giving her no mere conventional place either as a goddess on a pedestal, or as an angel in disguise, or as a slave, or as a plaything—a great imaginative writer who can portray the full powers which belong to the highest type of womanhood, free from all sickly sentimentalism and traditional unreality. In that sense, 'feminist' poets are rare, and the two leading examples in our literature are certainly Shakespeare and Browning. The name of George Meredith should be added; because, though his portraits are in prose, it is the prose of a poet, and the woman-honouring spirit which pervades his novels breathes also in the soul-animating strains of his verse.

Shakespeare's portraits of women are unimitated and inimitable. His wonderful gallery of pictures remains unique, because Shakespeare was—not a feminist, but a

humanist. Portia, Isabella, Beatrice, Rosalind ; Juliet, Perdita, Ophelia, Miranda ; Imogen, Cordelia, Desdemona ; Cleopatra and Volumnia, Hermione and Lady Macbeth—the number and variety of types is as remarkable as the way in which each individual figure stands out immortal upon the canvas. Mrs. Jameson and Lady Martin have commented upon these pictures, pointing out some of the consummate artistic touches that ordinary readers of the plays might miss, but the women of Shakespeare is a subject which still awaits an adequate exponent. Neither Thackeray nor Dickens was at his best in his portraiture of women. That Becky Sharp should be the best remembered ‘ heroine ’ of the one, while his Amelia is a failure, and that Little Nell should be a favourite character of the other, are facts only too significant. Tennyson’s genius was not dramatic, the women in the ‘ Idylls ’ are shadowy, and the ‘ Princess ’ is not the poem of which his admirers are most proud. The mere mention of the names of other nineteenth-century poets, from Byron and Shelley to Swinburne and Morris, would show how few had insight enough to understand the real significance of woman’s place and work in the world, or sufficient skill to portray women capable of expressing the highest ideals and aspirations of the age.

With Browning it is otherwise. His women cannot indeed take their place with those of Shakespeare. But they are human, they are alive, they are sketched by a master-hand and they radiate, not only grace and charm, but ardour and inspiration. Mr. Arthur Symonds—no mean critic—has said, ‘ Browning is one of the very few men who can paint women without idealization or degradation, not from the man’s side, but from their own. His women live, act, suffer, even think ; not assertively, mannishly (for the loveliest of them have a very delicate charm of girlishness), but with natural volition, on equal rights with men.’ He adds that whoever writes a book on Browning’s Women will have a delightful task. Miss Mayne is the first, so far as

we know, to undertake the work, and the spirit with which she has carried it out shows that while it has been a labour of love she will surrender none of the womanly independence of judgement that she claims for others. Her book is interesting and stimulating—often provocative, and none the worse for that. Only an utterly wooden commentator could expound Browning's often paradoxical description of woman's subtle nature—at the same time complex and simple—without provoking a good deal of dissent from men and women readers alike. It must always be remembered that while Browning's genius is essentially dramatic, his dramas do not form the most characteristic portion of his work. The form which he invented for himself, the dramatic monologue, does not allow for the elasticity, growth and development of a character as it is presented in a play. Browning's representation of a character is often no more than a photograph of a striking pose—the rest is left to the imagination. And the moment chosen for the flashlight is, as often as not, that of a single psychological crisis, selected because of its exceptional character, the subtlety of conflicting motives and the difficulties of choice and action. Consequently even the shorter poems require study and admit of more than one interpretation. Mr. Nettleship says of 'Cristina,' a poem of only eight short stanzas, that whilst at first sight it seems a slight, fugitive piece, 'on looking closer, we shall find thought fit for a lifetime.' And the marvel is that the saying is true, not only of this but of a score of Browning's lyrics such as occur under the headings of 'Dramatis Personae' and 'Men and Women.'

Miss Mayne has therefore chosen an excellent subject. She justly pleads that it is not presumptuous to try to say of the poet's heroines what he has not said himself, because Browning's poems are essentially suggestive, not exhaustive. He often 'opens magic casements' and leaves it to readers of insight to describe the landscapes visible

through them. The book consists of five parts. One deals with Girlhood, and in it are treated Pippa, Mildred, Balaustion, Pompilia and other characters. In one section headed 'The Great Lady,' the poems 'My Last Duchess' and 'The Flight of the Duchess' are interestingly treated together. The part entitled 'The Lover' includes a number of shorter poems, and the last section deals with 'The Woman Unwon' and 'The Woman Won.' The analysis implied in these titles is certainly not very clear or logical, but what analysis could suffice for classification in such a case?

We do not quite understand, however, the principle on which the authoress has made her selection and why some poems are not treated at all. We quite agree with the omission of 'Pauline.' This poem ought never to be placed on a level with the rest of the poems, fine as some parts of it are. It represents so essentially an 'overcome standpoint,' that we cannot be surprised at the 'extreme repugnance' with which the poet allowed it to be preserved side by side with his mature work. But we miss from Miss Mayne's list the figures of Constance and the Queen from 'In a Balcony' and a study which would have been very instructive of the contrast between Elvire and Fifiine. Other minor omissions might be mentioned. But our chief regret is that we have no notice of Browning's treatment of ideal wedded love, such as finds expression in 'By the Fireside,' 'One Word More' and one or two other poems. It may be that delicacy forbade the inclusion of the poet's wife among his 'heroines,' but 'By the Fireside' is only remotely autobiographic, while its rare beauty and its significance for our author's subject make its omission from the volume inexplicable.

The most successful of Miss Mayne's sketches are those of Pippa, Balaustion, and Pompilia. The studies of Evelyn Hope and of the girl in 'Count Gismond' contain points on which we could break a friendly lance with the writer. But

Pippa! The light-hearted silk-winder out for her one day's holiday in the year—gay, free, irresponsible, but bringing benediction into sinister and evil lives as she goes singing on her way—is a figure that none can miss who visit Browning's gallery, or having once seen, can ever forget. The exact significance of her unconscious influence on the lives of Ottima, Phene, and the rest is not always perceived, and Miss Mayne draws attention to a number of subtle touches which may escape some readers. The study of Mildred Tresham, as interpreted in this volume, does not attract us. Miss Mayne's comment on the well-known lines

I was so young, I loved him so, I had
No mother, God forgot me, and I fell,

is 'We have here the very commonplace of the theatre . . . the dramatic situation is set out because it is dramatic, not because it is true.'

Balaustion is delightful. 'To me the queen of Browning's women,' says Miss Mayne, 'nay, I am tempted to proclaim her queen of every poet's women.' This is somewhat excessive praise, but the charming character of the girl poet, who recites 'that strangest, saddest, sweetest song' of Euripides—*Alkestis*, almost as if it were her own, combining as she does brilliance of intellect, versatility, and ardour of aspiration with the tenderness, the 'darlingness'—Browning's own word—which bespeak the true woman, has hardly received sufficient recognition from commentators and critics.

And so, although she has some other name,
We only call her Wild-Pomegranate-Flower,
Balaustion; since, where'er the red bloom burns. . .
You shall find food, drink, odour all at once.

The development of the girl into the woman in 'Aristophanes' Apology' is skilfully described, though the later poem is not so successful as the earlier; but Balaustion's triumphant grace and power will charm successive generations of readers, 'as long as Greeks are Greeks and hearts

are hearts and poetry is power,' and as long as there is a Euripides or a Browning to sing to listening ears.

Pompilia deserves even ampler treatment than she here receives. It is interesting to know that Browning once said to Helen Faucit, not by way of mere compliment, that if he could have engaged her to act the part he would have made Pompilia the heroine of a drama. Under those conditions it would have been much easier to study a character, which has to be regarded now from the standpoint of her own words, now from that of her husband, and now again as depicted in half a dozen other narratives, like a figure seen in many mirrors from a number of bewilderingly different angles. Miss Mayne draws chiefly from the speech of Caponsacchi, and very fine it is—from the first moment when he saw her, 'A lady young, tall, beautiful, strange and sad,' with her 'strange, sad smile,' already 'breaking her heart quite fast enough,' through the whole story of a love as noble, pure, and tragic as ever poet described, down to the time when, dying, she finds again

Thy face, again the eyes, again, through all,
The heart and its immeasurable love
Of my one friend, my only, all my own,
Who put his breast between the spears and me . . .
. . . O lover of my life, O soldier-saint,
No work begun shall ever pause for death !

But perhaps the finest portrait of Pompilia is that given in the speech of the Pope—one of Browning's masterpieces. 'Perfect in whiteness,' he says, stronger and a greater conqueror than Michael the archangel himself with sword and shield and spear. All the knowledge and energy of earth's warriors

make not up, I think,
The marvel of a soul like thine, earth's flower
She holds up to the softened gaze of God !

The whole passage describes how though it was not given to Pompilia to 'know much, speak much, move mankind,' still in purity and patience, in 'faith held fast despite the

plucking fiend,' and 'safe like the signet-stone with the new name that saints are known by,' this woman-child has outshone, surpassed them all

. My flower
My rose, I gather for the breast of God !

In the proceedings of the Browning Society is a paper by Mrs. Glazebrook in which the poet's heroines are classed as ineffective, as failures. Pompilia is said to be 'a gentle, innocent creature,' a most interesting character, who none the less 'fails entirely.' Miss Mayne too considers her to be 'no heroine, no character.' This is not the view of the poet, nor that of the wise old Pope who speaks for him. How little a failure, despite the tragedy that wrecked the life of so pure and so perfect a child-mother, is shown by the light of one of Browning's vivid flashes of forked-lightning, in the two lines of Guido's last cry of agony :—

Abate—Cardinal—Christ—Maria—God—
Pompilia—will you let them murder me !

It is tempting to linger over 'James Lee's Wife'—one of Browning's saddest and in some respects most difficult poems ; the more so because we think Miss Mayne is much less than fair to the wife, blames her for thinking too much, analysing too closely, and hints that her being plain had something to do with her failure. Thus she misses almost entirely the tragedy of the inevitable change in man's affection, symbolized by the wind and the significant climax,

You might turn myself ! should I know or care
When I should be dead of joy, James Lee !

No study of Browning's women can be satisfactory that dwells only upon a few leading examples of them. It is characteristic of the poet's method that some of his deepest lessons are taught in slight *al fresco* sketches, not by means of heavily framed pictures elaborated in oils. The walls of Browning's gallery contain scores of such slight sketches, with many of which Miss Mayne deals very successfully. There is nothing sensual, nothing morbid about any of

these, after the fashion that some younger poets have affected. Neither do we find æsthetic, or sentimental, or conventional pictures of women acknowledging glad inferiority to man—'He for God only, she for God in him.' His women are not timid, clinging creatures, full of charming insincerities, arch cajoleries, endlessly alternating smiles and tears. Nor does he reproduce Wordsworth's

Perfect woman, nobly planned,
To warn, to comfort, and command.

Apparently he has little admiration for the (conventional) 'models of their sex.' Miss Mayne points out that favourite features in his womanly characters are 'gaiety, courage, trust.' Quoting the words 'Control's not for this lady,' she adds 'that sign-manual for a Browning woman.' She adds 'May we not indeed say that Browning was *our* singer? Who but he would have done this—so crowned, so trusted us, and so persuaded men that women can be great?'

Browning's main lesson, however, to discerning readers is that they should be content, in Emerson's words, to 'leave all for love.' It may be said that that is a commonplace of all poets, but there is no one who teaches it in the same way as Browning. It is part of his deep philosophy of life, as Sir Henry Jones has shown. A poet is not a philosopher. But the true poet teaches a philosophy of life as far above that of the metaphysician as heaven is above the schools. Love is beyond thought and knowledge, Browning holds; not that it disparages or despises either, but it possesses a deeper, more potent, more quickening knowledge of its own and love is needed above all things for the soul as it toils in travel upon its upward way. Love is the only secret of victorious life, for the mastery of the full significance of life now, and as a preparation for perfect life hereafter. To love is the great achievement. This won, all is won; this lost, all is failure.

So highly does Browning rate this secret of victory in

life that, as in the 'Statue and the Bust,' the lovers are blamed for not carrying out even a guilty intention through cowardice, infirmity of purpose and lack of tenacious, triumphant love. Similarly R. L. Stevenson prays the celestial surgeon to choose 'some piercing pain, some killing sin, and to my dead heart run them in !' A paradox this, which is of course to be understood of the wise, not pressed to absurdity by the foolish.

We had hoped to have been able to illustrate Browning's treatment of this theme in a few of his shorter poems—'Cristina,' 'Dis Aliter Visum,' 'Love among the Ruins' and others. Space, however, does not suffice. It is better to refer readers to Miss Mayne's sprightly exposition and especially to the work of the poet himself, who deserves to be studied afresh by a generation the advanced spirits in which flatter themselves that they have left him behind them. High-souled, great-hearted poet—he is 'coming back,' Miss Mayne says, 'as the stars come back.' He was strangely neglected in his earlier years and sometimes gently giped in return at 'the British public—ye who like me not !' That public woke up after a while to find his real value. Twenty years ago he was a prophet. Now he is reckoned 'a back number' in poetry, as, if we may judge by current fashions, Handel has long been, and Wagner is fast becoming, in music. But in something short of an astronomical cycle the great artists return and the little critics sing small. The stars do not vanish from the sky because some impatient observers suffer from a crick in the neck after five minutes' gazing upwards. Browning's work for the twentieth century is not done ; it is indeed hardly begun ; and his message, whether for men or women, is far from being exhausted. English readers may well give a cordial welcome to a succession of students like the authoress of *Browning's Heroines*, who will help to interpret one of the profoundest, most various, and most fascinating of poets to a new age.

W. T. DAVISON.

THE JEWS OF TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

The Jews of To-day. By Dr. ARTHUR RUPPIN. Translated from the German by MARGERY BENTWICK. With an Introduction by JOSEPH JACOBS, Litt.D. (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1918.)

THE Jews, Dr. Jacobs says, 'have had the unfortunate knack of attracting the world's attention to themselves for the last two thousand years, with results often disastrous to themselves. Formerly the interest was theological. The Jews were the solitary exception to the Christian consensus. Yet, curiously enough, just as theology is losing its hold on the world's attention, the interest in the Jew has risen again to the same heights as before.'

Dr. Ruppín's book is timely and informing and generally free from overstatement. The Christian student will learn from it how great religious questions appear to serious and educated friends and representatives of the Jewish people, who are deeply concerned over such problems.

The Jew has found his way to all parts of the earth to which congenial means of living could attract him. Dr. Ruppín does not accept the enumerations of the twelve tribes given in the books of Exodus and Numbers. He calls them 'mythical numbers,' and says we must begin by ignoring them. But he does accept the estimate recorded by Ezra (ii. 64) as 'approximately reliable,' and thinks that 42,360 Jews did return from the Babylonian exile. To that number he makes addition for those who remained in Babylon, for settlers in Phœnicia and Egypt, and for the descendants of families left behind in Palestine when the first Temple was destroyed. He reckons that about the year 500 B.C. the Jews would not be much above 100,000 in number, and that at the birth of Christ there were within

the Roman Empire at least four million Jews. Dr. Ruppın thinks there are at the present time eleven, possibly twelve, millions of Jews; Dr. Jacobs suggests that the total may reach fourteen millions; and it seems certain that the Jewish population of the world would have been much larger than it is if defections of various kinds and 'conversion' to Christianity had not greatly counteracted the natural increase of a prolific race.

Dr. Ruppın is distressed at 'the disintegration of Judaism by the adoption of modern education.' Starting with the alarming statement that 'the structure of Judaism, once so solid, is crumbling away before our very eyes,' he traces the process of disruption and waste through some generations and up to the present day. He says, 'Conversion and intermarriage are thinning the ranks of Jews in every direction, and the loss is the heavier to bear, in that the great decrease in the Jewish birthrate makes it more and more difficult to fill up the gaps in the ordinary way. Until lately this breaking-up process was confined to Central and Western Europe; a few years ago it was thought it could only gain ground there, and that the six million Jews on the other side of the Vistula would be untouched by it. Since then, however, a revolution has taken place in Russia, and with it comes the glaring revelation of the ardour with which the Russian Jew throws in his lot with that of the land of his birth, and how readily the intellectual Jew, in particular, sacrifices his Judaism to plunge headlong into the vortex of Russian life.' Such words are the cry of pain.

Among the things that 'conspire to forward' the great disintegration Dr. Ruppın sets 'the progressive development of trade among Christians,' the sending of Jewish children to Christian schools, the growing disregard for traditional religion, the supplanting of Yiddish by Russian, German, and English, and the 'immense emigration' of Jews from Eastern Europe to America. By such things a bridge has been built over the gulf between Jew and

Christian. And the Jew, quick to see how he can secure for himself or for his children the advantages that accompany conformity to the prevailing religion, embraces the inviting opportunity.

'In the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries,' says Dr. Ruppin, 'no one could have conceived such a development.' The Jews were then condemned to their Ghettoes, and given up to mean trades, and had no contact with any form of Christian culture. If there was any intellectual life among them, it was limited to the study of the Old Testament and the Talmud. Little was that study worth. 'The text of the Bible' was made 'a palaestra for interpretations which, though clever, were hair-splitting and fantastic,' and the Talmud did not fare much better. Ritual ceremonies were 'slavishly followed and made the pivot of daily life.' The example alleged is telling:—

'Nothing gives us a clearer insight into the mental attitude of the Jews of that period than that event which moved the whole of seventeenth-century Jewry to its very depths—the appearance of the Messiah, Sabbatai Zevi, and the subsequent cult of Sabbataism in the eighteenth century led by Nehemiah Chijs Chajon and other less scrupulous adventurers. On the same level was the quarrel between Emden and Eybenschütz in Hamburg (1750-1756)—a quarrel which raised the passions of Jews all over Europe to boiling point—raising the question whether or not the life-saving amulets sold to midwives by Rabbi Eybenschütz contained the name of Sabbatai Zevi in the formula. Such was the intellectual standard of Jewry in the eighteenth century.'

What has been called 'the emancipation of the Jews' is to be attributed to the change of outlook, social and economic, which characterized the eighteenth century. The fetters of mediæval guilds were shaken off, Christians

and Jews became associated in great commercial enterprises, and 'the Jewish profession of money-lending suddenly lost its unpleasant savour.' The Jew, no longer a mere usurer helping the consumer, sprang into a position to aid the producer and the merchant, and so became able to promote industries that needed much capital.

The change of economic conditions had a signal effect on the social status of the Jew, and that status was improved also by the spread of new ideas. The French philosophers of the later half of the eighteenth century had not taught in vain. 'The doctrine of the equality of men' was a living root-idea. When it became embodied in legislation it helped to loosen the yoke of the Jews. They gained freedom to participate in commercial life. Trade and industry became increasingly important; the citizen class tended to supplant the aristocratic in certain European States; and the Jew embraced his opportunity of advancement. 'Breach after breach was thus made in the wall which separated Christian from Jew,' and 'through personal intercourse with Christians the way was opened into the great Christian world of thought. Jews began to read German and French books, &c., and their newly acquired culture influenced them so strongly—in Germany and Western Europe, at least—that in less than fifty years they completely abandoned Yiddish in favour of the pure language of the country, and approached as nearly as possible to the Christians in dress and customs. From this to complete renunciation of Judaism was but a step.'

That step was not at first easy to the Jew. He was deeply religious, and prided himself on it. He was therefore shocked by that 'world of thought' into which Continental free-thinkers had introduced him. They championed atheism and materialism and glorified reason. Deep must have been the struggle of the serious and 'pious' Jew. Those who were not 'pious' and serious gave way before these new impulses. In a letter written in 1788 it is stated that Jews

in Berlin were no longer concerned with any kind of ritual, but bought and sold on Saturdays, ate all the forbidden foods, and kept no fast days, while only the lower classes, untouched by German culture, were still 'orthodox.'

Dr. Ruppin shows how he regards the situation so created :—

'The theories of enlightenment, originally directed against Christianity, proved to be much less destructive of Christianity than of Judaism. The Christian, while theoretically convinced of the untruth of the Christian dogmas, could still remain a Christian; Christianity imposed no special mark of peculiarity upon him; he was to a certain extent Christian without knowing it; his Christianity did not disturb him. It was otherwise with the Jew, the adherent of the religion of a minority. Every way he turned he was constantly reminded of the exceptional position his religion placed him in; unlike the Christian he could not rid himself of it by disregarding its dogmas and rites; to set himself absolutely free he had to perform an external act. This act was conversion, and the cultured Jews of Berlin were not slow in availing themselves of it to its full extent.'

This statement may mean more than its author intended. The Christianity in which Jesus Christ is 'all in all,' is independent of dogmas and rites. Perhaps the thoughtful Jews of Berlin might naturally feel that when their 'dogmas and rites' were gone, the way had been opened for them into some form of Christianity.

Berlin was the chief centre of this Jewish 'enlightenment,' which spread through Western Europe. The Jews were denuding themselves of their peculiarities and becoming denationalized. Dr. Ruppin says :—

'As in chemistry a compound is dissolved into its elements under the influence of fermentation, and these elements unite again in a new compound, so modern

culture, working on the old homogeneous Ghetto-Judaism as a ferment, brought about denationalization, which, beginning with the splitting up of Judaism into several different grades of culture, culminates in the union of the highest culture with Christianity.'

The new process was witnessed with alarm by the 'orthodox' in Jewry, and efforts were made to counteract it. But it was scarcely checked at all, and it was soon realized, by those who saw clearly, that 'the cause of orthodox Judaism was irreparably lost in Germany.' To meet the new situation the ritual in some synagogues was modified. The 'Reform Synagogue' opened at Hamburg in 1818 had an organ and a sermon in German, with a revised prayer-book. Reformed Judaism thus offered a refuge for those not prepared for the open 'conversion' of baptism, but in the course of years 'it has proved but a half-way house from Judaism to Christianity.'

In Jewry as it 'has emerged from the last century and a half of disintegration,' Dr. Ruppin distinguishes four classes. The first comprises the six millions of Jews scarcely yet touched by modern culture. They are found in Russia, Galicia, European Turkey, Morocco, and Asia. They speak Yiddish or Spaniolisch, and their books are in the colloquial language or Hebrew. They keep themselves apart, wear a peculiar costume, live under the law, and rely for culture on ancient Jewish literature, taught them in their own religious elementary schools, and expounded by their Rabbis. They are for the most part small traders, artisans, and agents, have large families, and are poor. The second class has been influenced by modern culture, and speaks the language of the country, but sometimes Yiddish as well. It has relinquished the strange apparel and dresses in the Christian way. The Jewish ritual is adhered to, but is modified when observance imposes too great a sacrifice. Intolerance of things non-Jewish has given way. The children, by preference, attend Jewish schools. The families are neither so large nor

so poor as those of the first class. The members of this second class are found in England and America, in Algiers and the Christian Balkan States, in Hungary and the small towns of Austria, and in Eastern Germany and Alsace-Lorraine ; and they are estimated to number three millions. The third class contains about two millions. They ignore the Jewish ritual, particularly the observance of the Sabbath, speak only the language of the country, are educated in the public schools, and do not concern themselves with Jewish literature. Of this class Dr. Ruppín says, ' Its adherence to Judaism consists only in its members marrying within the faith, the circumcision of the sons, and occasional attendance at synagogue.' This class consists mostly of men of business who live in comfortable circumstances and have small families. They are the so-called Jewish bourgeoisie in England, Germany, the Colonies, Italy, France, Holland, America, and the large towns of Austria-Hungary, and may be over two millions in number. The members of the fourth class have completely broken away from Judaism, and remain Jewish only because they hesitate to take the decisive step of marriage with Christians. Inter-marriage and the baptism of children are, however, frequent, and are on the increase. The class includes the rich Jews of large towns, and nearly all Jews of University education. Families are small. There may be about one million in all.

In respect of ' religious outlook ' the four classes are described by Dr. Ruppín as orthodox, liberal, free-thinking, and agnostic. The classes are not rigidly marked, but are ' landmarks in an everflowing stream, which, constantly replenished from the great reservoirs of Jewish orthodoxy in Eastern Europe, finds a final outlet in Christianity.' Dr. Ruppín says significantly that orthodox Judaism supplies the liberal class, the liberal class the free-thinking, and the free-thinking the class of those who are Jews only in name, ' until we are finally led up, through conversion and intermarriage, to the Christianized type itself.' Then,

it seems, according to Dr. Ruppin, 'the Christianized type' lies in some region beyond liberalism, free-thinking, agnosticism, and nominal religion. Does Dr. Ruppin really think so? Then will he state where and what the region is, and what the Christianity, to which he refers? He may well express his doleful conclusion in the following words:—

'The distance between orthodoxy and conversion is frequently covered in three and sometimes two generations. We are four or five generations from the times of Moses Mendelssohn. Of all the Jews who lived at that time in Berlin, hardly one has a Jewish descendant to-day: they have all gone over to Christianity. . . . The rich Jews of present-day Berlin . . . are descendants of rigidly orthodox Jews who two or three generations back emigrated to Berlin.'

Part of the evidence for this conclusion is historical and part statistical. There were analogous assimilative movements among the Jews in the epochs of Greek and Arabic culture. In some instances the Jews proved themselves able to resist assimilation, but in certain historic cases they have been completely absorbed, as in Egypt, in China, and elsewhere. The present age is distinguished by a collapse of the old familiar obstructions to assimilation and by a consequent breaking-up of Jewry. Dr. Ruppin is prepared to contemplate a 'total merging of the Jews into Christendom.' But he does not expect them to disappear in a few decades, because a people numbering twelve millions cannot be so quickly wiped out. A hundred years or more may pass before the last Jew will have been absorbed. But he thinks the forces that have kept the Jews separate until now will not continue to work to the same issue; and he says, with the emphasis of italics, '*We see in the assimilative movement the greatest danger that has assailed Judaism since the Disruption.*' The most hopeful sign for the preservation of the Jewish nation that Dr. Ruppin can discern is

Zionism. The Jews, however, are not of one mind in regard to Zionism. It does not to-day seem to promise to stop the process of assimilation. Palestine cannot become the home of twelve million Jews. Agriculture is not likely to attract to the Holy Land any Jews but those who belong to Dr. Ruppin's first class. And if the segregation contemplated were to preserve a comparatively small portion of the nation, what would happen to the rest but a continuance of the lamented process of assimilation? Dr. Ruppin himself is not altogether confident. Such a parallel as the following will be received with doubt and hesitation :—

‘ If a portion of the Jews of Europe were to return to Palestine, we should witness a repetition of that return to Zion which was accomplished 2,500 years ago, when a fraction of the Jews came back to Palestine after the Babylonian exile. Babylon then—like Europe to-day—was the centre of culture and the hot-bed of assimilation. As with the European Jews to-day, only a small number could make up their mind to exchange the comfort of Babylon for the barrenness of Palestine. Yet that small handful of Jews grew again into a nation with a well-defined civilization of its own. The thought of this should inspire the Jews of the present day.’

The Jew, however, is not related to modern Europe as he was related to ancient Babylon. And his position both theological and religious has radically and essentially changed since he was an exile in Babylon. The sacrificial system of the Old Testament has come to an end, and cannot now be reintroduced. With the sacrifices and some attendant observances, the modern Jew has also left behind certain once familiar forms of thought in relation to his fellow men. The very theology of the synagogue is to-day tinged with borrowings from Christianity. Then since the Jew has become, to an appreciable extent, Christian in thought, why should he not openly acknowledge the fact and act

accordingly? If he were to do so, how long would he regard Zionism as a way of salvation?

But opposition to Christianity still continues. Dr. Ruppin looks askance at the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity. What, however, is Christian Theism but Hebrew Monotheism refined, exalted, and enriched by more intelligent interpretation of the Old Testament and by the new revelation given to mankind in Jesus Christ? To admit revelation in the Old Testament and to deny it in the New, is to stop short in a manner which nowadays demands such a justification as is by no means easy. For let the Jew consider that Jesus Christ may be the supreme Revealer of the God of Abraham. The theory of revelation is of tremendous moment. If God revealed His will in the establishment of the Mosaic order of worship, what else did He do in the ending of that order and in the substitution of Christianity? And may He not be doing the same to-day in the assimilation of the Jew? It is time to deal with this question frankly. Has the Jew answered the divine purpose of his separate racial existence? Has he lived separately so long and in such conditions that the promises and the threatenings written in his own sacred books in relation to himself have been completely fulfilled? In other words, is he any longer needed, in the evolution of the divine intent, as a distinct separate national witness? Dr. Ruppin says pointedly, 'The Jewish religion is dying gradually in Western Europe. A certain feeling of piety, and a lurking sense of shame at deserting one's colours, still hold its adherents together. But 'the doctrine of the mission of the Jews, so largely preached from the pulpit, may be held by a few Rabbis; to the mass of the Jews it has long ceased to carry either meaning or credence.' Have the old credence and the traditional meaning come to an end because the mission itself has ended, at least, as it has been hitherto regarded in the synagogue?

If 'the Jewish religion is dying,' why should the Jewish

separate nationality be maintained? 'Can the Jews do more for humanity by remaining a separate nationality than by being absorbed in other nations?' This is Dr. Ruppin's own question. In answering it he insists on what he calls 'the race value of the Jews.' He asks, 'Have the Jews a right to a separate existence?' His answer follows: 'The very question is an insult to the Jewish people, since no other people is required to defend by argument its right to survive. Not only the German and the French, but the Servian, the Bulgarian, the Roumanian—less numerous and infinitely less gifted than the Jews, as they are—would never for a moment think of entering on such an argument. To them their right to separate national existence is as unquestionable and as unanswerable as the right of the individual to live.' Is there not a fallacy here? Does the phrase 'separate national existence' mean to the German or the Servian what it means in this passage? The Jew must be settled in his own country and have his own government before such a 'sentimental argument' can have much weight. But what useful thing is the Jew doing that he would not do as well if he were a Christian? Is there one thing essential to human well-being that would be lost through total assimilation? These are questions which must be left to the believer in Divine Providence.

Dr. Ruppin dwells on the intellectual gifts of the Jews, their artistic proclivities, and their morality. Who does not acknowledge the great things done by the Hebrew intellect? Who does not admire Sidonia and Isaac of York and his daughter? But how and why would the fine things acknowledged be lost through the passing of the Jews into Christian nationalities? Does Dr. Ruppin think that Christianity is inferior to Judaism in the production of great thinking? Does he hold that 'the merging' of the Jews 'into Christendom' would have the effect of destroying or diminishing such genius as appears in the painter and the poet, the musician and the sculptor? It might have seemed likely

that he would take the opposite view as arising out of the doctrine of heredity. And does he believe that the separate national existence of the Jews is essential to the maintenance of a high morality? He strives to prove the superiority of Jewish ethics to Christian. His argument on this point may make the reader smile; and he has to be reminded that the holiness inculcated by Christianity goes far beyond the Hebrew conception of holiness as attained or expressed by ceremonial separation. Even if the Jew were ethically superior to the Christian, might it not be his duty to mix with Christians, to be 'merged into Christendom,' for the improvement and elevation of his fellow men?

A chapter is devoted to 'the cultural value of the Jews' in pleading for their separate national existence. According to Dr. Ruppin's own showing the culture that is distinctively Jewish has gone out of date, and the culture of Christian schools and of Universities leads the Jew into assimilation. Then Judaism is unable to stand under the power of Christian education. Talmudical learning and European science do not thrive in the same mind. How then is the cultural value of the Jew to assert itself as exact modern scholarship spreads? The knowledge and use of the Hebrew language which Dr. Ruppin desires to see may not bring out the cultural value in question. For is Hebrew scholarship ever again likely to be a distinctively Jewish attainment? Where at the present time is the ripest and most fruitful Hebrew scholarship seen? Is it not among European Christian students whose writings evince such acquaintance, grammatical, lexical, and theological, with the Hebrew Scripture as the learned among the Jews have seldom attained? And if the Zionist Jews, settled in Palestine, were to cultivate Hebrew as their domestic language, what could be its possible cultural value to the human race?

Segregation through a return to Palestine is attractive in Dr. Ruppin's eyes. Let it be supposed that the Zionist movement will collect a million of the poorer Jews in the

Holy Land, and that their descendants will be there at the end of the 'hundred years.' What will they have to show as the result of the great experiment? It cannot be certain beforehand that the Jewish population will have prospered, that agriculture will have proved successful, or that segregation will have improved character. Perhaps there will be seen a distinct community, Jewish indeed, but poor, antiquated, unprogressive and unhappy. And perhaps there will have been developed and established some notable peculiarity of worship, as there survives to this day the Samaritan Passover sacrifice on Mount Gerizim. How does the modern European Jew feel in regard to that most attenuated relic of the ancient order? As he feels to-day, so most likely the London Disraeli will feel at the end of the hundred years in regard to the belated observances of the Palestinian Zionist Jews. Can such an issue be an adequate return for all the solicitude brought out in Dr. Ruppin's arguments? Is there not a more excellent way? Cannot educated and reverent modern Jews be led to assume a more worthy attitude towards the Providence of God? The divine covenant made with Israel has not failed, but it cannot be believed that it was appointed to be fulfilled only in those Jews who should withstand assimilation.

To Dr. Ruppin and those who share his opinions and attachments the assimilation of the Jew is a symptom of decay and a menace of extinction. To the Jews of Dr. Ruppin's third and fourth class the movement is of little importance, since they have already entered a land of promise in the cities of Western Europe, America, and certain white men's colonies. They are not prepared to pay the price of continued separate nationality. They are not greatly distressed at the prospect that their children will be 'merged into Christendom'; though Dr. Ruppin thinks they cannot rid themselves of a feeling of shame on account of unfaithfulness. But to the Christian inquirer this great movement is one of the signs of the times of the end. Chris-

tian students have been studying this subject for generations in the light of Holy Scripture. The development may be taking forms not generally looked for fifty years ago ; but something analogous has been in the student's view ; and it is not an unusual thing for the desires and the prayers of faithful people to be fulfilled in unlooked-for ways. The eyes of the searcher of the Scriptures have, however, been directed to the subject and will not now be easily drawn away.

Dr. Ruppin does not think the preaching of the gospel will win the Jews, and does not approve of the efforts of societies for their evangelization. Perhaps he would rather see the Jews otherwise absorbed than by a process of assimilation brought about by the preaching of the gospel. Has he duly considered the significance of that great historic figure, St. Paul ? He mentions 'the propaganda' of St. Paul, and makes it evident that he has given him some attention. Now Paul was both a Jew and a Christian. He became a Christian not by any process of assimilation but by a conversion and an enlightenment that were transforming. Thenceforward those things which had been gain to him he counted loss for Christ. Yet he never forgot that he was a Jew, never lost sight of the privileges distinguishing his people, never ceased to do everything possible to effect their salvation. Paul is a great example for the modern Jewish leader who may be bound either to follow his leading or to fail in his own. Paul's eyes were opened to transcendent things which, it appears, the modern Jewish leaders have never seen, because a veil is on their hearts and they still wish it to remain there. On the removal of that veil the Jewish leader will have a new astonishment in thinking of Paul, because he will have discovered what Christianity is and what it is not. 'The Pauline religion of Christ,' says Dr. Adolf Deissmann, 'with its outspoken confession of the Christ, present and to come, who is Jesus the Crucified, was able to create a communion of worship which was both popular and of world-wide historic

effect, full of ethical power, not a book-religion, looking backward to the Law, but a spiritual religion with face set forward.'¹

The 'book-religion' of the Jew has broken down and cannot be rehabilitated. So much is proved by Dr. Ruppin. Is there then no ground for hoping that the Jew will be Christianized as well as 'merged into Christendom'? In a famous city towards the end of the nineteenth century a celebrated Jewish pastorate or rabbinate became vacant and a new incumbent had to be chosen and appointed. He was a European Jew of extensive travel, wide learning, and manly eloquence. In delivering his inaugural address he surprised and astonished both Jew and Gentile, for both were present in the synagogue. One passage of that address will long be remembered: 'At your call, I have travelled far to assume in this house of prayer the office which I now take upon myself. I have come to preach Judaism, perhaps not such a Judaism as you have been most accustomed to hear propounded. I have come to preach the Judaism which will give us back our own Bible. By that I mean the Judaism of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. And I look to you for the necessary upholding in what I have undertaken.' That was felt to be a new Judaism, for the old Judaism had taught its adherent to regard the non-Jew as a dog and not as a brother. The preacher of that great occasion has since those days been greatly honoured and highly promoted by his co-religionists, and it is believed he has deservedly won his proud distinction. How has he won it? It would be reassuring to find prominent and responsible Jews admitting that his distinctively Christian teaching has been a strong factor contributory to the result. If all Jewish leaders were to follow the example set by that great Rabbi and show themselves not ashamed, there would be encouragement to hope to preserve Judaism by raising it

¹ Deissmann's *St. Paul*, p. 230.

to the sublime Christian height on which St. Paul stood. How otherwise can it be preserved? Christianity is Judaism made perfect. If its eternal verity were once for all cordially accepted by the Jews, details of adaptation and administration might be left to be settled by experience. For there would have been cast into fruitful ground that living seed of the Kingdom of God which would grow into a large and spreading tree. Who will be the equal of the Jew as a missionary of Christ when he shall once for all have fallen at the foot of the cross? The cross made St. Paul, and it will yet turn many sons of Jacob into Paul-like witnesses till that word is fulfilled: 'It is too light a thing that thou shouldest be My servant, to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel; I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be My salvation unto the end of the earth.' (Isa. xlix. 6.)

WILLIAM HUDSON.

RAJAS AND THEIR TERRITORIES

The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. IV.

Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India.

A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries, Revised and Continued up to the Present Time. By SIR CHARLES U. AITCHISON. Calcutta. 1876 and 1892.

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I

TO look at the map of India, with its red background spotted with yellow, is to realize that Hindostan possesses not one, but a dual personality. Only a part of it—that printed red—is administered by the British. The yellow-coloured portion is governed by Indians who, while recognizing his Britannic Majesty the King-Emperor as their Suzerain, are left more or less free to manage the internal affairs of their territories in normal times.

Few are aware of the vastness of the area which Indians administer in their own right and name. According to the last (1911) census, the Principalities of the various Rajas covered 709,118 square miles. In other words, India under

Indian rule was more than five and one-half times the size of England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the Channel Islands all put together. British India, it may be pointed out, has an area of 1,802,192 square miles—rather less than three times as much as Indian India.

According to the same census, the population of Hindostan was 315,182,537, of which British India claimed 244,267,542, and the rest, 70,864,995, resided in Indian States. Thus India under Indian rule had somewhat more than one and one-half times the population of the entire United Kingdom.

The territories of the Indian rulers are so irregularly distributed over the Peninsula that the map looks as if the yellow had been carelessly spattered over its surface. In parts large blocks are thus coloured. In some sections there are only a number of isolated dabs. In still other portions hardly any yellow is to be found.

Looking towards the north, the eye is first arrested by the States nestling amongst the Himalayas—the tribal areas of the North-west Frontier Province, in a chronic condition of unrest; Kashmir and Jammu (twice as large as Portugal in area), more to the north-east; the Simla Hill States (many in number but petty in area), further east and south; Sikkim, still further east, cutting a notch in Tibet; and Manipur (in Assam), almost on the edge of India proper, and not far from the western boundary of Burma. Below the Himalayan mountain chains, from west to east, you see the sparsely populated States in Baluchistan and Sindh; the Sikh and Mohammedan territories in the Punjab, most of them insignificant in size but populous and rich in resources; the few small principalities in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, almost lost amidst British territory; the States in the newly-created Province of Bihar and Orissa, making an important showing in respect of their expanse; and the inconsiderable area under Indian rule in the Bengal Presidency. Further south

Rajputana attracts the attention—a huge daub of yellow with a small red patch in the heart of it; and eastward are the Central India Agency States. Somewhat further south is the peninsula of Kathiawar, jutting out into the Arabian Sea, a solid splotch of yellow marking the territories of Indian princes. The portion of India running downward from that point to its southernmost extremity is dotted with numerous blocks of territories under Indian rule, Hyderabad and Mysore extending nearly to the eastern coast.

II

The portion of India governed by Indians is divided amongst 698 rulers, sixteen of whom, however, have no administrative powers of any sort, but merely receive money from the territories over which their ancestors formerly held sway. All but one of these administrators are men, the exception being Her Highness Nawab Sultan Jehan Begum, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., whose State—Bhopal—in Central India, with an area of 6,902 square miles and a population of 780,888, for over sixty years has been ruled by a succession of women. The present heir, however, is a male.

The territories possessed by the different rulers vary in size. The Principality of Major-General His Highness Sir Partab Singh, *Indar Mahindar Bahadur Sipar-i-Saltanat*, G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I., Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu, the largest in point of area, is 84,482 square miles in extent. His Highness Usman Ali Khan, G.C.S.I., the Nizam of Hyderabad, rules over the next largest, which covers 82,482 square miles. The territories of His Highness Sir Krishna-raja Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., Maharaja of Mysore, extend over 27,475 square miles. The size of the States decreases until towards the end of the list are Chiefs who possess only a few villages, or extremely small holdings.

The variations in population also are great. Hyderabad heads the list with 18,874,676. Mysore comes next, with

5,806,198. Towards the end of the roll, Sikkim has only 87,920; while the Dangs, in the Bombay Presidency, divided up into fourteen groups, each under its own petty Chief, have only 2,000 amongst them.

III

The different Rajas enjoy varying degrees of power. Some are more or less titular, governmental functions being exercised by officials deputed by the British authorities. In several States the ruler does not exercise criminal jurisdiction over his subjects, while others are not even allowed to collect their own revenues. In other words, they are not much more than land-magnates, except in name. But many, especially those reigning over large territories, are permitted to carry on their government in their own way, with certain restrictions. This paper has nothing further to do with titular personages, its concern being with the Rajas who are more or less autonomous. The powers and privileges of the latter, their relationship with the British, their duties and obligations to their overlord, and *vice versa*, and the manner in which the two sets of rulers, living side by side, carry on their respective governments, are points fraught with 'human interest.'

The Indian rulers have no sovereignty whatever in external matters. They are not allowed to treat with any alien Power, much less send a representative to a foreign court. They are completely isolated, one from the other, each from all. This policy is carried to such a length that in cases where a Raja has vassal Rajas the tribute due to him from the subsidiary rulers has to be transmitted through the British Government.

They are not competent to make war or peace with any other Raja or alien nation. Those who are allowed to maintain troops must not let their strength go beyond defined limits. They do not have the privilege of manufacturing arms and ammunition; nor can they import

the munitions of war without British sanction. In other words, the fangs of the Rajas have been pulled out, and ceaseless vigilance is exercised to ensure that they do not grow again. Yet the principal Indian rulers are not deprived of the pleasure of possessing troops for show ('ceremonial,' to use the official term) purposes.

In civil matters, Rajas do not have jurisdiction over Europeans and Americans residing in their territories. They are not permitted even to employ Occidentals without the express permission of the British. In many instances Rajas have no jurisdiction over specified Indian families or clans residing in their States.

Where grave moral issues are concerned, the British reserve the right of dictating policies to the Rajas. In the matter of interdicting slavery, forbidding female infanticide, preventing the burning of widows on the funeral piles of their dead husbands (*Sati* or *Suttee*), and forbidding inhuman punishment such as death by being trampled by elephants, the British have forced their will upon the Indian rulers. There are also engagements whereby the Rajas are bound to refrain from maltreating converts to Christianity, though there is no provision to ensure against converts being disinherited by their Hindu (or Moslem) parents, guardians, &c.

The sovereignty of Indian princes is further limited in the interests of Imperial communications. The right to build and maintain trunk-line railways, telegraphs, telephones, and postal routes throughout the peninsula, irrespective of whether it is British or Indian territory, is vested in the British-Indian Government, and all land in Indian territories required for such purposes has to be ceded. Jurisdiction over the Imperial lines of communication, not excepting those portions lying in Indian Principalities, is vested in the British.

Over and above such cessions, the Rajas are made to 'assign' any areas that may be needed by the British

for political and military purposes. In each large State one or more garrisons are kept, and these cantonments are deemed British territory, beyond the jurisdiction of the Rajas. The British representative dwells in the heart of such cantonments; his domicile (known as the 'Residency'), whether in a military station or not, being considered 'sanctuary.'

Some Rajas possess the privilege of issuing currency; others are prohibited from doing so. The Mysore treaty, for instance, expressly states: 'The coins of the Government of India shall be a legal tender in the said territories in the cases in which payment made in such coins would, under the law for the time being in force, be a legal tender in British India; and all laws and rules for the time being applicable to coins current in British India shall apply to coins current in the said territories. The separate coinage of the Mysore State . . . shall not be revived.' Some of the Rajas who have the privilege of minting tokens prefer to use the British coins, not so much for the sake of uniformity, but on account of ruinous exchange, and also because of the fact that the British have taken steps to prohibit their coins from circulating in portions of the Peninsula where they were current for decades, thereby depreciating their value, and paving the way for the adoption of British coinage.

The Rajas, as a rule, are allowed to impose tariffs or not, as they see fit. But except in a few cases, a customs ring does not surround Indian territories, and there is free entry of commercial products from British India into them, and *vice versa*. Where a tariff wall exists, affairs are being so manipulated that before long the Rajas are likely to demolish it.

The production of certain commodities in Indian territories is restricted. Poppy culture is permitted in several States, but the area is strictly defined. The Rajas are 'advised' to standardize the taxation of alcoholic liquors and drugs (*abkari*). The manufacture of salt is regulated

by hide-bound rules in some States, in order to keep down the quantity produced. Salt made in Indian States is not allowed to be shipped into British territory, or even to other portions of the same State. These restrictions, it is explained, are placed upon this industry in the interests of the British Indian salt monopoly. Needless to say, this reason does not weigh with the Rajas who are thus handicapped, though they submit to it with as much grace as is possible in the circumstances.

The Indian rulers are invariably required to remodel their internal arrangements in the spirit in which the British Indian Government may revise its treaties with foreign Powers, where such conventions affect them. For instance, the new British arrangements with China have made the Government of India recently pass orders to further limit the acreage under poppy in the Indian States.

The rulers of even the largest Indian States are required to 'consult' with the Suzerain Power before they can appoint their Prime Ministers (*Diwans*), who as a rule are at the head of the executive government under the direct superintendence of the Raja. The effect of this provision on the internal economy of the Indian Principalities is too patent to require to be pointed out.

In addition to these restrictions and limitations, the British reserve the full right to supervise the internal administration; to advise the Rajas to improve their government if at any time they show any inclination to become slack; to intervene in case of misrule; and even to depose those whom they consider to be confirmed mal-administrators, or constitutionally unfit to rule.

The right to succession descends, according to custom, in the ruling dynasty of the State; but the British Government may refuse to confirm such succession if, in its opinion, the heir to the throne is unfit to be installed, and the decision of the Paramount Power in regard to succession claims is final and binding. Rulers of those States which were

of especial help to the British Government during the trying days of the Sepoy Mutiny were granted the right to adopt an heir to the throne in case they had none, as a mark of appreciation of what they had done to uphold the Paramount Power in the peninsula. It is of interest to note that the Government of India is armed with the power to prevent a State from being whittled by division amongst the members of the family of the Raja or his favourites.

The Rajas may not set out on voyages without first obtaining permission to do so. Technically speaking, they are not required to obtain leave, but merely to inform the British of their intention to journey abroad, and to indicate what arrangements they propose to make for the conduct of the administration of their States during their absence. This is said to be done with the double object of insuring good government in the State, and of arranging with the customs authorities, &c., of foreign countries so that travel will be pleasant for the ruler. The force of this argument, however, is lost on more than one Raja. Those amongst them who care to go abroad are, without exception, enlightened men. They are not the sort of rulers who would leave their territory without making proper arrangements for carrying on the administration while they were away. Moreover, during the absence of the Raja from his State the British representative at his court becomes, by express condition, a much more active factor in the government than he is at other times. For these reasons some of the Rajas look upon this condition as a needless and futile restriction of their personal liberty and dislike it all the more because it was only recently imposed upon them.

The limitations that are placed upon the sovereignty of the Rajas, that have been described, are increased in the case of all but the principal Indian rulers. Space, however, will not permit the writer to go into further details.

When due allowance has been made for what the Rajas

can not do, there still remains for them a large sphere of action. They must levy and collect taxes to meet their personal wants, pay the bills incurred by the State for carrying on civil administration, remunerate the military forces, and remit tribute to the British (of which more later). They must provide works of public utility—roads, railways, telephones, irrigation canals and tanks, executive offices, courts, school and college buildings, &c. They must encourage agriculture, industry, and commerce. They must conserve and develop forests. They must spread education. They must make arrangements for the protection of life and property, the administration of justice, and the care and reclamation of criminals. They must guard the health of their subjects, put down epidemics, and improve general sanitation. They must fight famine and scarcity. They must check social, moral, and religious abuse. If they happen to be modernized, they are bound to feel that they must train their subjects to manage their local and municipal affairs, help in the framing of laws, and exercise a check upon the executive. This list is meant to be suggestive rather than exhaustive: but here is a programme which is bound to task the capacity of any individual, keep his initiative and ingenuity at work, give scope to his ambition, and weigh heavily upon his sense of responsibility.

It needs to be added that the British courts of law regard the Rajas as privileged personages and have no jurisdiction over them.

IV

The fact that the British place so many limitations and checks upon the Rajas involves many duties and obligations upon the former. To note the important ones:

First and foremost, the British must protect the Indian rulers. Indeed, they agree not only to guard the Rajas against external danger, but also to restore internal peace in case an Indian ruler is unable to quell disturbances in

his dominions. In view of the restrictions placed upon the Rajas in regard to the management of their military affairs, such a provision sometimes has to be taken advantage of. It may be noted *en passant* that in applying for military assistance the Raja is apt to run a two-fold risk. He is likely to lower his prestige in the eyes of his subjects and of his compeers (who often are very jealous of him); and may lay himself open to being considered by the British too inefficient to manage his own affairs.

Second, the British bind themselves to act for the Rajas with foreign Powers. As has been said, when an Indian potentate goes abroad, the British authorities arrange for his luggage to be exempted from customs examinations at foreign ports. They also negotiate with foreign Powers on behalf of the Rajas whose territories include sea-boards to which foreign ships come bringing commodities for exchange.

Third, the subjects of Indian rulers, when residing abroad, are entitled to the same protection from British agents as the British-Indian subjects of His Majesty King George V. It is of interest to add that the subjects of Indian States are eligible for admission into the public services of British India.

V

Of the many obligations that the Indian princes are bound to discharge to the British, probably the most serious is the requirement that they shall bear their share of the military defence of India. The various treaties lay down what help the States are to render to the British in times of stress. Some of the rulers are required to maintain a given number of troops at a certain standard of efficiency, to serve as a 'contingent' force to the Imperial Army. In the case of some of the States, this obligation has been discharged completely or partially by the Rajas, or rather their predecessors, having been required to cede tracts of land in lieu of their keeping up the Contingent.

On April 1, 1912, the various Indian rulers maintained 111,000 soldiers, not including 47,000 armed police. Needless to say, such an establishment costs them a large sum of money. These troops constitute a bulwark of the Indian Empire. They oftentimes have rendered important service in defending Imperial interests in and out of India, and have been highly praised by British generals for their bravery and sense of duty.

The desire on the part of Indian rulers to do more for Imperial defence led, in 1887, to a proposal by the Nizam of Hyderabad to constitute 'Imperial Service Troops.' Some Rajas welcomed the idea; while others considered it wrong to impose fresh military burdens on their subjects. However, troops were recruited by a number of them from amongst their subjects, equipped with the armament provided for the Indian (Native) Army in British India, and trained and disciplined. On April 1, 1912, twenty-nine Indian rulers maintained, amongst them, 22,271 Imperial Service soldiers, including 10,000 infantry, 7,500 cavalry, 2,700 transport corps, 700 camel corps, and 700 sappers. These were in addition to the regular strength already noted.

This notwithstanding, some jingoes have been trying of late to saddle upon the Indian rulers the additional expense of providing for a Navy. A short time back a scheme was worked up from London calculated to 'shame' the Rajas into making such a contribution. Its promoters believed that any Raja who did not see fit to join hands with them would at once brand himself as disloyal. But all responsible people refused to have anything to do with the proposal, and it proved an ignominious failure.

Several (though not by any means all) of the Indian rulers pay tribute to the Government of India. The sum thus realized totalled £595,005 in 1911-12. Of this, Mysore alone paid £288,888. The next largest item was derived from Travancore, which remitted £52,207.

VI

The British maintain relations with the Indian principalities either through the Government of India or through one or the other Local Government. The States which are in direct communication with the Supreme Government number 175 ; while the rest are linked up with their respective presidencies or provinces.

In the case of each of the large States in direct political relation with the Government of India, an officer, usually known as ' Resident ' (because he *resides* at the Raja's court) is appointed to represent his Government. But in instances where a number of States exist in close proximity, they are grouped together into an ' Agency,' and an Agent to the Governor-General is placed in charge of the group. Each Agency is divided into sub-groups presided over by Residents or Political Agents. Each, as the case may be, acts under the instructions of the Agent to the Governor-General.

Amongst the States which are in direct relation with the Government of India, and each of which has a Resident, the four most important are Hyderabad, Baroda, Mysore, and Kashmir. The Rajputana States and Central Indian States are in direct political relation with the Government of India, but are grouped into two Agencies. The Rajputana Agency comprises eighteen States and three ' Chiefships.' Except for Ajmer-Merwara (2,711 square miles in area and with a population of 501,895), which is a British province, the whole of Rajputana is one solid block of territory under Indian rule. It has an area of 128,987 square miles, and a population of 10,580,482, who contribute £2,589,000 to the exchequers of their various rulers. The Central India Agency contains 150 Indian States, most of them small, covering collectively an area of 77,867 square miles, and having a population of 9,856,980.

The procedure followed in the case of Indian States in relation with the Local Governments closely resembles

the arrangements governing those in relation with the Supreme Administration. The main difference is that the Political Agent at each of these States, or groups of States, as the case may be, is the agent of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or Chief Commissioner of the Presidency or Province, and not of the Governor-General. In some cases, where the dominions are too small to deserve the dignity of even a Political Agent, one of the ordinary executive officials in a near-by district or division is made to act in this capacity in relation to it, in addition to his regular duties in British India.

Those territories under the supervision of the Local Governments are technically spoken of as the Bombay States, Madras States, &c., according to the Presidency or Province with which they are allied. The Baluchistan States head the list in point of size, stretching over 80,410 square miles ; but their population is very small, being only 396,482. The Bombay States (as a rule petty principalities, numbering about 360, over half of the total number of all Indian States) follow, with an area of 68,864 square miles, and a population of 7,411,675. Next come the Punjab States, about thirty-four in number, occupying 86,551 square miles and having a population of 4,312,794. The Behar and Orissa States follow with an area of 28,648 and a population of 8,945,209. The Agencies and Tribal Areas connected with the North-West Frontier Province cover an area of 25,500 square miles and possess a population of 1,622,094. The Central Province States, about fifteen in all, are 81,174 square miles in extent and have a population of 2,117,002. The Madras States have an area of 10,084 square miles, and a population of 4,811,841. The Assam State (Manipur) is 8,456 square miles in area and has 346,222 inhabitants. The Bengal States are 5,898 square miles in area and have 822,565 inhabitants. The United Provinces States cover 5,079 square miles and have a population of 852,086.

VII

From what has been written, it is clear that the Indian rulers enjoy 'dependent independence,' to use the pregnant phrase coined by the late Prince Ito. In other words, they are overshadowed by the British. Their inferior status is forcefully indicated by the terms which, in semi-official and even official parlance, are bestowed upon them. They are described as being in 'subsidiary' alliance with the British, feudal vassals, or feudatories to his Britannic Majesty, protected princes, &c. Great Britain is spoken of as the Paramount Power, and the British sovereign as their Suzerain.

The etiquette which governs the action of the Indian rulers lays down the rule that on paying a ceremonial visit to the King's representative, they are to be met at the edge of the carpet in the audience chamber, and on their departure the high personage they have visited is to walk with them towards the door, a certain prescribed number of paces, according to the rank and precedence of the guest. When the British official, however, formally calls, the Raja must meet him, not at the edge of the carpet of his audience hall or at the door, but outside the house, as he alights from his carriage.

In British Indian official literature, the Rajas are never referred to as 'kings' or 'potentates,' but are called 'Princes of India,' 'Indian Princes,' 'Native' Princes, "Chiefs of India," 'Indian Chiefs,' 'Native Chiefs,' &c. An Anglo-Indian official, the late Sir William Lee-Warner, sought to foist the term 'semi-Sovereign' upon the Rajas. Their

¹ Since the word 'native' has come into disfavour on account of ill-bred people using it as a term of derision in much the same way as the French employ *l'indigène*, the present writer has sedulously avoided the terms 'native Prince,' 'native State,' &c. He has used the word Raja in its generic sense as meaning an Indian ruler. 'Indian ruler,' too, has been used in the same sense. 'Indian State' has been employed to describe a portion of Hindostan governed by an Indian ally of his Britannic Majesty.

throne is never spoken of as such, but is styled *gadi* (cushion of state), *masnad*, &c., even though the rulers may use thrones and not *gadis*. Their court is not designated as a court, but simply as a 'Durbar,' while the same term is applied to their administration instead of referring to it as a government. Any attempt on the part of an Indian ruler to display any emblem of royalty which might even remotely resemble his Britannic Majesty's regalia, is at once frowned upon. Not long ago one of them was asked by the British representative to change the design of his coat of arms, as the crown used in it was likely to be mistaken for that of the King-Emperor. The request, of course, was complied with, a crown after the style of the old-time Hindu Emperors being substituted.

The explanation put forward for this procedure is that the British desire to differentiate between themselves and their Indian allies. However, the Indian rulers, broadly speaking, are very dignified personages, and are extremely jealous of their prestige. Not a few of them object to being deprived of titles that go with sovereignty.

The Indian rulers are variously styled *Raja* (spelled also *Rajah*), *Maha* (big) *Raja*, *Rao*, *Maha Rao*, *Rana*, *Maharana*, *Thakore*, *Nawab*, &c. One of them is known as *Nizam* (of Hyderabad); and one as *Jam* (of Nawanagar or Jamnagar, in Kathiawar). Their wives are spoken of as *Rani*, *Maharani*, *Begum*, &c. In the case of the lone woman ruler, *Nawab* is prefixed to her name, which ends with the title of *Begum*, while she is referred to as the *Begum* of Bhopal. The titles *Nawab* and *Begum* are exclusively bestowed upon Mahomedans; but *Raja* and *Rani* are not limited to one religion, although, generally speaking, they are employed in the case of Hindus. The sons of *Rajas*, &c., are known as *Raj Kumars*, and their daughters are called *Raj Kumaris*, in the case of Hindus; while the children of Moslem rulers are known as *Sahibzadas* and *Sahibnadis*. To distinguish the heirs-apparent from the

other sons, it is customary to call the former by some distinctive title, such as *Yuvraj*, *Tikka Sahab*, &c.

Each of the Indian rulers bears one or more dynastic titles.. Etiquette demands the use of certain terms in writing the names of Rajas. These honorifics vary in the case of different rulers. Amongst the titles thus employed, *Bahadur*, meaning 'courageous,' written after the name, is almost universally applied. The word *Shri* or *Sri* is invariably prefixed, in some instances repeated over one hundred times in connexion with the same name. Indians, unless they are rude or denationalized, never use the titles *Raja*, *Nawab*, *Rani*, *Begum*, &c., without adding *Sahab* (master, or lord) to them. In addressing the Rajas an extravagant style is adopted. It is remarkable to note the modern tendency to use 'His Highness,' 'Your Highness,' &c., in referring and speaking to the Rajas.

Besides their dynastic titles, the Indian rulers bear British-Indian Orders—the Star of India, Empire of India, and Crown of India (the last for women only). The more important amongst them are Grand Commanders of one or both of first and second Orders; while the lesser are simply Knight Commanders, or Companions. Many of them hold honorary ranks in British-Indian regiments. A few are accorded the dignity of being *Aide-de-Camp* to the King-Emperor. An interesting title which some of them bear is *Fazand-i-Khas-i-Dowlat-i-Inglishia* ('Beloved Son of the British Empire').

A large number of the Rajas are honoured by salutes, ranging from twenty-one to nine guns, according to their prestige, fired to mark their arrival and departure. The addition of one or more guns to the salute of an Indian ruler by the British Indian Government is looked upon as a very high honour; while the humiliation associated with the reduction of the salute, or its discontinuance, is indescribable.

The Viceroy, in writing to the Rajas, addresses them as 'My Esteemed Friend,' 'My Dear Friend,' &c., and sub-

scribes himself, 'I remain, with much consideration, Your Highness's Sincere Friend,' &c. The communications that pass between the representatives of the King-Emperor and the Indian rulers, and *vice versa*, are known as *Kharitas*, and are sent by special couriers, in bags of beautiful brocade, carefully sewn and sealed so that it is impossible to tamper with their contents.

The British representative at the court (Durbar) of a Raja familiarly addresses the ruler as Raja or Maharaja, as the case may be. The omission of the word *Sahab* offends the dignity of some who are thus spoken to, though, as a rule, they are too well bred to express their indignation.

Allusion has already been made to the ceremonial differences in rank of the Rajas. It may be added that the table of precedence has been punctiliously worked out, and is rigidly adhered to. Many considerations have determined the places to be assigned to the various rulers. The dynastic importance of a Raja, his military strength and political prestige at the time he allied himself with the British, the circumstances in which the alliance was established (i.e. whether it was voluntary on his part or forced upon him by the conquering Power, and whether or not it was entered into at a time when the British were sore pressed), and the size and resources of the principality in his possession, constitute some of the reasons. The table of precedence, as it exists to-day, gives the premier place to the Nizam of Hyderabad, whose dominions are exceeded in size by those held by the Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu, but who rules over a larger population than any other Indian. Next to him ranks His Highness Shri Sayaji Rao III. Gaekwar, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Maharaja of Baroda, popularly known as the Gaekwar (also spelled Gaekwad and Guicowar), whose principality (8,000 square miles in area and with a population of 2,082,798), is smaller than that ruled over by the Maharaja of Mysore, who is accorded the third position.

VIII

There is a school of political thinkers which looks upon the existence of the Indian States alongside of British India as an unmitigated nuisance. These people argue that the division of authority makes for disunion, and stands in the way of Hindostan becoming homogeneous. They point out that each Indian ruler is a law unto himself, so far as the internal affairs of his State are concerned, and contend that this preserves the differences existing between the various Indian States and prevents them from developing one definite system of government and civilization. If all India were under British rule, they urge, the central authority would formulate the general policy for the whole of the Dependency; a single tongue (English) would be current throughout the Peninsula as the official, court, and, in a large way, mercantile language. It is further declared that if the country, as a whole, was administered by the British, the establishment and maintenance of communication by railway and road, telegraph, telephone, and post, would be easier and cheaper, and the ends of justice would be met much more speedily and with less trouble. The books extant on the subject are written by men who more or less generally subscribe to these theories.

Needless to say, there is another side to this question. It assuredly is in the interests of human (and especially Indian) progress that in some parts of Hindostan the British should be initiating measures to revitalize Indians, while in other parts of the same country a number of Indians should be developing Indian character, and that each agency should be able to study the results achieved by the other, the foreigners deriving inspiration from the sons of the soil, and the autochthons profiting from the experiments carried on by the aliens. Indeed, it may be added that the present scheme permits the Indian rulers to work out not one but multifarious schemes for uplifting their subjects.

The success or failure of each experiment is of immense utility, not merely to the agency which is engaged in making it, but to all—British and Indian rulers alike.

In pondering these considerations, it is necessary to bear in mind the difference in the composition of the ruling agency in British and Indian India (at least the larger States whose rulers are practically autonomous). In British India the initiative rests almost entirely upon the British; responsibility for the government hangs almost altogether upon foreigners. Indians, to be sure, form the bulk of public servants in British India; but as a rule they occupy the lower positions, which carry the smaller salaries and inferior powers. Of late a few selected Indians have been allowed to work their way into the higher grades, and some now hold posts of trust. The recent reconstitution of the legislative assemblies gave increased opportunities for Indians to acquaint the Administration with their views, and exert some influence over the authorities. But when all this is said and considered, the burden of managing British-Indian affairs is borne by Britons, and the power of levying taxation and spending the revenues gathered, of starting and carrying on schemes for the moral and material good of his Britannic Majesty's Indian subjects, still remains vested almost entirely in the British. In the case of the large Indian States, the position is almost entirely reversed. The British Residents, indeed, 'advise' the Rajas at whose courts they are stationed; and the Indian rulers employ Britons, some of them in important capacities; but withal, the responsibility of conducting the administration rests upon the Rajas, and, speaking from a broad point of view, Indians, and not Britons, initiate and carry out reforms in the Indian States. Thus in many of the principalities under Indian rule the Indian genius for government finds considerable scope for expression.

When due regard is had for the difference in the qualities of the British and Indian rulers, the utility of making some

experiments mainly through foreign, others chiefly through Indian agency, is seen to the greater advantage. Britons can bring to bear upon Indian conditions traits of character and knowledge which are highly useful in the present state of affairs. Devotion to duty, disregard of danger, contempt for bribery and flattery, fair-mindedness, quickness of perception, the desire and ability to achieve practical results, and love for systematic (scientific) investigation render the Briton invaluable to India. But the Anglo-Indian has the 'faults of his qualities,' as the French would put it. He is apt to be unimaginative, far too inexorable, and ultra-exclusive. Besides, a foreigner, no matter what his aptitude, is bound to lack that knowledge of the country which only a son of the soil can possess. He is also apt to be much more diffident in ordering changes which affect the religious and moral prejudices of the people than an Indian would be. Indeed, it is the settled policy of the British Indian Government to refrain from interfering in any manner with the religious principles of the people under their sway. Though that administration has to its credit such acts as the prevention of widow-burning, female infanticide, &c., yet, broadly speaking, it has permitted more or less gross social and moral evils to fester Indian society. But for the fact that the British-Indian rulers are foreigners, and therefore fearful of meddling with the religious scruples of the Indians, it would be hard to excuse a Government professedly Christian for not pursuing a bold and uncompromising policy in this respect.

British India (and, for that matter, its Presidencies and principal Provinces) being larger and more populous than the biggest Indian State, has, comparatively speaking, less homogeneity than an Indian Principality. Experiments are easier to make in small and more homogeneous territories than in large areas.

Besides, British India, with its diversity of clime, race, and creed, is pre-eminently a country suited for decentralized

administration. Those familiar with Indian history will recall that the structure of Indian society was built up on local autonomy. As far back as the light of history can penetrate into the past of the country, the people are found to have been split up into hundreds of self-governing organizations. If these 'communities' (*Panchayats*) bore the yoke of central authority, it was a very light one. Even in the days of the Moghuls, when the so-called autocrats were in the heyday of their power, the central authority let each village manage its own affairs. All that the Emperor's Agent wanted was that the revenue exacted by the Government be paid over, and so long as that was done, the village 'elders' were left free to impose and collect rates and taxes, attend to village conservancy, carry on the various rural services, administer justice, deal with offenders according to their crimes, and take precautions to protect the people from external harassment. A country where devolution was carried to such a length deserves decentralized administration, federated, in some manner, with a central authority, rather than a highly centralized autocracy.

It may be added that many Rajas aim to be more than mere echoes of British administrators. Some of them have taken the lead in initiating administrative, judicial, educational, and social reforms. In a general survey like the present one it is not possible to supply details about individual States. But reference to the current administrative reports of such large Principalities as Baroda, Mysore, Travancore, &c., and to accounts of even such small territories as Gondal (in Kathiawar), Jhalawar (in Rajputana), and Patiala and Nabha (in the Punjab), will show how the Rajas are setting the pace in several departments of Government.

Unquestionably more and more Indian rulers are showing increased interest in administering their territories rather than giving themselves up to revelry, and they exhibit

better capacity for government and give greater promise. These are facts of which the British may well be proud, for a variety of reasons. In the first place, Britons take an important part in the education of princes : in other words, the Rajas are British-made, so to speak. Second, the progress that they achieve depends upon the fact that the Indian States are protected from outside attack. Third, the diverse experiments tried by the British Indian authorities furnish the Rajas with suggestions for moulding their policies. Even in cases where the Indian rulers totally reject the findings of the British Administration of Hindostan, they are saved the trouble and expense of investigating along those lines on their own account, and are inspired to try something else.

It is necessary to add that such a connexion as that existing between the British and the Indian rulers has a tendency to tempt the Rajas to rely on British-Indian experience rather than strike out new paths for themselves. Many of them, unfortunately, succumb to this temptation, and many are the mistakes that have been copied by them. But from what has been said, it is clear that the present tendency is for the Indian rulers to become more discriminating. They are happy and proud to have Englishmen in their service, and to reproduce in their territories what is good in the British-Indian Administration. But they are also anxious not to starve out their own initiative or shirk responsibility. They certainly do not hesitate to experiment for themselves. This condition should give happiness to the British.

Quite apart from the fact that the Rajas more and more are displaying progressive tendencies, and that their States are increasingly becoming stations where experiments for the betterment of Indians are being tried, the British could not wipe out the Indian principalities without contravening solemn treaties and conventions. There have been occasions in the past when undertakings have been ignored

or overstepped, but, fortunately, such days have gone for ever. Recent events undeniably point to the fact that the British-Indian Government is desirous of paying scrupulous regard to past commitments, and that it is anxious to refrain from quibbling over words to the disadvantage of Indian rulers.

Those who seek to make out that the Indian States are an unmitigated nuisance seem to forget that the British have arrangements with the Indian States of such a nature that the autonomy of the Rajas does not imperil or even encroach upon Imperial interests. As has already been said, they have more than adequate powers to build and maintain Imperial communications; and every facility that they may wish for Imperial defence. With few exceptions Indian rulers do not draw customs lines around their territories, and the extradition of criminals from British districts to Indian States and *vice versa* are of a satisfactory nature. Indeed, as a rule, the Indian rulers give greater facilities to the British authorities than they are required by treaty to provide, rather than follow a policy of obstruction.

IX

The mere existence of the Indian States side by side with British territories suggests British generosity. In fact, some of what to-day is under Indian rule has been literally given away by the British. The States of Mysore and Benares may be mentioned as illustrations. Mysore was wrested from the Moalems towards the close of the eighteenth century. Its Hindu Raja was rescued from the dungeon, and his territory was restored to him. About four decades later misrule in the principality led the British to assume control over it, but fifty years later the Government of India decided once again to restore the kingdom to its Hindu dynasty. An instrument of transfer was signed by the late Marquis of Ripon on March 1, 1881, which provided that 'The Maharaja Chamrajendra Wadiar

Bahadur shall, on the twenty-fifth day of March, 1881, be placed in possession of the territories of Mysore and installed in the administration thereof.' This deed, however, did not confer possession in perpetuity and laid down many restrictions upon the Maharaja's powers of government. Just recently this deed has been revised, the title of the Maharaja and of his dynasty to Mysore made *perpetual*, and the clauses limiting his powers amended, considerably improving his status as a ruler. In the case of Benares, the territories constituting it were, up to 1911, integral parts of British-India, the present Maharaja, until then, exercising no jurisdiction over them, but being merely a titular Raja. This baby State is 865 square miles in area, has 846,986 inhabitants, yields an annual revenue of £112,000 and is ruled by one of the most enlightened Indians, His Highness Maharaja Sir Prabhu Narayan Singh, G.C.I.E.

It is still more to the credit of the British that their present-day policy is to leave the Rajas to their own devices as much as possible, and interfere with them as little as is practicable. During recent years more than one Viceroy has laid emphasis on the fact that this was the policy of the Government of India towards the Indian rulers. The new treaty with Mysore, to which reference has already been made, lays still greater emphasis upon this point.

The fact that the British have adopted this principle of non-interference with Rajas bears testimony to the fact that they are beginning to realize that this is the age of decentralization—that it is wrong to kill local initiative and responsibility by having all schemes, large and small, worked out by a central bureaucracy, and put into effect through its agents.

X

When due regard is paid to the geographical position of the Indian States and British India, and also to the peculiar relations existing between the two sets of administrators, the wonder is not that sometimes a Raja has to complain

that his treaty rights have been encroached upon by his powerful overlord, but that the Indian rulers and the British authorities should be able to exist side by side in peace, amity, and good-will. Reports fulminated by press writers of low taste notwithstanding, even the most advanced Rajas are not rebellious towards the British Sovereign. They recognize but too well the advantage of their alliance with a monarch over whose Empire the sun never sets. They have not the slightest desire to contravene their treaties, influenced by megalomania. All that they want is to be left undisturbed to do what they can to advance their subjects. Human frailty sometimes gives rise to petty jealousies, and officials are heard minimizing the achievements of this or that Raja. But putting aside such petty-mindedness, and making allowances for abnormal occasions, the Indian rulers and the British administrators of Hindostan get on very well together—a fact which redounds to the credit of all concerned.

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

Note.—For the benefit of those who wish further to pursue the subject, a few words may be said concerning the books to be consulted. The literature extant is meagre and almost altogether one-sided. Practically all the available works have been brought out under the authority of the British Indian Government, or by officials in its service or retired from it. The subject still has to be written about from the point of view of the Maharajas. Until this is done, it is extremely difficult to form an impartial estimate of the dynastic history of Indian rulers, their powers and privileges, their limitations and grievances, their devotion to the Indian Empire, and their patriotic sacrifices. However, even in the absence of such studies it is possible to glean considerable information on these points.

For statistics, the Census Reports should be referred to, each important State having a volume devoted to it. For geography and physical features, the standard works on Indian geography should be studied. The series of Provincial Geographies of India now being issued by the Cambridge University Press deal fairly well with the States associated with the various Presidencies and Provinces. For general description of the States, the Imperial and Provincial Gazetteers are very useful. For treaties and conventions, Sir A. U. Aitchison's book, noted at the head of this article, is indispensable. If these engagements are read in connexion with one or more standard histories of India, they will explain why certain Rajas possess larger powers, principalities, and prestige than the others. Those who cannot take the time to go into history will do well to glance through the volumes of 'The Rulers of India' series published by the Clarendon

Prem. The book on Coimbatore, of this series, though written by one far from friendly to this Maratha leader, gives an insight into the type of Indians who carved and consolidated the Indian Principalities. Mallison's *A History of the States of the Native States of India*, . . ., though out of date, is useful, and so is *The Golden Book of India*, by Sir Roper Lethbridge. Those who wish to look up the status of the Rajas will find *Our Indian Protectorate*; or an *Introduction to the Study of the Relations between the British Government and the Indian Protectorates*, by Sir Lewis Tupper, interesting.

The pity of it all is that such a course of study gives an insight more into the past than the present. Practically the only book which gives a bird's eye view of the subject and is fairly up to date is the new edition of *The Native States of India*, by Sir William Lee-Warner, noted in the list at the beginning of this article.

Many of the recently issued books on India have one or more chapters, or at least references, relating to the Rajas and their territories, which deal more with the present than the past. Sir Valentine Chirol, for instance, has a chapter on 'The Native States' in his *Indian Unrest* (pp. 185-197), published by Macmillan in 1910. In *The Empire of India*, published by Pitman in 1913, Sir Beauphyle Fuller devotes a chapter (pp. 225-256) to this subject. As its title indicates, *Among Indian Rajas and Rites*, by Sir Andrew Fraser (Seeley, 1912), has many references to Indian rulers. Mr. Lovat Fraser devotes pages 201 to 241 of his *India Under Curzon and After* (Heinemann, 1911) to stating and defending Lord Curzon's policy towards the Rajas. These pages are of special interest, since Lord Curzon's successors, the late Lord Minto and Lord Hardinge, remodelled this policy in several respects. *The Royal Tower in India*, 1905-06, and *The King and Queen in India*, 1911-12, by Dr. Stanley Reed (Times of India Office, Bombay, 1906 and 1912 respectively), have numerous references to the various Indian rulers and their territories. Those who are not contented with browsing amongst these volumes will find the portions of the *Statements Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Conditions of India* relating to the Indian States of great interest. They may also be referred to the Administration Reports issued in English by the principal States.

Another set of books which may be found of advantage is composed of autobiographies, personal reminiscences, biographies, &c., of the different Rajas. One of them is *An Account of My Life*, by Her Highness Nawab Sultan Jehan Begum, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Ruler of Bhopal (Murray, 1912). Another is *A Year with the Governor of Baroda*, by Edward St. Clair Woodson (Hutchinson, 1912). A third is a brochure, *A Sketch of His Highness the Governor of Baroda* (Nasreen, Madras, 1913). This bibliography aims only to be suggestive.

Notes and Discussions

SAMUEL ROLLES DRIVER

I

THE unexpected death of the Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford is a calamity that will be felt through the whole Christian world. He was one of the four survivors¹ of the Revision Company—all of them Old Testament, for the last of their New Testament colleagues died many years ago. But Driver was only thirty when the Revisers asked him to join them, and he has left us at sixty-seven, in the fullness of powers which promised a rich output for years to come. The ninth edition of his great *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* was announced a few months since, and many outside the privileged circle of his pupils will mourn greatly that it is the last. Even those of us who only slightly knew him recognized his charming personality, his scholarly humility, his boundless knowledge and unfailing judgement; and we thank God for such a gift to His Church in days when such are needed more than ever.

It need not be said that this estimate of Driver will not be echoed in all quarters. The most weighty of all British critics of the Old Testament, his name became a rallying-cry in the controversy between those who accepted the new knowledge and those who with or without understanding rejected it. The Driver legend, as elaborated by furious anti-critics of the Wiener stamp, seems curiously grotesque to those who know the real man. There is some excuse for hot feeling directed against a giant like Wellhausen, rough and dictatorial, and prone to ride roughshod over the tenderest convictions of lesser men—with religious belief moreover attenuated beyond any limit with which orthodox Christians could ever be content. Driver was the very opposite of all this. Profoundly reverent in all his handling of the Old Testament, he came to the New as a disciple and a believer. The very bitterness with which extremists pronounce his name is witness to the fact that he more than any man taught reverent but progressive Christians that the literary criticism of the Old Testament, and the new outlook on the religion of Israel that goes with it, mean no underestimating of the Divine therein, still less disloyalty to the central Figure of the Bible. His little book of Sermons on the Old Testament is an effective evidence of all this to non-expert readers; and it would be a revelation to many whose ideas of the great critic need correcting by solid fact. I have myself a special association with it, from Sunday evenings on holiday with my father twenty years ago, in a little place where no Methodist

¹ Since Driver's death one more Reviser has passed away—the veteran Dr. Ginsburg, so there are now only three.

service was accessible, and he took delight in reading those sermons aloud to the family circle.

I have confined myself to a personal appreciation, based, alas ! on only two actual meetings, and on the knowledge of a great Christian scholar which is common to all who work upon the Bible. It is only due to his memory that a specialist in Semitic and Old Testament subjects should give an account of the work with which he has enriched Biblical science ; I have therefore asked my colleague to supplement this note with a more detailed and adequate account.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

II

CANON DRIVER was educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford. In addition to winning a First Class in the Final Classical School, he gained the Kennicott and the Pusey and Ellerton Scholarships and various University Prizes. Finally, he won a Fellowship at New College. These successes were the outward signs of the careful preparation which he was making for the great work which he was to do in after years.

Dr. Driver's publications were at first confined to the linguistic side of Old Testament study, his most notable production during this first period of his literary activity being the treatise on the Hebrew Tenses—still the standard work on the subject. This appeared in 1874, and provided a full and systematic exposition of the wonderful variety of meanings which the Hebrews could express by the skilful handling of the only two tenses which the language placed at their disposal. The book met with a ready welcome, for, without the knowledge which it supplied, no sound exegesis of the Old Testament is possible.

In 1888 Dr. Driver succeeded Dr. Pusey as Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford. The latter was a man of great learning, but he belonged to the pre-critical period of Old Testament Study. The new Professor, on the other hand, was prepared to give the claims of the Higher Criticism a careful and impartial hearing, and, where necessary, to admit them. He was, however, in no hurry to make public his views on this difficult subject. For some time, apart from a volume of sermons on *Subjects connected with the Old Testament*, he contented himself with setting forth the conclusions at which he arrived from time to time, in the lecture-room and in the pages of such papers as the *Expositor* and the *Guardian*. In 1887, however, he issued a little volume entitled *Critical Notes on the International Sunday School Lessons from the Pentateuch*. The papers of which the book consists were originally written for the *Sunday School Times*. But only five of them appeared in that journal, the editor having decided—probably because he thought them too advanced for his readers—that the series should not be completed. Dr. Driver accordingly arranged for their publication in New York in book form. This small volume is little known in

England, but this is now of slight consequence, for the substance of it has been incorporated and expanded in some of the author's later works. The following year there appeared a study of *Isaiah, his Life and Times* ('Men of the Bible' series), which ranks with Dr. Cheyne's companion study of Jeremiah as by far the best of the volumes which that series contains. Both in this and in the second edition (1908) due account is taken of the latest critical work on the prophecy. In 1890 he rendered a service to English students of Hebrew only second to that which he had rendered by the publication of the treatise on the Hebrew Tenses, by issuing his *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*. This volume has been for many the starting-point in their studies in the Textual Criticism of the Old Testament and in Semitic Epigraphy. The first edition was for a number of years out of print, and there was great rejoicing last year when the busy author at last found time to issue the revised and enlarged second edition so long promised. It was not till 1891, eight years after his appointment to the Professorship, and, therefore, not before he had taken sufficient time to ponder over the many involved problems of his subject, that Dr. Driver issued his greatest work—the *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*. Of all those to whom there fell the duty of submitting this volume to a searching and critical examination, none was, in those days, more fitted for the task than Dr. Cheyne. In his review of the work, contained in three articles which he contributed to the *Expositor* (1892), he shows himself a faithful critic. He found many points about which he was not in agreement with Dr. Driver, but his estimate of the qualities which the latter revealed in this book is well worth quoting: 'First, there is a masterly power of selection and condensation of material. Secondly, a minute and equally masterly attention to correctness of details. Thirdly, a very unusual degree of insight into critical methods and of ability to apply them. Fourthly, a truly religious candour and openness of mind. Fifthly, a sympathetic interest in the difficulties of the ordinary orthodox believer.' Such was Dr. Cheyne's estimate, and no fair-minded person—whether a supporter or an opponent of the Higher Criticism—who has carefully studied the work in any one of the nine editions through which it has passed, will have wished to deny the truth of Dr. Cheyne's words. Mention must also be made of the part which Dr. Driver took in the production of the Oxford Hebrew-English Lexicon, commonly known as 'B.D.B.' His co-editors were the American Professors, Francis Brown and C. A. Briggs. How vast an amount of labour the Lexicon entailed may be gathered from the fact that twenty-three years elapsed before it was completed. The first part was published in 1891—eight years after the task had been begun—and the last part appeared in 1908. For many years to come it will be the standard Hebrew Lexicon in England and America. Lack of space forbids more than a bare mention of other important publications—*The Parallel Psalter*; *The Book of Deuteronomy* (*Internat. Crit. Comm.*); *Genesis* (*Westminster Comm.*); *Job: the R.V. with brief notes and introduction*;

the second volume of the *Minor Prophets* in the *Century Bible*; *Exodus* (*Camb. Bible*); and last, but not least, the Schweich Lectures on *Modern Research as illustrating the Bible*.

C. L. BEDALE.

WAS ST. PETER THE FIRST BISHOP OF ROME?

THE Bampton Lectures of 1918, on *The Church of Rome in the First Century* (Longmans & Co.) are at once learned and popular. Even where the opinions advanced fall short of winning the entire assent of the reader they can hardly fail to stimulate the spirit of inquiry and to arouse a new interest in questions of intrinsic historical importance. The competence of the author, the Rev. George Edmundson, Vicar of St. Saviour's, Upper Chelsea, to deal with such a subject will be manifest to all students of his book. With the literary sources of the history, both patristic and classical, he is obviously quite at home, and hardly less so with the latest results of archaeological research. More important still, he possesses the critical and constructive power apart from which the fruits of erudition must remain little better than useless lumber.

As a good example of Mr. Edmundson's constructive power one may mention his full and suggestive treatment of Clement of Rome, whose supposed imperial connexions are very thoroughly discussed, and illustrated by elaborate genealogical tables. It would perhaps be too much to suppose that the conclusion arrived at will command universal assent, and our author's contention that the famous bishop was actually brother-in-law of the Emperor Titus must still remain in the large class of interesting but unproved hypotheses. Even more interesting is the detailed discussion of Clement's often-quoted letter to the Corinthian Church. It is, of course, usually assumed that this letter was written by Clement about the middle of the last decade of the first century, while he sat as Bishop of Rome, Lightfoot, for instance, suggesting with some confidence that it was composed in 95 or 96. Mr. Edmundson, however, contends for a date some five-and-twenty years earlier. Some of the arguments which he adduces are not without weight. Indeed, he seems to have made one or two decidedly strong points, which call for serious consideration by those who hesitate to accept his conclusion. If the letter to Corinth was written by Clement somewhere about the year 70, long before he became Bishop of Rome, Mr. Edmundson claims to have found an explanation of Clement's self-effacement, which he evidently holds to be quite inexplicable if the letter was written by the Bishop of the capital in 95. It is quite true, as Mr. Edmundson urges, that the letters of Ignatius, which may be dated about 110, would appear to suggest that the episcopate must, in 95, have so far developed in a monarchical direction as to render such complete self-effacement on the part of a Bishop of Rome a little difficult to explain. On the other hand, as I have elsewhere pointed

out, the remarkable silence of Ignatius as to her bishop in his letter to the Roman Church would seem to indicate that the episcopate was somewhat slower in development in Rome than in the Oriental circle of Churches to which Ignatius himself belonged. This somewhat weakens Mr. Edmundson's argument so far as this particular point is concerned. It is, however, but fair to say that that argument does not by any means depend solely thereupon ; and he has certainly brought forward several points in favour of the earlier date which are worthy of consideration.

Not the least interesting portion of Mr. Edmundson's volume is that devoted to a thorough investigation of the evidence germane to his principal inquiry which is to be gathered from the Apocalypse. Mr. Edmundson unhesitatingly identifies John the Presbyter with the Apostle, accepts his authorship of the Apocalypse, and decides in favour of the Neronian date for the composition of that work. One or two very strong points are made in support of this somewhat unpopular view, to the acceptance of which I am personally inclined. But that there are grave difficulties in the way of its acceptance it were idle to deny. Some of the graver among them are passed over in silence. The tone of dogmatic assurance at times adopted is hardly justified by the facts of the case. Such, for instance, is the very positive assertion that the Number of the Beast is but another way of writing the name of Nero Caesar. The manner in which the somewhat obscure saying about the Seven Kings is treated is distinctly good if not convincing. Mr. Edmundson may, of course, be correct in his interpretation of the historical data afforded by the Apocalypse, and in respect of the matters dealt with in the preceding paragraph ; for the views which he has advanced are not unsupported by evidence worthy of consideration. But, even so, and fully recognizing the care and skill which he has brought to bear upon his investigation, it may be objected that he has not quite adequately estimated the force of the arguments which may be brought forward on the other side, and has expressed his view in a tone of too great confidence.

Many other points of interest raised in this volume might be dwelt upon but we must pass on to the supposed Roman Episcopate of the Apostle Peter.

My own views as to the nature and extent of the relations between St. Peter and the Roman Church are to be found in my *Early Roman Episcopate*, and need not be repeated here. With the same evidence lying before him Mr. Edmundson is inclined to infer a good deal more than I should feel justified in doing. Without wishing to deny that certain of his conclusions may quite possibly be true, here again it must be objected that the confidence with which they are asserted appears considerably in excess of what is warranted by the evidence. To infer, for instance, from Rom. xv. 20-22 that the previous presence and activity of St. Peter in that city was the hindrance in the way of St. Paul's visiting Rome reads into the passage something more than it will legitimately bear. That the hindrance was of this nature is certainly

not suggested by the earlier passage, Rom. i. 18; while if St. Peter had already at a very early date undertaken a general mission in Rome it is a little difficult to see how Gal. ii. 7-9 could have been written. Moreover, granting that the hindrance may have been of this personal kind, a point which I am not greatly concerned to deny, it by no means follows that the person in question was the Apostle Peter. Mr. Edmundson, however, having satisfied his own mind that St. Paul's hindrance was the previous activity of another worker in Rome, goes on to make the definite assertion that such worker 'cannot be any other than St. Peter.' No evidence can be produced to justify a statement so positive as this.

It may be well, however, to indicate in some little detail the grounds upon which Mr. Edmundson bases his conclusion that St. Peter was the real founder of the Christian society at Rome, a conclusion possible of course, though in my opinion not merely unproven but, in view of the complete silence of the New Testament as to so important an event, in the last degree improbable. That the oft-quoted passage from Clement does suggest that St. Peter suffered at Rome I am quite prepared to agree with Mr. Edmundson, and have indeed already so expressed myself elsewhere. But when he goes on to argue that a solitary brief visit to the imperial capital, after St. Paul was already on the ground, will not suffice to account for the tradition of Petrine foundership which subsequently arose, and was undoubtedly accepted by Irenæus early in the last quarter of the second century, we are at once plunged into a sea of conjecture, and this particular conjecture will to some minds at any rate appear to be less than convincing. The argument does not appear to be greatly strengthened by the fact that the names of Peter and Paul are mentioned together by Ignatius and Dionysius of Corinth, who both agree in putting the name of Peter *before* that of his greater colleague.

That many likenesses both of St. Peter and St. Paul exist in Rome may perhaps not unfairly be regarded as affording something more than a suggestion of a connexion between St. Peter and that city. So far one may agree with Mr. Edmundson. But when he proceeds to argue that the frequent appearance of the name 'Peter' upon early Christian tombs is most easily to be explained on the supposition that either those interred therein or their parents had been baptised by the Apostle so named, one cannot but feel that such conclusion is conjectural in the last degree. That Peter's release by the angel is represented upon a large number of early sarcophagi has been accounted for by the French historian Allard as an indication of the existence of a traditional belief that St. Peter's first visit to Rome was closely connected with that event, in other words that the 'another place' of Acts xii. 17 was the city of Rome. This is not stated in so many words by Mr. Edmundson, but apparently it is his view; for he quotes Allard with manifest approval, and on the authority of Jerome accepts the year 42 as that of St. Peter's first visit to the imperial metropolis. The hostility of Herod, in his

opinion, did, however, but hasten a journey already planned. Peter's intercourse with Cornelius, he suggests, may have been the means whereby that Apostle had become informed that the gospel had already gotten a foothold in Rome, and that Simon Magus was already at work there on lines similar to those along which he had wrought to ill-purpose in Samaria. This information, presumed to have come to hand just at the time when the twelve-years' sojourn of the Apostles in Jerusalem was drawing to a close, and when according to tradition they were proceeding to divide out among themselves their respective spheres of missionary enterprise, drew attention to the pressing claims of the world's metropolis, and 'to St. Peter, as the recognized leader, it may well have been that the charge of the Christian Church in the imperial capital should have been assigned as the post of honour.' Without going so far as to assert dogmatically that this statement of the course of events is certainly incorrect, it may be fairly urged that there is not a shred of real evidence in its favour, while it is to the last degree unlikely that no record of a series of happenings so important should have survived. The whole plan and literary structure of Acts suggests, at all events to my own mind, that, although the Christian faith had already gained a footing there, the coming of St. Paul was the first Apostolic visit to the city of the Caesars.

While remarking upon the antiquity and persistence of the tradition of a seven years' Petrine episcopate at Antioch preceding the twenty-five years' episcopate in Rome, Mr. Edmundson sees clearly enough that if St. Peter began his work in Rome in 43 a week of years could not by any means have been previously spent by that Apostle in Antioch. But he is not prepared on this account to let the Antiochian episcopate go. Another way has therefore to be found whereby the chronological difficulty may be overcome. St. Peter's first stay in Rome is consequently assumed to have been of no long duration; from 47-54 that Apostle was in Antioch or the neighbourhood, after which he returned to Rome to resume his episcopate there. This is cutting a knot which ought to have been untied. It is against the evidence, such as it is, notably that of Jerome (*De Vir. Ill. i*), and is an admission of the unreliability in detail of one of the principal sources of information upon which Mr. Edmundson depends, and therefore weakens the case for the Roman Episcopate of twenty-five years on behalf of which he contends. At best, so far as the tradition is concerned, it leaves us with the difficulty that St. Peter was overseer or bishop of Antioch during seven of the years which must be reckoned in if the Roman episcopate is to be brought up to its full tale of twenty-five. This is a good illustration of the kind of difficulty which besets any attempt to make out a case for the traditional Roman episcopate, for which there is not a shred of direct evidence in the New Testament or out of it, the character of which is above suspicion.

The Liberian Catalogue, out of which in some sense grew the *Liber Pontificalis*, is described by Mr. Edmundson as full of blunders.

It dates the Petrine episcopate as 80-85, the latter a date of which it is remarked, fairly enough, that it cannot be intended as that of the Apostle's martyrdom. But the fact that the names of the Consuls for the year 85 are given correctly is interpreted by our author as 'a piece of strong circumstantial evidence that this date was one of special importance in the early history of the Roman Church. The assertion that Linus at this time succeeded Peter as Bishop supplies, I believe, a clue by which to arrive at a solution of the difficulty.' The solution arrived at had best be given in Mr. Edmundson's own words. 'The date 85 occupied a permanent place in the records of the Roman Church because at this date Peter presumably gave to that Church its local organization by appointing out of the general body of presbyters an inner presbyteral council,¹ entrusted with special pastoral duties of administration and oversight, the members of which bore the name of *episcopi*, which as St. Peter himself in his first epistle tells us was virtually the equivalent of *pastores*. Not until after the death of St. Peter, however, did the administrative episcopal body deem it necessary to select one of the number to succeed him as presiding *episcopus* and chief pastor of the Church.' This is an interesting and suggestive statement of the possible course of events, but it is conjecture and nothing more. Such a reconstruction of a series of happenings, about which we have no exact information, presumes an elaborateness of organization in the early Roman Church which I certainly should not have inferred from Clement's letter. It will also be remembered that Clement's silence as to himself and his office in the letter in question has elsewhere been accounted for by its early date, and the then subordinate position of the writer; now we learn that the latter was already in 70 one of a commission of three charged with episcopal duties in relation to the Roman Church.

Mr. Edmundson has made a valiant attempt to establish the tradition of a Petrine episcopate at Rome. Some of the difficulties in the way of the acceptance of this ancient tradition do not however appear to have been fully recognized, while his grounds of inference will hardly bear the strain put upon them. In some of his contentions Mr. Edmundson may be correct, but they nevertheless remain matters of conjecture and probability only. There is not a little, however, in the volume which is most valuable and suggestive. The interest of his work is not lessened by the fact that he has at times suffered the spirit of the advocate to dominate that of the scientific historian.

W. ERNEST BRET.

SIMPLIFIED SPELLING

No one can possibly maintain that written English words are free from blemishes. Errors have crept into them which might very profitably be corrected. There are, for example, false etymologies

¹ Presumably consisting of Linus, Cletus, or Anacletus, and Clement, all of whom are referred to as having been ordained bishop during the lifetime of St. Peter.

such as the 'y' in 'rhyme,' the 'i' in 'friend,' the 'eig' in 'sovereign' (a monstrous word), the 'gh' in 'uprightly.' There is a gratuitous and embarrassing lack of structural uniformity in 'believe,' 'receive,' 'proceed,' 'recede,' and in other such words. Some authoritative edict for the correction of these and the like errors would be universally welcomed.

The Simplified Spelling Society offers a drastic remedy. It conceives a standard pronunciation to be possible, and proceeds to assimilate the written language to the spoken throughout the whole vocabulary. It has adopted a system of spelling which is wholly phonetic and which has no regard whatever to the derivation and historical development of words, though sometimes, by sheer accident, the system does happen to reproduce some early form of a word. It eliminates all consonants which are not spoken in pronunciation, and it provides an unvarying sign for each vowel sound. So simply direct and so ruthlessly inflexible is the method that the whole apparatus of it can be exhibited on a post card. The Society is not affrighted by such forms as 'siet' for 'sight,' 'ges' for 'guess,' 'kuntrei' for 'country,' 'blend' for 'find,' 'syudo' for 'pseudo,' 'surhl' for 'circle,' 'seams' for 'psalms,' 'yuniet' for 'unite,' 'yuboji' for 'eulogy.' The system commands and necessitates these monstrosities, and if it does not adopt the 'chas-rums' and 'spar-sums' of the versatile Professor of English Literature at Cambridge (in a little poem of his which he may by this time have forgotten), it is only because these forms do not coincide with its rules, and not because they are whimsical. Such results as these are hardly 'simple,' and are certainly not 'spelling.' But the system as a whole is but too simple. It offers the line of least resistance and ministers to the lazy inclination which prefers the primrose path.

Nevertheless, we must beware of prejudice. It is unscientific to dismiss 'simplified spelling' merely because it looks like the work of an illiterate washerwoman. If the washerwoman's spelling is really preferable let it be preferred, and let the lady and the Society have the credit of it. Only, in that case, Artemus Ward and Josh Billings will no longer be regarded as humorists. As a matter of fact, a page of Simplified Spelling looks at first sight rather like a page of Dutch, and Dutch is undoubtedly a beautiful language.

The fundamental fallacy of Simplified Spelling is that it regards spoken speech as the standard and norm. No doubt sounds are historically earlier than written signs; written words were originally subsequent to and dependant upon spoken words. But we have long ago outgrown that primitive state of affairs. Writing is no longer merely a vehicle of spoken words; the written language has outstript the spoken and has become the ampler of the two; it is now an independent and essential form of language, more rich and full and significant than the spoken; and English would survive independently of speech, as Latin has survived. The primitive chronological sequence and dependance has actually been reversed. Scientific terms, for example, are coined not in speech but in writing; they are

first encountered in print, they are oftener read than heard, and, when heard for the first time, they are not seldom unintelligible till spelled or written. Such words would remain quite unintelligible in Simplified Spelling. It continually happens that a spoken word retains its meaning unobscured only by suggesting to the mind a written form which Simplified Spelling would alter beyond recognition. If the word 'judge,' to take a common example, must be written as 'juj,' we shall soon forget what the word really was and meant, or at all events there will be nothing to show its historical connexion with Latin jurisprudence. It will be the same with 'sign,' when written 'sien,' and in numberless other cases.

The essential fact which the Society ignores is that English, like Latin, is addressed to the eye as much as to the ear. How Latin is, or was, pronounced is a matter of comparatively little importance. It is the look of a word which matters. If the Society would hesitate to apply its system of phonetics to Latin it will the better understand the objection to applying it to English. Latin is, among scholars of all nations, precisely what we want English to become in international communication. Quite as many English words are silently read every day of our lives (even in England) as there are English words spoken. Many a man in other lands can write and read English with facility who knows little or nothing of its pronunciation. The 'simplified spelling' of English would make it unintelligible to these people, or at the very least would impoverish it most grievously. These people are not all concerned with pronunciation. What helps them, at all events in Romance and Teutonic countries, is the visible resemblance of English words to words in their own language; and of this visible resemblance the Society takes no note whatever, but systematically and of set purpose ignores it. It may be that such words as 'liver' and 'diver' need to be assimilated, but if that be so (and it is by no means certainly so) it is not the writing of either of them which needs to be reformed, it is the pronunciation of one of them which may by possibility be wrong. We do need a Simplified Speaking Society. It is not spelling that is corrupt so much as pronunciation. Phonetic corruption is recognized everywhere to be a baneful influence in language, everywhere except in the Simplified Spelling Society, which is trying to fix the outcome of it as the standard for all future time.

Thus it appears plainly enough that the aim of the Society is not to level up, but to level down. No doubt we have an embarrassing number of different words which are alike in spelling and are only to be distinguished by their context. Worse than that, we have words, like 'bow,' where speech is actually richer than writing in conveying the distinction between the verb and the noun, and where phonetic spelling would be frankly an improvement. It is so with the indeterminate 'lead,' 'sow,' 'minute,' and some others. But Simplified Spelling would, on the whole, increase this ambiguity instead of diminishing it. The familiar series, 'write,' 'wright,' 'right,' 'rite,' would be indistinguishable in Simplified Spelling,

as would also 'scene' and 'seen,' 'been' and 'bean,' 'hair' and 'hare,' 'loan' and 'lone,' 'would' and 'wood,' and so on endlessly. The balance of gain and loss would be hugely against the Society. For, here again, the defect is much oftener of pronunciation than of spelling, and, in the great majority of instances, it is the spoken rather than the written word which needs to be reformed if that were possible. The difference between English, as addressed to the eye and to the ear, has arisen in a large number of cases from difficulty of pronunciation, in fact, from phonetic corruption and decay. The spoken word has become illiterate where the written word has not so suffered. Thus 'though' has become 'tho,' and 'doubt' 'dowt.' The 'b' in 'debt,' the 'g' in 'sign' (pronounced in Chaucer's day), the 'gh' in 'fight' (preserved, however, in the Scottish 'fecht'), the 'p' in 'receipt,' the 'k' in 'knavé' (not at all difficult to a German), the 'w' in 'wrong,' have all been lost in the spoken words by reason of indolent pronunciation, and the written word retains what the spoken has surrendered. Phonetic spelling would degrade written words to the illiterate and corrupt level of the spoken words, and in doing so would disconnect them from their historical antecedents and origin. The simplified spelling of Chaucer and other old English writers would be largely unintelligible by this time were it not that later writers have furnished us with an instrument for translating them in the more accurate and scholarly spelling of later times.

It is clear, therefore, that though a consonant is no longer pronounced, it does not for that reason become superfluous. On the contrary, the slovenly elision of it in the spoken word makes the retention of it in the written word all the more necessary. When 'eye' becomes 'ie,' and 'assigned' 'asiend,' it is not the new writing of existing words but the creating of words which are new and spurious. And as to vowel sounds, the Society is not very wise in ridiculing such a series of variant spellings as 'go,' 'hoe,' 'load,' 'owe,' 'soul,' 'brooch,' 'sew,' 'sow,' 'yeoman,' 'though.' No doubt pronunciation is unable to make a distinction of vowel sounds in these words, but that is the strongest possible reason why the distinction should be preserved in the spelling for the sake of the etymology.

We are told by the Society, very emphatically, that their scheme would be advantageous in the education of children. The exact contrary seems to be really the case. There is a distinct educational value in English as it is written. The learning of even irregular spelling is a wholesome education as a corrective of the illiterate and phonetically corrupt spoken words. Moreover, spelling is not usually learnt by mechanical rote, as the Society seems to imagine. The best spellers have never learnt spelling in any such way. It has been with them a matter of accurate observation, of memory-drawing, in fact; and memory-drawing is a recognized part of modern educational appliances for training the eye to observe accurately. Again, the historical education to be derived from written English is most

valuable. Language is now one of the chief documents of history. It alone has actually revealed and reconstructed the primitive Aryan race. The history of the words we use is surely as interesting and as valuable as the history of anything else. The fascination of the study of language in relation to history is only recently becoming generally known. But the documents for this study would be hopelessly obscured by the Society's scheme, which reduces Celtic, Saxon, Roman and Latin elements in English written words to one dull, mechanical form. The written English of the Society is like a cathedral with all its carving knocked off as excrescence, and all its details plastered and whitewashed into uniformity—details which are precisely that which tells the story of its growth throughout the centuries.

Happily the Society's scheme is doomed to be inoperative. It is not its illiterate disregard for history that will be its ruin, for unfortunately the people to whom it appeals most strongly are, in the nature of the case, the illiterate majority. It will fail because of its own innate impracticability. It postulates a standard pronunciation, and there is no such thing as a standard pronunciation, and never will be. Even among educated people there are endless, if sometimes minute, variations. Oxford men will never pronounce English as Aberdeen men pronounce it. The written English is now standardized, and is common to both, but the consonant 'r' alone will always differentiate their speech so long as racial difference shall last. A common pronunciation is a thing unknown in any language, ancient or modern. Already the Society has begun to discover this, and there is a friendly contention between Scottish and English writers in the Society's monthly organ. Indeed, the Society's scheme is admirably suitable for exhibiting dialectical variations in pronunciation. It would be the most useful instrument yet devised for collating and exhibiting dialects, and the emergence of this fact is already giving the Society a little trouble.

We may, then, sum up what has been said into the following propositions. The English language, as at present written, contains much that is irregular and abnormal; it is capable of some improvement; the improvement must be effected upon historic lines and by historic methods; and to transform it by merely phonetic methods would not be to improve but to impoverish it, inasmuch as the defective written words would be assimilated to still more defective spoken words, and the transformation would therefore be both idle and injurious, even if it were not impossible.

HENRY T. HOOPER.

THE COURT OF PEKIN

Four years ago Mr. Backhouse and Mr. Bland published their fascinating *Life and Times of Tsi Hsi*, the notorious Empress Dowager of China. In a companion volume, *Annals and Memoirs of the Court of Peking* (Heinemann, 16s. net), they have taken a wider view of Chinese history from the decline of the Ming dynasty and the rise

of the Manchu power in the middle of the sixteenth century down to the establishment of the Republic. It is a grim record. We understand how the authors felt when an American agency asked them for a set of articles on China and the Chinese, which 'should contain no reference to concubines, secondary wives, or other forms of immorality.' In this volume facts are looked in the face. Many a walled city of China has within the last year or two 'known once more the abomination of desolation, has heard again the familiar voice of Rachel mourning for her children. Railways, telephones, forts and ships—all the paraphernalia of Europe's material civilization, have availed nothing to save the citizens of Nanking from the hand of the destroyers, men of their own race.'

The writers of this volume feel compelled to admit that polygamy has saved China 'from the terrible human traffic of our streets, from the unsexed or superfluous woman and the militant suffragette, from the network of sordid sex problems and intrigues which honey-comb European society and reflect themselves in its literature and drama.' That is one side of the shield, and to be reminded of it shows how much the progress of Christianity in the world is wrapped up with the hallowing of social life in the lands that have long enjoyed its teaching. Were that accomplished such a sentence would be impossible.

The pages of Chinese history on which light is poured in this volume show what fiendish passions have been let loose from generation to generation. No apologia for polygamy is here. 'The Empire's crises of private corruption and public disorder' have been caused or greatly hastened by the interference or intrigues of the eunuchs. The first Manchu rulers saw that the Ming dynasty had been ruined by 'the court's excessive polygamy and the atmosphere of debauchery and enervation thereby created.' In the same way the Manchu power itself was finally undermined. The palace eunuchs gained complete ascendancy at court. 'Henceforward they were able to exercise once more their traditional functions as the tempters of youth, the debauchers of age, in the profound seclusion of the Forbidden City, until gradually the Son of Heaven on his throne became a defenceless puppet in their supple, blood-stained hands.'

A scarce contemporary memoir of Chang Tê, who reigned from 1506-1522, shows how that prince played the part of a Chinese Haroun al Raschid. He roamed about the country till he learned that every grain of rice is won by the sweat of the brow. When he found that one of his Grand Secretaries was ignorant of these matters he degraded him and sent him into a district surrounded on three sides by rice fields. There the official made himself familiar with the life of the farmers, acted as mediator in their disputes, and won the respect of all. The Emperor visited the province and promoted him to higher rank than he had before enjoyed. Many other stories are told of this enterprising and sagacious Ming Emperor.

Wan Li, who began to reign in 1573, when he was a child, was all his life under the influence of the women and eunuchs of the Palace.

His son was poisoned by his enemies in the palace within two months of his accession. A good wife did much to save the next Emperor from the calamitous influence of the palace. But 'Precious Pearl' lived in poisoned air. Every art was used to alienate the affections of her husband. 'She, on her side, sought strength and consolation in prayer, chanting Buddhist masses daily for the repose of the souls' of her murdered friends and attendants. Her noble life lights up this long record of intrigue and crime.

The sack of Yang Chou-fu by the Manchus in 1645 is a story of horrors. We see it through the eyes of one of its victims. The history of China is indeed 'a series of paroxysms.' Dynasties succeed each other with 'fearful monotony of wholesale massacres.' A few thousand savage soldiers have converted walled cities with a million inhabitants 'almost methodically into a shambles, their terror-stricken victims awaiting death with abject helplessness.' One almost shudders to quote the eye-witness of 1645. 'At every step we took we saw dead bodies lying in agonized attitudes, babies who had been crushed to shapelessness beneath the hoofs of horses, women with their new-born babes by the roadside all beaten to a pulp. The streets reeked like shambles, here and there one heard the groans of a few dying wretches. Arms and legs protruded from every ditch, inextricably mingled.'

This tragedy was repeated 265 years later, when the Manchu dynasty passed. One who witnessed the sack of the Tartar city of Sianfu in October, 1911, when a madness of killing seized the Chinese, says, 'Old and young, men and women, little children, were alike butchered.' Europe has no idea of 'the realities of life in furthest Asia.' The woes of the two cities are 'normal features in the life history of a race which since the beginning of recorded time has learned "to eat its bread with quaking and to drink its water with trembling."'

Ch'ien Lung, whose court Lord Macartney visited in 1790, ascended the throne in 1736, and reigned sixty years. He was the ablest ruler known for centuries, yet his Grand Secretary, Ho Shen, in whom he had blind confidence, was at the very time destroying the foundations of the State by his wickedness and greed. China regarded him as a second Emperor. He was of humble origin, but his quick intelligence won the Emperor's favour, and charmed Lord Macartney and his staff. Gradually he built up such a fortune as had never been known in China. He had a tariff for the sale of offices, so that men said his back door was a market-place for peacocks' feathers and buttons. His old master's son and successor coveted Ho Shen's wealth, and the great minister was compelled to commit suicide. He had spread a canker of demoralization through the public service, and this caused disaffection and unrest among the people. The new Emperor was not the man to grapple with such a situation. He was struck by lightning in 1821, and left an empire weakened by corruption and cowardice.

The story of Tsü Hsi has been told in the earlier volume, but some additional light is thrown on the career of the Empress Dowager

from recently published works which give 'a lamentable picture of the inner life of the Forbidden City, where corruption festered around the foundations of the Dragon Throne, and where, in the shadows of the stately halls, love and pleasure ran swiftly, the grim Fates pursuing.' A young eunuch, Li-Lien-Ying, warned Tsü Hsi that the Emperor had given orders that she should be slain after his death, and by this timely warning he paved the way for his own advancement. His rapacity and arrogance were equal to those of his mistress. The Empress Dowager who followed Tsü Hsi was unattractive in person and disposition, but had the mother wit and the genius for intrigue of her redoubtable aunt, whom she made her model. Under her the Court of Peking became a hotbed of scandals and abuses. Her favourite, the eunuch Chang Yüan-fu, was as overbearing as Li Lien-ying himself. In two years he amassed £1,000,000 out of 'palace squeezes' alone. He was extremely handsome, a good musician, and a first-class actor. Some dramatic incidents in his career are given. Prince Ch'un was Regent, but he was helpless; the eunuch was the real Government of China. The Regent's wife is another striking figure. She inspired her husband with a dull, steady kind of fear, in Peking 'business, politics, society, the play—all felt her restless hand and knew her shrill voice.' She frequented temple fairs, race meetings, and other events, and was generally followed about by an admiring crowd.

No one can follow the moving panorama shown in this volume without feeling that he is watching the greatest experiment of the modern world. Christian men will have a deepening sense of the greatness of the opportunity of shaping the oldest civilization of the world into a mighty instrument for the spread of justice and purity and gospel truth. If China is Christian a golden age will be ushered in for half the human race.

JOHN TELFORD.

A MISAPPREHENSION OF JUSTIFICATION

IN an excellent article in *The London Quarterly Review* (October, 1918) on 'The Evangelical Succession,' by H. Maldwyn Hughes, occurs the following passage: '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.'

Whether Luther grasped the full content of Pauline doctrine must be decided exegetically by an examination of Paul's language. The word 'justify' is a translation of the Greek *dikaioo*. Thayer (in his *Greek-English Lexicon*, which is an enlargement of Grimm's *Wilke's Clavis N.T.*) declares that the definition of *dikaioo*, 'to render righteous . . . is extremely rare, if not altogether doubtful.' The usual meaning of the word is 'to declare, pronounce, one to be just,

righteous, or such as he ought to be'; 'to declare guiltless . . . acquit of a charge or reproach'; 'specially is it so used in the technical phraseology of Paul, respecting God who judges and declares such men as put faith in Christ to be righteous and acceptable to Him, and accordingly fit to receive the pardon of their sins and eternal life.' With this definition practically all Evangelical commentators agree. *The Speaker's Commentary* (on 1 Cor. vi. 11) declares that *δίκαιος* means to treat as righteous. Dr. Sanday in the *International Critical Commentary* (Rom. i. 17) says that the word means 'to pronounce righteous. It has relation to a verdict pronounced by a judge. . . But it cannot mean to make righteous.' Godet makes the assertion that there is no example in the whole of classic literature where the word equals *to make righteous*.

Luther, therefore, was right in limiting justification to the divine forensic declaration of pardon, and was in perfect accord with the teachings of Paul. Luther's view of justification is the heart of the Reformation. He declared justification by faith to be the doctrine of a standing or a falling Church. He made it the 'material principle' of the Reformation. Dr. Hughes' construction of the doctrine of Justification is Augustinian, and hence also Roman Catholic. The Council of Trent followed Augustine, who had taught that 'faith is a gift of grace which, infused into men, enables them to produce works good and acceptable to God.' The Council declares that justification 'is not the bare remission of sins, but also sanctification and renewal of the inner man through the voluntary reception of grace and of gifts, whence the man from being unrighteous becomes righteous.' The effect of the Romish view is to give the Church a fundamentally Pelagian trend, according to which the poor sinner is expected to complete his own justification through the good works which his moral renewal enables him to perform. Catholicism, with its theory of work-righteousness, its indulgences, its priesthood and other errors, is the living example of a false view of justification.

The identification of justification with renewal or regeneration confuses an objective act with a subjective experience. Justification means Christ for us; regeneration Christ in us. Logically the two are clearly distinct; chronologically they may be practically synchronous. All the symbols of the Lutheran, as well as of the Reformed Church, sustain this Scriptural and rational view; and with them agree all the great Protestant theologians. Luther was right.

Gettysburg, Pa.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

[Dr. Singmaster is Professor of Systematic Theology and Principal of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg. He says, 'Your Quarterly is always fresh and edifying, and, what is more, Evangelical.'—Ed.]

DR. HUGHES' REPLY.

By the courtesy of the Editor I have been given an opportunity of replying to Dr. Singmaster in this issue. I am of course aware that *declares* means to *declare righteous*, and did not intend to convey the impression that it could mean to *make righteous*. At the same time I venture to doubt if we do full justice to Paul's thought by interpreting the word in a too narrowly forensic sense. It seems to me that theology has been over-influenced by purely forensic categories. Paul was dealing with a new set of ideas, and he had to take the best word available, and 'baptize it into Jesus Christ.' This is not said with a view to getting in by a back door the idea of 'make righteous,' but to guard against the interpretation of the word in a bare legal sense. Moreover, I cannot agree with Dr. Singmaster that the construction of the Pauline doctrine of justification depends entirely on the precise shade of meaning to be attached to *declares*. We must take into account Paul's line of argument, and examine the word in the light of its context. It is not necessary that the word which is used to describe the end of a process, should express everything that is implied within the process.

As I am said to have misconstrued Paul, I may perhaps be permitted to quote the few sentences in which I attempted to summarize his teaching under this head.

'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 creatures. 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 exipients 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' (p. 288 f.).

(1) I am at a loss to see how such a construction of the Pauline doctrine is tainted with Pelagianism, or lends itself to the theory of salvation by works. I expressly stated that 'we are accounted righteous before God *not for anything that we are of ourselves*, but for what we are *potentially* as exipients of the renewing grace of Jesus Christ.' I spoke not of works or of merit, but of a gracious act of germinal renewal on the part of God.

(2) When justification is interpreted in a purely forensic sense, 'the Christian life is made to have its beginning in a fiction' (Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 86). No ingenuity can set the moral sense quite at ease in accepting such a view. Is it not more satisfying to the conscience and more true to the tenour of Paul's thought to

say that the love which goes forth in forgiveness makes us germinally new creations? The Christian life is then made to have its beginning not in a fiction, but in a fact. We are accounted righteous because we are 'dead unto sin, but alive unto God in Christ Jesus.' The new life, in which is the potency of righteousness, is active within us, and already we are moving towards the goal—conformity to the image of God's Son.

(8) Dr. Singmaster admits that 'chronologically' justification and regeneration 'may be practically synchronous.' Is, then, the difference between us so great? He says that justification is an objective act and regeneration is a subjective experience. I would rather say that they are both acts of God, the one issuing in the experience of pardon, the other in that of renewal. And since they synchronise I would go further and say that they are but different sides of one act of Divine love. When it is said that justification comes before regeneration in thought if not in time, we are passing from the sphere of Christian experience into that of logical abstractions, which for theology, despite its many incursions into it, is an alien land. We are true both to the New Testament and to the facts of experience when we say that the love of God in Jesus Christ goes forth to the penitent sinner in forgiveness and renewal, and so sets him in a right relation with God.

If the Editor will, of his charity, allow me another paragraph, I should like to quote the words of a great American Evangelical theologian :

'It is plain that God, with whom there are no fictions, cannot thus accept a man as sustaining to Himself the right relation, unless the right relation exists. If justification is an act in which God affirms the right relation, it implies the existence of that relation. Hence justification implies and rests upon the beginning of the new divine life in man. The renewing touch of the Holy Spirit is put forth upon the soul; the soul commits itself in trustful faith to the saving grace of God. When these two acts have been performed, one divine and the other human, the man does occupy the position before God that it is right for a man to occupy. He has accepted the divine influence for his salvation, and is doing toward God exactly what every sinful soul ought to do, for he is trusting God and welcoming His gracious help. He is not perfect, but he is a new creature, just born, and a filial, trustful creature as he ought to be. He does not by this earn acceptance, and obtain it on the principle of merit, nor is he saved by works, for all this is intrinsically impossible and out of the question. But when the man has come by God's grace to be in relation to God where and what he ought to be, God, whose judgement is according to truth, recognizes the reality and looks upon him as an accepted man' (W. N. Clarke : *Outline of Christian Theology*, p. 406 f.).

H. MALDWIN HUGHES.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by Rev. Dr. James Hastings. Volume VI. Fiction-Hyksos. (T. & T. Clark. 28s. net.)

THE remarkable success of this great work is, to a large extent, due to the editor's familiarity with the world of books and his consequent ability to select the writer best qualified to deal with a particular subject. In this volume articles have been secured from specialists who have not previously contributed to the *Encyclopaedia*. To mention only a few: Professor F. C. Burkitt writes on *Gospels*, Rev. W. A. Cornaby on *God* (Chinese), Dr. Lewis R. Farnell on *Greek Religion*, Rabbi Hirsch on *Hillel*, Professor Wiedemann on *God* (Egyptian), and Father Waggett on *Heredity* (*Ethics and Religion*).

The subject of *Heredity* is divided between Professor R. C. Punnett, M.A., F.R.S., author of *Mendelism*, and the Rev. P. N. Waggett, M.A., who confines his attention to facts and considerations which are of present importance to ethics and religion. Two brief quotations from this striking article will indicate the point of view of one who has the authority of an expert when speaking of biological problems. Of Original Sin it is said: 'The doctrine itself is not a gratuitous accusation of the race of man. . . . Its positive equivalent is the statement that we cannot measure either the dignity of man's origin or the splendour of his destiny by his present position and his present moral accomplishment. . . . What all men acknowledge the Christian interprets as the eclipse of a dignity which, through the moral effort made possible by Divine gift, man is invited to regain.' Concerning the movement for Eugenic Reform this judgement is passed: 'Its educational work, supposing guidance can be relied upon, must be almost entirely good. But any efforts in the direction of legislation must be surrounded with peril.' Hence the exhortation: 'Let us not provide by external restraint for an advance which might be obtained by an appeal to the mind and to the spirit.'

Dr. W. T. Davison contributes a comprehensive, scholarly and constructive article on the greatest of all themes, *God* (*Biblical and Christian*). Lucid exposition of the teaching of the Old and New Testaments is followed by a masterly sketch of the formation of the Christian doctrine of God. The argument is cumulative in force and attains its climax in the closing section. 'The Christian doctrine of God is Theism raised to its highest power. . . . Theism, however,

is not Christianity. The God of some theistic philosophers could never become incarnate. . . . Christianity is nothing if not a religion of redemption, and the Christian idea of God is inseparably bound up with the doctrine of Divine Incarnation for the salvation of men.' Dr. Geden writes on *God (Buddhist, Hindu)*, Dr. Moss on *Fortune (Biblical and Christian)*, Dr. J. H. Moulton on *Fravashi*, and the Rev. R. M. Pope, M.A., on *Honesty, Honour*.

Those who most frequently use this invaluable *Encyclopaedia* will be most deeply impressed with its extraordinary accuracy. The editing is perfect.

Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Handwörterbuch in gemeinverständlicher Darstellung. Unter Mitwirkung von Hermann Gunkel und Otto Scheel herausgegeben von Friedrich M. Schiele und Leopold Zeharnack. Fünfter Band. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 5 vols, half-bound. £7 5s.)

The publication of this volume completes a most valuable work of reference, as it was originally planned. But a supplementary volume is promised which will greatly enhance the usefulness of the *Encyclopaedia*, for it will contain a systematic survey, an alphabetical index of subjects, with references to different articles treating the same theme, corrections, additions, &c. The editors have maintained throughout a high standard of excellence; fourteen sub-editors have had special responsibility for separate sections, and 375 scholars have contributed articles. The writers belong, for the most part, to the religious-historical school; controversial subjects are investigated with candour and thoroughness; discriminating readers will derive much instruction from the succinct and accurate statement of critical problems even when they are unable to accept the proffered solutions. It must suffice to say that, in these volumes, will be found the best work of scholars who are specialists in their several departments, as e.g. Gunkel, Heitmüller, Troeltsch, Baumgarten, Bertholet, Mayer, Ritschl, Steinmann, Titius, Wendland, Wernle—to mention only a few.

In an interesting article on the *Odes of Solomon*, Gunkel accounts for the widely different conclusions to which scholars have come by distinguishing in the Odes Jewish, Christian, pagan and mythological elements, the mythology being, in his opinion, oriental and Egyptian, but not Greek. The people amongst whom the Odes originated must, he argues, have been of Jewish descent, strongly influenced by Christianity, but familiar with oriental myths and Greek philosophy. Such syncretism would be found in the second century in Gnostic circles. It is significant, however, that Gunkel cannot ascribe the Odes to any particular Gnostic school of thought, and that he can find no trace in them of Gnostic dualism. Professor Eck's admirable article on *Schleiermacher* is supplemented by Dr. Lempp, who writes on the *School of Schleiermacher*, though he begins

by saying that, strictly speaking, Schleiermacher founded no school. Attention is called to the non-existence of an English translation of the *Glaubenslehre*, but this does not warrant the strong statement that 'outside Germany Schleiermacher has had extraordinarily little influence.' Dr. Rittelmeyer contributes an appreciation of *Tolstoi*; the oriental elements in his teaching are recognised, his mystical Pantheism, his asceticism, &c., but in view of the traditionalism, the intellectualism, and the ritualism of the Greek Church, Tolstoi is honoured as a true prophet who protested against the dominant tendencies in modern Russian thought, namely materialism, optimism, and one-sided individualism.

In the Bibliographies English works do not occupy as much space as probably German scholars would desire. The article on *Dr. Swete* does not mention his Commentary on 'Revelation,' nor does that on *Dr. Westcott* refer to his commentaries on 'The Gospel and the Epistles of St. John.' The writer of the biography of *Dr. S. D. F. Salmond* is unaware of his death; *Toplady* is described as 'a Methodist (!) hymn-writer'; the omission of 'Mrs.' makes *Humphry Ward* 'the niece of Thomas Arnold of Rugby.' She is *Dr. Arnold's* grand-daughter. In this volume an improvement in the accuracy of English spelling is noticeable, but *errata* are still too frequent; in the Bibliography on *Whately* 'traiced' for traced, 'religions' for religious, and 'correspondance' for correspondence are found. These are, however, slight blemishes in a work of high merit. Its publication lays students under a great debt of obligation.

The Fourfold Gospel. Section 2: The Beginning. By E. A. ABBOTT. (Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Abbott indefatigably pursues his expository way. Two smaller volumes of his have recently been noticed in this *Review*—'The Fourfold Gospel, Introduction,' and 'Miscellaneous Evangelica.' The latter of these is printed as an Appendix in the present volume, while the main portion of the book contains the first instalment of the work promised in the 'Introduction.' The exact nature of the work may be thus briefly expressed. Mark is to be understood as the earliest Gospel, his narrative was used by Luke, while John wrote last of the Four, a designedly explanatory and supplementary account. Amongst other features of the Fourth Gospel, it intervenes from time to time to explain expressions in Mark altered or omitted by Luke. Dr. Abbott holds that a study of these 'Johannine Interventions' throws 'new light on the words, acts and purposes of Christ' and gives 'increased weight to His claims on our faith and worship.' He considers that the Fourth Evangelist is a poet, 'never consciously a writer of fiction,' and says, 'I find that the Gospel, in spite of its poetic nature, is closer to history than I had supposed.' John is a 'seer of the things in heaven, but one who begins by seeing the things on earth.' It is Dr. Abbott's aim in this

portion of his elaborate *Diatessarica* to show how in the beginning of the Gospel, during the preaching of John the Baptist and in the relations between John and Jesus during Christ's early ministry, the Fourth Gospel, studied in its relation to the other three, sheds special light upon His Person and Work.

The book is one that only Dr. Abbott could have written. It is full of fascination and suggestion. Whilst giving evidence of a weight of learning accumulated by close study through a long life, Dr. Abbott's work is characterized most of all by spiritual imagination, the wings of which are usually clogged by a weight of erudition, or shorn away by the sharp knife of critical habit. The word 'fanciful' will rise to the lips of many of his readers. But it is not the irresponsible fancy of an ingenious mind that is at work in these pages, but the imagination of a writer who is at home in the literature of the period—Philo, the Targuma, extra-canonical Scriptures of various types—and who is himself also at home in the spiritual world. Consequently he discerns analogies, allusions, hints and explanations where the ordinary scholarly reader sees little or nothing of the kind. His exegetical structures, though full of charm and power, are sometimes unstable. Partly because the foundation of his work, the principle of Johannine 'intervention,' will appear to many insecure; partly because his applications of the principle are in many cases subtle, far-fetched, based on slender connexions of thought, or on merely verbal coincidences.

But a reader who is satisfied with such easy generalizations as these would fail entirely to understand or appreciate Dr. Abbott's work. Its value to us seems to lie, not in its definite conclusions, but in the immense amount of light shed upon the details of the Gospel narratives by close and accurate verbal study and the delightful—sometimes bewildering—cross-lights cast by parallels and quotations from other writers. The Old Testament is laid abundantly under contribution; and in addition to the literature mentioned above, 'The Odes of Solomon' has proved, as might have been expected, a treasure-house of illustration. One section of the Appendix is devoted to this subject.

The chief topics handled in this volume are—the Preaching of John, the Baptism, Temptation and Early Ministry of our Lord. It is impossible to give any idea of the multitudinous suggestions thrown out on such subjects as these—the use of *ταπεινω* rather than *υπο* by St. John, the meaning of *μωυσεως*, the nature and extent of John the Baptist's knowledge of Jesus, the meaning and symbolism of our Lord's Baptism, the relation between St. Mark's brief account of the Temptation and the longer accounts of Matthew and Luke, the explanation of John's silence on the subject, the meaning of 'the wild beasts' and the ministry of angels, the allusion to Jacob's ladder in John i. 51, and to the serpent in the wilderness in iii. 14, the exact nature of our Lord's opening ministry—and others, of which these are only specimens. The separate excursus on 'Nazarene' and 'Nazorean' promises, if it falls short of fully providing, an explana-

tion of several difficulties, including the interpretation of Matt. ii. 23. To review this delightful (and sometimes provoking) volume by discussing such subjects as these in detail is obviously impossible. But the present writer follows with great interest every fresh development of Dr. Abbott's Johannine studies, while quite unable to accept some of his premisses and many of his conclusions, and he desires heartily to commend the new number of *Dialogetica* to the fit audience—not few—that it deserves.

The Christian Faith : a System of Dogmatics. By THEODORE HAERING, D.D. Translated from the second revised and enlarged German edition, 1912, by JOHN DICKIE, M.A., and GEORGE FERRIES, D.D. 2 vols. (Hodder & Stoughton. 21s. net.)

In these two handsome volumes the chief work of a German theologian of the highest rank is made accessible to English readers, who hitherto have known Dr. Haering only as the author of *The Ethics of the Christian Life*. Since 1895 he has been Professor of Theology in the University of Tübingen, but for six years before that date he occupied at Göttingen the chair left vacant by the death of Ritschl. For a full appreciation of the value of this contribution towards a positive restatement of the Christian Faith it is needful to remember all that 'Tübingen' and 'Ritschl' stand for in the history of modern German Theology. Dr. Haering, though greatly influenced by Ritschl, is an independent thinker, as is manifest in his most instructive survey of Post-Ritschlian Apologetics. He holds that 'Apologetics cannot renounce the claim that it attains to real knowledge, without renouncing its *raison d'être*,' and then proceeds to explain what sort of knowledge is implied.

An outstanding characteristic of this 'System of Dogmatics' is the inclusion of 'Apologetics' and the large space given to the proof of the Christian Faith before entering upon its detailed exposition. The sub-title of the section dealing with Apologetics indicates the author's point of view: 'The Revelation of God in Christ as norm (standard) and ground of the truth of the Christian Faith.' At times Dr. Haering's style is involved, but it is always worth while to keep closely to his line of argument; as a rule, however, he is incisive and clear, as when he exposes the tactics of present-day opponents of Christianity who 'lighten their task by dazzling and confusing its adherents by means of the variety of their weapons, and the rapidity with which they change them.' Propositions which contradict each other are used as though both held good against Christianity. Again, a brief but effective answer is given to those who hold that the evil in the world is incompatible with the love of God: 'they demand that we should prove a love which does not coincide with the Christian view of God; it is not surprising if the proof is unsuccessful.'

Students of theology will be deeply grateful to Dr. Haering for having

done so much to support his own statement: 'Living faith knows that it is under obligation to prove from its own inmost nature that it is living, among other ways by the labour of thought connected with an Apologetic which changes anew with every new age.' Those who are reluctant to admit the necessity of such changes will have a heightened rather than a lessened sense of the significance of such conclusions as are expressed by Dr. Haering in the few sentences with which this brief notice of his important work must close: 'There can be no question of surrendering the claim which causes offence that Christianity possesses the truth of God'; 'there is religious certainty or there is not, according as Jesus belongs to the foundation of our faith or not'; 'the study of the History of Religion . . . dissolves more and more effectively the figment of a Christian world without faith in Christ, and finds the gospel proclaimed by Jesus . . . already transformed, in the first days of the Church, into a Gospel in which Christ was preached'; 'the Son who is eternally loved by God, though sent to the world by the Father, likewise came to the world by the prompting of His own love.' Dr. Haering has no doubt as to what is 'the innermost religious kernel of the Pauline Christology; it is 'the faith in Christ which the Christian world did not create, but which created the Christian world.'

International Theological Library: Theological Symbolics.
By Charles A. Briggs, D.D., D.Litt. (T. & T. Clark.
10s. 6d.)

Dr. Briggs began this work many years ago, and it was practically ready for the printer when he died. His daughter and co-worker has verified the references and revised the proofs with the help of her father's colleague, Prof. F. Brown. After an Introduction dealing with the 'origin, history and definition of the discipline,' the subject is divided into three parts—Fundamental Symbolics, Particular Symbolics, Comparative Symbolics. English scholars used the term Symbolism for the study of the Creeds, but as that had another meaning in common usage, the German Symbolik was Anglicized into Symbolics. The exact meaning of Symbol as applied to the Apostles' Creed by Cyprian, Augustine, and Rufinus, is not settled. It probably means that the Creed was a sign or banner about which Christians should rally, but it may include the idea that the Creed puts the Christian faith into a summary form. Under Fundamental Symbolics Dr. Briggs deals with the three Creeds which are the common inheritance of historical Christianity. A careful sketch of the history and contents of each Creed is given. Dr. Briggs argues that as Luke consulted the family of Jesus as to the legal genealogy, 'it is altogether probable that he also consulted them with reference to the accuracy of the poetic statement of the virgin-birth.' The story in Matthew is quite independent of that in Luke. 'It is probable also that the Gospel of John gives a third independent witness from a third point of view.' The discussion of this subject is able and reassuring.

As to another article Dr. Briggs holds that 'the common ignoring of Hades altogether, among Protestants, as an intermediate state of salvation, and the opinion that all those who are to be saved at all immediately at death ascend to heaven, are altogether unscriptural, unhistorical, and unreasonable.' The Nicene and Athanasian Creeds are treated more briefly but with the same scholarly care and suggestiveness. The second part on Particular Symbolics begins with the Symbols of the Latin Church, and comes down to the nineteenth century. Here we have a luminous sketch of the theology of more than ten centuries. Anselm's doctrine of the Atonement was in its main features generally accepted by the Mediæval Church. In the form given to it by Thomas Aquinas it 'became the common property of the Church in all essential particulars, and was adopted by the Protestant world at the Reformation as well as by the Roman Catholic.' Dr. Briggs says that it 'exaggerates the work of the cross, and does not sufficiently estimate the work of the risen and glorified Redeemer as the heavenly Priest and King.' The Reformation period is treated with special fullness in some most instructive chapters. The third part on Comparative Symbolics begins with the Reformation period, comparing the doctrinal statements of the Symbols of the separated churches. The fundamental principle of Protestantism is that 'the Bible is the chief medium of authority and grace.' The Church has divine authority in the ordination of the ministry, the administration of the sacraments, the worship and organisation of the Church, but 'this authority was derived from God through the Scriptures, which were regarded as alone infallible.' The last chapter on 'The Modern Consensus' shows that there is 'a fundamental Christian faith expressed in the Ecumenical Creeds, upon which the three great divisions of Christianity do actually agree. This constitutes a sufficient basis for reunion.' If unity is arranged 'in a supreme jurisdiction, on the basis of the fundamental Faith and Institutions of the Church, then the subordinate jurisdictions' representing the three great divisions of Christianity and the particular jurisdictions into which each of these are or may be divided, 'may still retain their particular symbols and particular institutions without any interference whatever on the part of the higher jurisdiction.' The book puts a worthy seal on a life of extraordinary learning and devotion.

The Eschatology of Jesus. By H. Latimer Jackson, D.D.
(Macmillan & Co. 5s. net.)

The Rector of Little Canfield has embedded his Hulsean Lectures in this volume. He has long been working on 'what to-day is really the live issue in gospel-study,' and takes somewhat the same position as does Mr. Streeter in *Foundations*, that 'to water down and explain away the Apocalyptic element' in our Lord's teaching is 'to miss something which is essential.' 'His own well-attested "Watch" is itself significant.' In studying the sources for the Life of Jesus

Dr. Jackson is disposed to allow for much more considerable 'shrinkage of material' than we could admit, though he rests on the dictum that only a real Jesus could have caused the gospel. His position as to the Fourth Gospel is far from satisfactory. He surveys the Eschatology of Jesus, bringing out its chief features in a clear and impressive way. Man must fit himself for the kingdom which is to come down from above. The rôle of Jesus Himself in the drama of The Last Things is 'very conspicuous indeed.' Detailed studies of Old Testament Eschatology, Apocalyptic Literature, and the Messianic hopes of our Lord's days lead up to three brief chapters on the 'Person of Jesus,' 'Husk and Kernel'—an attempt to distinguish between the transitory and the permanent and to trace the message of Jesus for our own day—and 'Eschatological survivals in the Creeds.' Here Dr. Jackson takes the broad position that the 'qualified conformity which, in its recitation of the Creeds, is unhesitating in its acceptance of contained truth, while frank to avow justifiable disagreement with the outward form' does not really smother conscience. That is a position which needs much guarding if it is not to open the door for all kinds of unbelief. Dr. Jackson's treatment of apocalyptic questions will win close and well-deserved attention. In many respects we cannot regard it as satisfactory, but it is an honest and scholarly discussion of the subject in all its bearings.

St. Paul and Christianity. By Arthur C. Headlam, D.D. (Murray. 5s. net.)

Dr. Headlam's volume was originally intended for the Cambridge Manuals, but it outgrew the limits of that series. It would certainly have been a misfortune if it had been reduced in size. It is a clear and judicial statement of St. Paul's work as the first Christian theologian, tracing the influence of Jewish Rabbinism on his thought, and showing how he moulded Christian teaching. He grasped more fully than his contemporaries what Christianity meant. Others were working with him, but the great conceptions of the new religion took firmer hold upon his mind and heart. Dr. Headlam's Introduction finds in the different phenomena of the four groups of Pauline Epistles a strong argument in favour of the genuineness of the whole collection of letters. 'The fact that the style, subject matter and historical surroundings all change together is difficult to harmonize with any idea of deliberate forgery or unconscious growth.' There is a great gulf between Paul the persecutor and Paul the Christian. 'Some great force must have influenced him. That force was the living Christ.' Before his conversion Christianity had begun to separate itself from Judaism, but 'his strong religious personality inspired the nascent Church with a faith, and the growing Creed with a meaning, which had not so far been realized. It came to him as a revelation from heaven. He did not change it, but he realized all its most original features with greater intensity, and interpreted

it in the light of his theological training.' The book is one of the deepest interest to every student of St. Paul's teaching.

The Practice of Christianity. By the author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*. (Macmillan & Co. 4s. 6d. net.)

This book is as thought-provoking as the four fine volumes that have preceded it. The author begins with the assertion that it is 'essential to Christian faith to believe that the true life of humanity, the life of unhindered progress, is that Kingdom of God, divinely dynamic, which Jesus declared to be at hand.' Our Lord took up the line of prophetic tradition and carried it further in that portrait of the Christian man sketched in the Beatitudes. This leads to a stimulating study of 'The Divine Method.' The temptation natural to one who is thoroughly aroused to a perception of the sin and misery of the world is impatience—'anger that any time process should intervene between the wrong and the righting of the wrong.' Christ sought to evoke a faith that 'nature was fundamentally good, and would be restored to complete goodness if there was a corporate repentance from all acquiescence in evil.' Our Lord's insight into the will of God differed from all previous conceptions of Divine Law in its view of 'the tenderness of heart, the constant impulse to loving-kindness which is so obviously the basis of His thought and action.' In the second part of the book the penal and social system are considered and the problems of warfare and thrift. The faith that the Kingdom of Love is at hand should be embodied in all our Creeds and in all our worship. Our author preaches a Gospel of Love with rare beauty and persuasiveness, and love's pilgrimage is sketched in a way that makes us all eager to take it. The book is idealistic, but those who have to face the hard facts of life will not be least grateful for one who puts such hopes into their hearts, and paints such visions before their eyes.

The Philosophy of Faith. By Bertram Brewster. (Longmans & Co. 8s. net.)

Mr. Brewster discusses the relation of Reason to Faith, and gives us in his introductory chapter the maxim of Rationalism in the following form: 'A man should believe nothing implicitly that is not self-evident or demonstrable to Reason; and in questions of probability, belief should be proportional to evidence.' He has no difficulty in showing the ambiguity of this, and claims that the maxim is 'the reverse of a truism.' To the rationalist, Reason is 'the prevalent mode of interpreting sense perception.' Reason cannot dispense with Faith as a starting-point. This general statement is followed by chapters on Truth, Virtue, Freedom, Optimism, Beauty, and The Highest Good.

The argument throughout these chapters is close, and will often be found too condensed for the general reader, but the author's mind is clear, and he makes his points distinct. It is shown that

not one of the great concepts discussed can exist apart from faith, for 'the key-stone of philosophy is a belief in the real existence of Truth, Greatness, and Beauty as an eternal unity.'

It is not a book to be read hastily, but if the reader will find the time to consider the questions raised and the answers suggested he will see clearly enough that anything like mere Rationalism is impossible as a rule of life, and that even from the intellectual side there is 'an evidence of things not seen,' which is a larger factor in human experience than some would allow.

Religion in an Age of Doubt. By Rev. C. J. Shebbeare, M.A. (Robert Scott. 5s. net.)

The substance of this book was delivered in the form of lectures in 1911 at a Divinity School, and its liveliness and readableness are distinctly increased thereby. It is an attempt, partly critical, to bring into closer relation with modern theological thought the views associated in their origin with the name of Ritschl. As such it will appeal to any one who is interested in theological reconstruction, particularly as the writer is disposed to deal comprehensively with the materials supplied by the specialist. He tries to articulate a system of knowledge rather than to cast light upon a few unrelated details. The starting-point is the personal experience of justification through Christ, and the next step is the collection of the teachings of religious experience with the facts of scientific knowledge into a philosophical theology, which our author holds to be the best support of religion in an age of doubt. In the course of his argument he has to refer to many subjects of perplexity, such as sin and forgiveness, the incarnation and the Trinity, the future life, and the supremacy of duty. The reader may not always agree with the conclusions reached, but he will find useful suggestions in every chapter, and be stimulated to think for himself. And he will be grateful for an admirable syllabus of the contents in addition to a good index.

The Expositor's Dictionary of Poetical Quotations. By James Moffatt, D.D., D.Litt. (Hodder & Stoughton. 10s. 6d. net.)

This spacious volume, with its beautiful type and wide margins, forms a companion to *The Expositor's Dictionary of Texts*, and *The Expositor's Treasury of Children's Sermons*. Dr. Moffatt has gathered treasures from masters like Shakespeare, Vaughan, Herbert, Coleridge, Tennyson, and the Brownings, but he has not overlooked Christina Rossetti, Dora Greenwell, F. W. H. Myers, and other modern religious poets. The excerpts are compact and arrest attention. No one need lack an apt quotation for the great texts of the Bible, and it is a real pleasure to come upon old favourites and find new treasures in this Bible anthology. Dr. Moffatt loves such tasks, and that love is manifest in every page of this richly varied

prose collection. We hope that he will give us a volume of quotations to match it.

Sermons and Homilies. By Edmund English. (Longmans & Co. 4s. net.)

The writer of these sermons is Canon of Westminster Cathedral, and for twenty-five years has been Missionary Rector of St. James's, Twickenham. There are a few passages here and there, and two sermons on 'The Assumption of the Virgin,' and 'The Holy Eucharist' which a Protestant reader will not accept, but for the most part they unfold gospel scenes and characters which have an interest for all Christian readers alike. The studies of Pilate, Caiaphas, Herod Antipas, Simeon and Nicodemus are beautiful pieces of work, and the contrast between Eve and Mary—the second Eve—is well brought out, though it closes with a plea for her 'sinless intercession.' The picture of the Holy Family—'a paradise of mutual love, mutual solicitude, mutual devotion,' is very alluring. Canon English writes with such natural ease and beauty that we can well understand that his people have listened to such sermons 'with unwearied interest and unflinching sympathy.'

The Last Discourse and Prayer of our Lord. A Study of St. John xiv.-xvii. By H. B. Swete, D.D. (Macmillan & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

This little volume is planned on the same scale as Prof. Swete's *Appearances of our Lord after the Passion* and *The Ascended Christ*. Repeated study of the chapters confirms his 'conviction that they approach as near to the words actually spoken by our Lord as the memory of one who heard them can bring us. There is in them a severe simplicity, a divine dignity, a mystery of paradox in which the reader catches sight of unexplored depths of truth; features which, if not absent from the earlier discourses, are present here far more conspicuously.' He thinks that John xv. was spoken in the Temple colonnades. The exposition is a beautiful piece of work based on the closest study and the most careful scholarship, and always wonderfully clear and helpful to devout study. Reference to the Greek text or to other matters which might break the thread of the reader's meditation are dealt with in footnotes.

Creed and Curriculum. By W. C. O'Donnell, Jun. (Eaton & Mains, 75c. net.) The question discussed in this thoughtful and persuasive book is 'Can the essentials of religious faith and practice be taught in the Public Schools of the United States?' Mr. O'Donnell gives a good account of what is being done in other lands for religious instruction, and reaches the conclusion that it can be given in the United States without furnishing occasion for sectarian opposition. The study is timely and conciliatory.—*The Prayer-Life.* By Andrew Murray, D.D. (Morgan & Scott, 2s. 6d. net.) Dr. Murray makes prayer appear more alluring, and shows how it may

become the mightiest power in our lives, as it was in those of George Müller and Hudson Taylor. It is a book that will embolden many to give themselves afresh to prayer.—*The Meaning of Christianity*. By F. A. M. Spencer, M.A. Second edition, revised. (T. F. Unwin, 2s. 6d. net.) This book is very suggestive, though it is by no means orthodox. Mr. Spencer rejoices in the prospect of humanity growing into the Kingdom of God, and feels that prospect a continual inspiration, but his chapter on 'Christ' is not a successful argument against the traditional christology. And he thinks that humanity consists 'of a number of souls which alternate between a material and an immaterial existence.'—*The Faith of a Little Child*. By H. A. Wilson, M.A. (R. Scott, 2s. net.) The Vicar of Norbiton bases his 'talks with little children' on the Apostles' Creed, omitting certain parts and making everything clear and simple. It is a welcome and instructive book, though we cannot accept the view that 'every one who is baptized is a saint.'—*Words on Wheels*. By Arthur Jubb (Hammond, 1s. 6d. net) gives fifty-one talks to boys and girls, full of illustration and with many wise counsels.—*Babylonian Oil Magic in the Talmud and the Later Jewish Literature*. By Samuel Daiches, Ph.D. (London: Jews' College.) Dr. Daiches quotes from the Talmud and from many Jewish documents in the possession of Dr. Moses Gaster, which show that thumbnail divination has a history of some four thousand years. The Hebrew is quoted and translated, and some very interesting notes are added.—*Religious Experience and Christian Faith*. By Rev. Albert Way, M.A. (Longmans, 6d. net.) An imaginary conversation which brings out the thought that God is to be found by direct and immediate experience. This leads to deeper reverence for God, and shows how 'free men who have become sinful can be redeemed and governed only by a God who suffers.' It is a powerful and acute presentation of the subject.—Messrs. Morgan & Scott issue neat editions (6d. net) of *The Surrendered Life*, by Dr. Wilbur Chapman, very helpful meditations for a quiet hour; *The Pilgrim's Progress*, both parts, with illustrations and clear type; and *Daily Guidance*, a selection of Bible passages with a verse of a hymn for each day of the year. The little book will bring light and comfort to all who use it.—*The Christian Workers' Association*. By J. H. Morgan. (Kelly, 3d.) A revised edition of a scheme for aggressive Church work which has been of great service in many places. It is simple and easy both to start and keep going.—The Power-Book Co. issue *Spiritual Therapeutics* (6s. net), and *Students' Questions on Spiritual Science* (8s. 6d. net). Both are by W. J. Colville. The first is in its twentieth, and the last in its tenth edition. The reader may judge of them by this quotation from 'A Form of Self-Treatment.' 'In the inmost and true Being I am not and cannot be diseased, for I am perfect in the image and likeness of God . . . God is my life, and I cannot know death; God is my health, and I cannot know disease.' That is to run one's head against all the facts of existence.

BIOGRAPHY, HISTORY, TRAVEL

John Calvin: His Life, Letters, and Work. By Hugh Y. Reyburn, B.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 10s. 6d. net.)

CALVIN is a great figure in our gallery of Reformation portraits, and Mr. Reyburn has brought to his task of delineation both knowledge and sympathy. He is not blind to the defects of Calvin's theology or to the harsher side of his character, and that gives this biography added importance. He has a quiet style which befits the subject, and the bibliography and references to authorities will enable students to investigate any point for themselves. The first chapter on 'The State of France' forms an adequate background for the portrait, and the youth of Calvin is clearly sketched. It was Farel who bore down his reluctance to face the turmoil and danger of public life in Geneva. Calvin was only twenty-seven. He was more than half an invalid, and knew that 'life in Geneva would be full of anxiety and hot encounters, and that a violent death might easily end it.' He would have preferred to shut himself up in a library, and give his days to scholarship and theology, but he could not refuse the call, and on September 1, 1536, he preached his first sermon in Geneva. Next month in a public discussion at Lausanne he overwhelmed his Romish adversary, and within three months 80 monks and 120 curés and vicars passed over to Protestantism. His zeal for the training of children and the morals of the city produced a great effect in Geneva, but in April, 1538, he and Farel refused to administer the Sacrament according to the Bernese custom, and were banished from the city. Calvin found refuge in Strassburg, where he issued a collection of psalms for public singing. Thirteen of the eighteen translations were by Clement Marot, and five by himself. His work as professor, preacher and organizer brought him into general notice. Here also he made a happy marriage with a widow who belonged to his congregation. A naive confession showed how much the bachelor theologian needed domestic oversight. 'I am wont when I am heated by anger or stirred by some greater anxiety than usual, to eat to excess and to bolt my food more hastily than I ought.' He returned to Geneva in 1541, and received a salary of £160 with twelve measures of wheat and two barrels of wine, as he was put to great expense in entertaining strangers. His struggle with the prevailing sin of immorality made him many enemies, who insulted him in the street, nicknamed him Cain, and even called their dogs after him, but nothing caused the high-hearted man to swerve from his chosen path. Calvin's 'coldness and hardness of nature' come out in the pitiful story of Servetus. Mr. Reyburn says, 'Calvin was responsible for the arrest of Servetus, for the pitiless

prosecution of the trial, and for the sentence of death with which the trial closed.' After that statement apology is dumb. The chapter on his 'personal characteristics' is of great interest, and there is a just criticism of the results that followed his teaching, 'that the common man, even of the lowest rank, if he is illuminated by the witness of the Spirit, is bound to accept and obey the doctrine which that illumination brings home to him.' The discussion of his theology is acute. Calvin was aware of the difficulties in which his teaching landed him. He attempts to answer his opponents, and at times completely changes his position, yet even then he could not silence the accusation of divine injustice in his own heart. That is his biographer's conclusion, and it is well sustained.

The Empress Frederick. A Memoir. With Six Illustrations in Photogravure. (Nisbet & Co. 15s. net.)

The Empress Frederick had 'an intensely vivid and human personality,' which was never crushed by the etiquette of courts or the misunderstandings which embittered her life in Germany. Her energy was inexhaustible, and her prejudices and prepossessions often led to trouble. The writer of this memoir says, 'She seems to have found it impossible to guard her tongue, to conceal her convictions, or to hold aloof from political discussions.' She had been accustomed from childhood to say everything she thought, and 'reticence would have seemed to her mean, if not absolutely dishonest.' Her married life never knew a cloud. The Crown Prince shared his wife's affection for Prince Albert, whom he regarded as a true second father. The relations between the Crown Princess and Bismarck are frankly dealt with. He suspected her German patriotism and she resented his domineering ways, and the calumnies that were spread abroad as to all her husband's friends. The whole book is delightful, but its charm is best seen in such a chapter as that on 'Home Life and Religion.' The successive ordeals through which the princess 'passed seemed but to strengthen her grasp upon the realities of life, and the Christian faith took on for her a new meaning, and became the rock to which alone she clung.' The New Palace in Berlin was nicknamed 'The Palace of the Medicis,' because of the enthusiastic welcome it offered to all who were distinguished in art and literature. Foreign scientists and artists were eagerly invited to informal tea-parties. The tragic story of the Emperor's brief reign is told with deep sympathy, and the days of widowhood at Friedrichshof are vividly described. The restless energy of the Empress never flagged. She was fond of collecting curiosities, she loved her garden, she made friends with all her neighbours. It was a happy sunset to a memorable life, and when death came she met it with 'an absolute faith in the Fatherhood of God and in the Brotherhood and redeeming love of Him who died that we might live.'

Theodore Roosevelt : An Autobiography. With Illustrations.
(Macmillan & Co. 10s. 6d.)

It will surprise many to find that the great advocate of the strenuous life was a sickly and delicate boy who suffered much from asthma, and had often to be taken away to find some place where he could breathe. One of his ancestors came from Holland to New Amsterdam in 1644, and for seven generations every one of the family was born on Manhattan Island. Mr. Roosevelt's father 'combined strength and courage with gentleness, tenderness, and great unselfishness.' He died at the age of forty-six, leaving his son sufficient money to pursue the scientific career that seemed opening before him. Young Roosevelt had long been a lover of natural history, but at Harvard the outdoor naturalist and observer of nature was not cared for. Biology was regarded purely as a science of the laboratory and the microscope, and for such pursuits he had no taste. He, therefore, took up the study of law, and joined a Republican Association in New York, and in 1881 was elected to the State Legislature. He had schooled himself to overcome his nervousness and timidity, and had won a reputation as a straight and manly sportsman. He carried the same spirit into politics. Neither he nor his early associates were as yet alive to the social and industrial needs which all recognize to-day. Three years' experience convinced him that there were many thoroughly corrupt men in the Legislature, perhaps a third of the whole number, but that the honest men outnumbered the corrupt men, and that if it were possible to get an issue of right and wrong put vividly and unmistakably before them, a triumph for the right might be counted on. He began to think that he had a future, and that it behoved him to be far-sighted and to scan his every action with a view to its possible effect in that future. This made him useless to the public, and an object of aversion to himself. He found that the only possible way was to do his work as well as possible, whilst he held any office, and not to think of the future at all. In 1888 he took two cattle ranches on the Little Missouri, and gives a wonderful picture of the life he led in the Wild West. No one who wishes to understand the 'Cowboy Land' of thirty years ago should fail to read this chapter. In 1889 President Harrison appointed him a Civil Service Commissioner, and he did much to extend the merit system at the expense of the spoils system. Here his eyes were opened to many abuses against which he has never ceased to war, but he gained a genuine respect and regard for some political leaders who were most bitterly attacked. Other revelations came in 1895, when he was appointed Police Commissioner in New York. He took pains to recognize gallantry in the force, and vigorously upheld men who were trying to do their duty. He maintains that there are no better men than the New York police, and when they go wrong it is because the system is wrong, and because they are not given the chance to do the good work they can do, and would rather do. His service as Assistant Secretary of the Navy gave him a

national reputation, and did much to get the country ready for its war with Spain. When it came he raised a regiment of Rough Riders which did splendid service. On his return he became Governor of New York, and fought a constant battle against corruption. He was nominated for the Vice-Presidency against his will, but McKinley's assassination in 1901 opened to him the chief office, and his strenuous advocacy of purity and good government won him the esteem of honest men all over the globe. His recreations furnish some of the most attractive pages in this Autobiography, and though the account of certain legislative matters is not altogether easy reading, the book throws a flood of light on American politics and on the problems of civic life in the United States.

Margaret Fox of Swarthmoor Hall. By Helen G. Crossfield. (Headley Brothers. 8s. 6d. net.)

No woman's name in the first age of Quaker history is more honoured than that of Margaret Fell. She was a notable convert of George Fox, and the story of his first appearance at Swarthmoor Hall gives a vivid impression of the spell which he exerted on Mrs. Fell and her children. An early letter which she wrote begging him to return is quite unbalanced in its language, but Mrs. Crossfield says that there is no sign of that spirit in later letters. There were some strange outbursts in these times. Mary Fell, a girl of eight, goes to 'Priest Lampitt' as he lies in bed, and tells him 'that the Lord would pour out the vials of His wrath upon him.' The mother's constancy was proved in many trials. Neither fine nor imprisonment shook her purpose. She and her daughters had interviews with Charles II, and thus secured relief for some Quaker prisoners. Her daughters rejoiced in her marriage to George Fox, and when she sent him money for clothes he used it to buy her a piece of red cloth for a mantle, as her need, he thought, was greater than his own. On another occasion he got a friend to purchase as much black Spanish cloth as would make her a gown. He had some twinges of conscience: 'It cost a great deal of money, but I will save.' The daughters of Swarthmoor were a noble band, and they and their love-letters add much to the charm of a volume that is full of human interest, and is based on a careful use of original papers. The picture is very beautiful and very much alive.

John Woolman, His Life and our Times. Being a Study in Applied Christianity. By W. Teignmouth Shore. (Macmillan & Co. 5s. net.)

We cannot hear too much of John Woolman. Mr. Shore says he was 'one of the few Christlike Christians,' and although that seems to us too sweeping, he is a noble illustration of the way in which 'Christianity can be practised in and applied to the every-day affairs of social, business, and domestic life.' The world would perhaps stop if we were all Woolmans. He came to England in 1772

as a steerage passenger because he observed sundry sorts of carved work and imagery on the outside of that part of the ship where the cabin was, and found some 'superfluity of workmanship of several sorts' in the cabin; he refused to travel in English stage-coaches or to send letters by the post-boys, because the horses were sometimes killed by hard riding and the boys occasionally frozen to death. 'So great is the hurry in the spirit of this world, that in aiming to do business quickly and to gain wealth the creation at this day doth loudly groan.' Mr. Shore sets the Quaker Apostle in his historic framework. We learn much of the faith into which he was born, and in particular of the New Jersey Quakers, among whom he lived. His zeal for the freedom of the slave, and his care so to live 'that nothing might hinder me from the most steady attention to the voice of the true Shepherd,' are manifest in all the story. During his voyage to England he held meetings for the sailors. 'That lamentable degeneracy which so much prevails in the people employed on the seas so affected my heart that I cannot easily convey the feeling I had to another.' His death of small-pox at York makes a touching close to a beautiful record of a life that ascends far up towards the ideal.

The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M. Enlarged from Original MSS., with Notes from unpublished Diaries, Annotations, Maps, and Illustrations. Edited by Nehemiah Curnock, assisted by experts. Standard edition. Vol. V. (Kelly. 10s. 6d. net.)

This volume of the Standard edition begins with January 1, 1768, and covers the ten and a half years down to September 12, 1778. The first entry brings out Wesley's struggle between discipline and affection in dealing with George Bell, whose extravagances caused such unrest and loss to the Society in London. The last entry describes a visit to Miss Owen's School at Publow, where four of the children desired to take the Lord's Supper: 'I suppose such a visitation of children has not been known in England these hundred years.' Thomas Maxfield, one of the first lay preachers, figures largely in the first section of the *Journal*, and the notes throw much light on his desertion of Wesley. The names of the Evangelical clergy to whom Wesley addressed his beautiful appeal in April, 1764, are given in a valuable note. To the fourteenth part of the *Journal* is prefaced a suggestive comparison between the reception which Methodism received in Scotland and in Ireland. Similar prefatory notes deal with the philanthropies into which William Morgan first led the Holy Club at Oxford, and with George Whitefield's character and work. The volume well sustains the high reputation won by the Standard edition. The notes are adequate and full of details which add greatly to the interest of the *Journal*. The well-selected and well-produced illustrations deserve special praise. The frontispiece is Nathaniel Hone's portrait of

Wesley, and there are views of homes where Wesley stayed, portraits of his preachers and his literary opponents, and seven facsimiles which appeal strongly to every student of the *Journal*. It is an edition that need fear no comparison with the best work of a similar kind.

Anthony Trollope: His Work, Associates, and Literary Originals. By T. H. S. Escott. (John Lane.)

Mr. Escott first saw Trollope when he called at his father's house in Budleigh Salterton to see his old Winchester schoolfellow. In 1878 he had to write an article on Trollope's novels, and was very graciously received at his house in Montagu Square, and supplied with all the information he needed. The novelist allowed him to make notes of many facts which he thought might be useful at a later date, and it was partly through his good offices that in 1882 Mr. Escott succeeded John Morley as editor of the *Fortnightly Review*. This book has thus gained a touch of intimacy which adds sensibly to its interest. It is marked by warm appreciation of Trollope's best work, and just criticism of that which is less satisfactory. Trollope is set in his environment among the Victorian men of letters, and the human touches which reveal the foibles and jealousies of these famous contemporaries make them all wonderfully alive. Very few pens could have set the whole scene before us with such easy mastery. Justice is done to Trollope's mother, the brave woman who had to be the breadwinner of the family. Trollope's own work as a post-office official is well brought out, and light is thrown on each of his stories. There is much also about his recreations in the hunting field. The chapter entitled 'Religious Orthodoxy and Opinions' shows how the novelist inherited from his mother a prejudice against the Evangelical School, which he strangely supposed had a tendency to divorce conduct from religion. Mr. Escott says Evangelicalism 'puzzled, perplexed, and irritated him.' We regret those limitations, but they do not blind us to the wonderful delicacy of his portraits of High Church dignitaries and the great ladies of his Barchester novels. Mr. Escott's book has no dull lines. It is crisp and racy, and full of picturesque details, such as the description of the Brownings' home in Florence, with a thicket of flowers outside 'whose fragrance could be scented from afar, its interior a jungle of carpets and tapestry such as Clytemnestra might have bid her lord to tread on his return from Troy.'

In Cheyne Walk and Thereabout. By Reginald Blunt. (Mills & Boon. 10s. 6d. net.)

This volume is not concerned with the more famous residents along the riverside at Chelsea who already have their place in history and biography. Here we come into close touch with 'persons and places comparatively unchronicled or far less known, yet which seemed worthy of some further remembrance.' 'By way of

Introduction' leads us through the district, infecting us with the writer's own enthusiasm. We feel the charm of Chelsea stealing over us and eagerly accompany our guide to its picturesque houses with their crowd of memories. Don Saltero and his coffee-house supply material for a chapter that carries us back to the early days of the eighteenth century. Then we remember Mary Astell, born at Newcastle-on-Tyne, but fixed in Chelsea somewhere about 1690. Her *Essay in Defence of the Female Sex* and her *Reflections upon Marriage* are described in an entertaining way. Edmund Howard, who made the clock of Chelsea Old Church, and was formerly servant to Sir Hans Sloane and pulled down for him Sir Thomas More's mansion, Beaufort House; James Petiver and his journey into Sussex and Kent to find rare flowers for the Physic Garden; Dr. Alexander Blackwell, who was granted a model farm in Sweden, where he got mixed up with political intrigue and was beheaded at Stockholm in 1747, and other notable figures of old Chelsea have their place in the record. Mr. Blunt gives an interesting account of the Chelsea Porcelain Factory and its masters. The story of James Neild, who was one of John Howard's successors, and that of his eccentric son, who left a legacy of half a million to Queen Victoria, are told in another lively chapter. 'Dog Jennings,' the collector who got into a debtors' prison not once nor twice through his eagerness in gathering curiosities of every kind, furnishes material for a romantic study. The last chapter on Mrs. Carlyle and her maid Jessie, with some charming letters from the mistress, is not the least attractive in a book that is full of delightful glimpses of Cheyne Walk, and is made the more interesting by Mr. Hedderley's old wet-plate photographs, and some fine drawings by the late Walter Burgess and other illustrations.

Coleridge and Wordsworth in the West Country. By Professor Knight. Illustrated by Edward New. (Elkin Mathews. 7s. 6d. net.)

This is one of the pages in the history of English Literature of which we never grow weary. The years 1795-1798, when they were in close touch with each other—Coleridge at Nether Stowey and Wordsworth and his sister at Racedown and then at Alfoxden—mark the beginning of their powers. Coleridge wrote sixty poems there, including 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner,' 'Kubla Khan' and part of 'Christabel.' Wordsworth was less productive, but his nineteen poems include 'We are Seven,' 'The Idiot Boy,' and 'Peter Bell.' Professor Knight gives us a real insight into the lives of the friends. We see their homes, we watch their poems growing, and go with them on their pleasant excursions, so that we almost live through those eventful years when their powers were developing and winning recognition. Coleridge looked on Wordsworth as 'a very great man, the only man to whom, at all times and in all modes of excellence, I feel myself inferior.' Dorothy Wordsworth's insight

and her devoted service made her an invaluable companion to her brother, and her perception of the rarer beauties of nature was as clear and as delicate as his. She was a warm admirer of Coleridge, whose conversation 'teems with soul, mind, and spirit.' Her journal brings Alfoxden in 1798 back to life again. There is much here about the birth of great poems, and Mr. New's illustrations allow us to look at the homes of the poets and the lovely scenes amid which they found inspiration. It is a book that lovers of English poetry will greatly prize.

Mother Mabel Digby. By Anne Pollen. With a Preface by Cardinal Bourne, and Illustrations. (Murray. 12s. net.)

No one would have dreamed that a Protestant girl noted for her wild spirits and her feats of daring would have lived to become Superior General of the Society of the Sacred Heart. Her father was an Irish gentleman devoted to hunting. Mabel was his favourite companion in all his country sports. His cousin, more intimate than a brother, was the famous Kenelm Digby, author of the *Broad Stone of Honour*, but Simon Digby was an ardent Protestant, who actually separated from his wife when she became a Roman Catholic. Mabel took her father's side till she herself suddenly became a Romanist and almost broke her father's heart. Her hand was persistently sought in marriage by a French nobleman, but she had chosen another path and entered the Convent at Marmoutier in 1857. Its Superior discerned that the girl 'carried with her unawares into the Society of the Sacred Heart the ten talents that multiply into other ten.' Another dignitary paid his tribute: 'She is a Spartan—a heroic soul, she has a will of iron, but it is a will that never refuses anything that God may ask.' Her biographer says 'Personal love of the living Christ was the beginning and end of everything.' Her iron nerve is shown by several incidents. She nursed a cancer patient with heroic endurance, and when Mother Kenney was seized with a fatal disease of the throat and dreaded to have the wound cauterised with a red-hot metal disc of the size of a shilling, Mother Digby dropped the disc on her own bare flesh and bore the pain without flinching. In her power to manage business affairs and to win the support of all about her she reminds us of St. Teresa. The Empress Eugénie had been her friend when they were girls together, and in 1881 she attended the services of Holy Week at the Convent in Roehampton, of which Mother Digby was then Superior. The Empress talked much of her dead son. 'He was the joy of my life, the sunshine of the house when he was there. He used to go about singing like a bird.' Even before she came to Roehampton an English gentleman described Mother Digby as the most remarkable woman in the Society of the Sacred Heart. In 1895 she became its Superior General, and held that responsible position for sixteen years. She was an inspiring leader, who held that 'to suffer is an honour. It

shows we are no longer privates, but have risen in the Army of the King!' She died in 1911, and was buried at Roehampton amid the scenes of her earlier service. Her faith was summed up in a fine saying, 'You are God's thing, and He takes care of His own belongings.' Protestant readers cannot fail to admire such devotion, though some of its manifestations are so completely alien to their own thought and feeling.

Pulpit, Platform, and Parliament. By the Rev. C. Silvester Horne, M.A., M.P. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

Few men have had ten years of more crowded life than Mr. Silvester Horne. He has now found it necessary to seek relief from the strain, and this volume will be treasured as a memorial of the great work accomplished in central London. He holds that Christianity is bound up with democracy, and pleads that the Churches should fasten on 'certain problems as to whose social and moral character there can be no dispute, and frankly claim and freely exercise the right and the duty to deal with these questions in the light of Christian ethics.' His own struggles with disorderly public-houses and coffee-stalls used by the vicious classes form a thrilling record, and the triumphs of his work among men at Whitefield's will stir every reader of this outspoken and whole-hearted narrative. Visits to Germany, Paris, and the United States supply some interesting glimpses of public men in those countries, and Mr. Horne has much to say of his experiences in Parliament. The fine sincerity and dauntless courage of the book will appeal to all candid readers even where they cannot always agree with the writer's strong political opinions.

The Puritan Bible and other Contemporaneous Protestant Versions. By the Rev. W. J. Heaton, B.D. Illustrated. (F. Griffiths. 6s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Heaton began his studies of the English Bible more than forty years ago, and this is his third book upon it. His volumes fill a place of their own in our growing Bible library, and no pains have been spared to get into the heart of the subject. Nearly every place historically connected with it in England, Germany, and Switzerland has been visited, and careful research has been made in the British Museum Library, at Oxford and at Cambridge. The record opens with Edward the Sixth. At his Coronation, when the three swords were handed to him as ruler over the three kingdoms, he said that one was still lacking: 'It is the Bible, which is the sword of the Spirit, and to be preferred before these swords.' Mr. Heaton traces the fortunes of the Bible under Mary and Elizabeth, with picturesque details which add life and colour to the record. The story of the Genevan Bible is well told and its characteristics are described in a bright little chapter. For the first time a fairly complete account has been given of the translators of the Bibles used by Shakespeare and Queen Elizabeth and of the Authorized Version. Every Bible

student will want to have Mr. Heaton's volumes on his shelves. Nor does he appeal merely to students; every lover of the English Bible will delight in his record. Portraits and other illustrations add greatly to the interest of a notable book.

Thirteen Appreciations. By Principal Alexander Whyte, D.D. LL.D. (Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 8s. 6d. net.)

Most of these Appreciations have appeared in print with selections from the respective authors, but it is a real pleasure to those who have the different studies to find the thirteen saints shut up together in one volume. There is only one woman in the company, but Santa Teresa, who 'died of hard work and worry and shameful neglect, almost to starvation,' well deserves her place of honour at the head of the Appreciations. Dr. Whyte's judgement of Behmen is a strange contrast to John Wesley's strictures. He says that Behmen 'has no biography because his whole life was hid with Christ in God.' The study of Cardinal Newman is enthusiastic and illuminating. The Appreciation of John Wesley which closes the volume was the closing address at New College, Edinburgh, last year. Its comments on Wesley's controversy with the Calvinists of his day and on his 'dispute' with William Law add flavour to the study, and he finds Wesley's *Journal* running over with lessons so that preachers will find it well through all their ministerial life to keep it always lying open beside their study Bible. The warm tribute to *The Hymns of Methodism in their Literary Relations*, shows how quick Dr. Whyte is to discern the gifts of his young contemporaries as well as those of his great predecessors.

Sister Henrietta. Edited by Dowager Lady Loch and Miss Stockdale. (Longmans & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

Sister Henrietta Stockdale, the daughter of an English clergyman, found her vocation at Bloemfontein and Kimberley, where from 1874 to 1911 she was a ministering angel for South Africa. Lady Loch was familiar with her work in training nurses and matrons for all parts of the colony, and feels that the secret of her power lay in her great spiritual influence, the high standard of character and perfection of work that she brought to the throne of God. She was stately and handsome, and her patients had the greatest reverence for her. One of them said, 'She comes and stands by my bed like an angel carved in marble.' She went through the siege of Kimberley, and was terribly put to it to feed her staff and patients. Mr. Rhodes often came to her rescue. She says of his gifts, 'I am sure they saved us, and I never felt I loved any one so much as one day when he brought me two great onions.' The 'Diary of the Siege' has some vivid passages. Eggs were 30s. a dozen, cats 10s. to 12s., a little chicken 25s. Yet she says, 'It is all worth it if only we could depend on the English Parliament, but there lies our real danger:

if one could really be confident that we should have a united Federal Parliament under the English flag, it would give us all courage and more strength.' The story of this noble Christian woman will inspire many to tread in her steps, and certainly the world never needed such workers more than it does to day.

Travel Films, Being Pen Pictures of Europe. By Hugh Johnston, M.A., D.D. (Kelly. 8s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Hugh Johnston won a high tribute from Dr. Punshon when he first visited London, thirty years ago. He had been studying maps of the city as he crossed the Atlantic to such purpose that Dr. Punshon told him that he knew the short cuts, streets and ways better than he did himself. His European travels begin at Gibraltar and end at Liverpool, and no one who follows them will find his interest flag for a moment. Naples, Florence and Rome spread themselves out before our eyes as we read this book and many a pleasant spot in Europe grows familiar to us in Dr. Johnston's company. He loves a joke and a riddle, and keeps us amused as well as instructed from first to last.

Thoughts on Christian History. By the Hon. A. S. G. Canning. (T. F. Unwin. 7s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Canning's survey of Christian history is marked by insight and wide study. He confines it chiefly to the Western or Latin Branch of Christianity and to the period following the Reformation. Public opinion in Europe, enlightened by the vast elucidation of the world's religions, has become 'calm, fair, and truth-seeking.' The oldest faiths of the world survive, and 'no decisive religious triumph nor extinction seems probable in the present state of the intellectual world.' The increase of scepticism in the Latin Church has not 'hitherto effected the permanent abolition of religious belief in any country. A minority among able, learned men distrust religion in different degrees; but no country proclaims their opinions as politically predominant.' Christianity prevails over Europe and America, and in Asia its political rule and influence are steadily increasing. Yet there seems to be a disappointing decline of zeal, enthusiasm or energy both among the religious and the irreligious compared to what former times displayed. That is Mr. Canning's conclusion, and it deserves careful attention, but signs are not lacking that a new spirit is abroad which will unite the forces of the Church, and lead to new power and influence in the world.

Studies of Men Mended. By Edward Smith, J.P. (Religious Tract Society. 1s.) A very effective supplement to Mr. Smith's *Mending Men*. Three trophies of the Adult School movement are described in a way that will stir up many to unwearying personal effort for winning others to Christ. Each story is an inspiration.

The fine book on *Cuneiform Parallels in the Old Testament*, by Professor Rogers, noticed in our last number, p. 131, is published in England by Mr. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, at 21s. net.

MISSIONARY STUDY

St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions. By H. A. A. Kennedy, D.D., D.Sc. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

IN a recent issue of the *Hibbert Journal* Loisy roundly asserted that Jesus Christ was 'a saviour-god, after the manner of an Osiris, an Attis, a Mithra,' and that Christianity was a mystery-religion: and thus the conclusions of a group of scholars represented by Reitzenstein, Rohde, Dieterich, Wendland and others are now the common property of New Testament students in this country. Prof. K. Lake (in his *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*), by his general sympathy with the views of this group, has further familiarized the public mind with the mystery-theory of the Christian faith. Hence the appearance of Prof. Kennedy's work is in the highest degree timely, and it stands alone as the most complete and scholarly discussion of the whole subject that has yet been issued in English. We may add that the form in which his studies are enshrined is a credit to publisher and printer alike. Opening the discussion with a survey of the influence on the thought of the Hellenistic world exercised by Stoicism, the astral mysticism of Posidonius, Orphism, the Dionysus-cult, and Oriental mysticism generally, he proceeds to trace Jewish affinities with the mystery-cults, and to describe the character and influence of the best known and typical mystery-religions. This leads up to a chapter of the utmost importance for Pauline students on the terminology of the apostle which appears to be related to mystery-religions. The parallelisms of term are admitted: but it is shown that many of the terms and expressions of St. Paul can be traced to the influence of the Old Testament, while all have been transfigured by his Christian consciousness. The same is true of the ideas of communion, ecstasy, regeneration, and the like: all is crass and corporeal, magical and mechanical as compared with the spiritual content of the apostle's statements, which are examined in much detail. In treating of baptismal rites and sacramental meals, the author again finds parallelism of language with a fundamental divergence of spiritual interpretation. Incidentally he condemns Schweitzer's now notorious eschatological views, while sympathizing with that critic's rejection of the mystery-basis of Pauline Christianity. With these general conclusions we are in complete agreement, though inclined to lay greater stress than Prof. Kennedy on the sensitiveness of the apostle to his Hellenistic environment. Everywhere in the Hellenistic world he found the yearning for *ecstasy*. From his Tarsus University days he was conscious of the fascination of that larger freedom of thought and idea for which Hellenism stood: his growing dissatisfaction with Judaism had with his conversion finally issued in complete emanci-

pation from its narrow ideal, and henceforth he deliberately set himself to interpret Christianity as a world-faith in which the imperfect conception of the Graeco-Roman mystery-faiths, their dim yearnings for purity and immortality, were finally consummated. The Christian religion, with its nobler ethical ideal and its offer of spiritual unity with God in Christ, was the divine answer to the confused multitudinous voices of the unseen which claimed the obedience of thousands in the Hellenistic environment of St. Paul. Prof. Kennedy has clearly shown that the mystery-terminology and ideas which appear in his epistles are explicable not on the theory of accommodation, but on that of fulfilment, and can be traced to the apostle's desire to present the truth of Christianity as the perfect satisfaction of human need.

International Theological Library: History of Religions. By George Foot Moore, D.D. Vol. 1. (T. & T. Clark. 12s.)

Dr. Moore is Professor of the History of Religion in Harvard University. His volume deals with the religions of China, Japan, Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria, India, Persia (Zoroastrianism), Greece and Rome; the second is reserved for Judaism, Christianity and Mohammedanism, which are so intimately related in origin and history as to form a natural group. The relation of each religion to race and physical environment and to national life and civilization is shown, its history is traced, and the causes of progress and decline and the influences that have affected them from without are investigated. 'Prominence is given to religious conceptions, as they are implicit in myth and ritual or are thought out by poets, philosophers, and prophets; and particularly to the higher developments in theology, ethics, and religious philosophy, especially where, as in India and in Greece, these developments are of great intrinsic interest and of abiding consequence.' The survey reveals a general trend of evolution which warrants the conception of a history of religion. The eighth to the fifth centuries B.C. witnessed a maximum in the tides of religion. Almost all the great religions of our day date from this period. Five chapters, covering ninety pages, are given to China. They deal with 'The Religion of the State, Moral and Political Philosophy,' Taoism, the Religion of the Masses—and Buddhism.' Dr. Moore points out that the religion of the Chinese people, with its demons, ghosts, vampires and werewolves, to-day presents a more primitive aspect than the official religion of the classes, which 'bears plain marks of a reform from above in a spirit which we may call Confucian, though it is older than Confucius.' Japan has its native religion, Shinto, and Buddhism. To each of these a chapter is given. The Pure Land Sects of Buddhism, with their system of salvation by grace through faith, have several striking resemblances to Christianity, though their age excludes the possibility of contact with Christianity in Japan. Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria, and Zoroastrianism are discussed in the same illuminating manner. The ground here has been well surveyed, but that in no way diminishes the interest

of these studies. Prof. Moore says, 'Not only has the influence of the Babylonian religion been enormously exaggerated, but wholly erroneous notions are entertained about the religion itself. So far from being the religious initiators of humanity, the Babylonians remained to the end on a relatively low plane of religious development—compared with the ancient Chinese, for example. They were great in demonology and divination, but showed no capacity for religious ideas.' India, Greece, and Rome complete the survey undertaken in this fine volume. There are many signs that a revival is at work in Hinduism, and it is recognized that this means reform, but many of the leaders hold that India has nothing to learn from the West as to religion. Some maintain that 'India is to be teacher of the Western nations in the higher doctrine and practice of religion, and in the true goal and method of human life.' The religions of Greece and of the Romans are suggestively treated, and the section on 'Literature' will direct a reader to books dealing with any particular religion about which he may wish for fuller information.

Pennell of the Afghan Frontier. By Alice M. Pennell, M.B. (10s. 6d. net.)

In Far New Guinea. By Henry Newton, B.A. (16s. net.) (Seeley, Service & Co.)

Dr. Pennell's first book, *Among the Wild Tribes of the Afghan Frontier*, has gone through five editions in five years, and this biography is sure of an eager welcome. Here was a man who gained every distinction that a medical student could covet, and might have risen to distinction in his profession, yet preferred to labour as a medical missionary among the wild tribes of India. Before he sailed in 1892 he described medical missions as 'the picture language of the Church Militant.' The truth of that phrase is seen on every page of this record. Once he operated on a Pathan lad for stone, whilst an elder brother stood by reiterating at intervals, 'If he dies, I'll take your life for this. If he dies, I'll take your life.' The surgeon worked on calmly, and when the danger was past both brothers were his attached friends. When asked if he would have carried out his threat, the Pathan calmly replied, 'Of course, I should have kept my word.' Dr. Pennell's mother went with him to India, where she was as zealous and devoted as himself. In 1906 he found a wife, herself a doctor, who has put into this book the insight both of a wife and a physician. They had three and a half years of rare happiness, then the doctor died of septic poison caught from a colleague on whom he had to operate. He won the hearts of the wild Pathans in an extraordinary manner. Lord Roberts describes him in a beautiful Introduction as 'a man of striking appearance, of commanding personality, and of prepossessing manner.' He never carried a weapon, and mixed freely and fearlessly among the tribesmen. His fame spread far and wide till he was surrounded by patients 'from morn till eve.' In one year the Bannu hospital dealt with 84,000 cases, 1,655 of which were admitted to the wards.

86,000 out-patients were visited, and nearly 3,000 operations performed. All this was done by two British and two Indian doctors, and one lady doctor. What it meant is seen by Dr. Pennell's diary. 'A record day for cataracts: I did sixteen and my wife four.' Another entry reads: 'A very busy day. A. and I began operating at 8 a.m., and went on to 6.30 p.m., with scarcely a break!' Another day he and his wife and colleague each performed six operations for cataract, besides other operations. This is altogether a wonderful book.

Mr. Newton's book takes us to a different world. He joined the staff of the Anglican mission in New Guinea in 1899, and has used his thirteen years to good effect, for these chapters are a record of work, and a description of the manners, customs, and religion of the natives, such as it would not be easy to match elsewhere. A garden is the all-important thing in New Guinea. The native 'is very fond of his children; he likes to have many pigs; he takes great care of pets, pigs, cats, and dogs; he thoroughly enjoys feasts and dancing; but his first, and greatest, and abiding interest, is his garden.' It means real love for the work, and personal pleasure in doing it. Feasts are an integral part of life—eagerly looked forward to and greatly enjoyed. Most of the dancing is done by the men, but the women join in sometimes, though they always keep to themselves. The way in which a culprit is reproved by the chief is very well described, and feasts are held sometimes to bring the guilty to task. A grim account of the cannibalism of *former* days is given, and of the never-ending vendetta. Life has to be paid for with life. They have some effective remedies, and when a man is in pain he lies down and some friends rub the soft palm of his hand with a gentle, continuous motion which is very soothing. The chapters on childhood, marriage, death and death-feasts, are full of interesting details. Mr. Newton says that his mission has not sought 'to change the native life into a parody of European or Australian civilization, but to impart principles and ideals which, by the power of the Holy Spirit and through the teaching, sacraments, and discipline of the Church, will transform characters, and fit these people to be the children of God and heirs of eternal life.' The volume is one of great interest, and it is illustrated with many quaint pictures of the natives.

The Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia, 1912-1918.
(Edinburgh. 7s. 6d. net.)

This goodly volume gives the findings of the twenty-one Conferences held by Dr. Mott in India, Ceylon, China, Japan and Korea from November, 1912, to April, 1918. Missionaries and native leaders represented the various missions and churches of each area. The number was limited to about fifty, and every one had expert knowledge of the subjects discussed. Most of the time of each Conference was spent in discussion in order to bring out the opinion and experience of those present. The findings were then arranged

by committees under such divisions as the Occupation of the Field, Evangelisation, Education, Literature, Co-operation between Missions. These were submitted to the Conference, and form a body of expert opinion such as has never before been available for the guidance of the home Churches and Missionary Societies. The book is a quarry from which abundant material may be drawn as to the needs of each field. The Allahabad Conference recommends that in view of the extension of medical relief on the part of the Government, there should be a more definite policy adopted for medical missions. Here is a bird's-eye view of the needs of the world such as one can find in no other single volume, and its severe simplicity heightens the effect.

Our Task in India. By Bernard Lucas. (Macmillan & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

The Christian Church is recognizing more and more deeply its responsibility for the true welfare and prosperity of our Indian Empire, and is waking up to the vast religious task before it. Mr. Lucas argues that our work is Evangelism, not Proselytism. He puts his case too strongly here and there, for evangelism often involves proselytism, but his opinions are based upon a quarter of a century's service for the London Missionary Society, and they deserve careful attention. To him the final success or failure of Indian missions depends on whether the message is confined within Western theological and ecclesiastical moulds, or whether it is 'a message of spiritual life, free to be cast in fresh moulds which Indian religious thought and feeling are able to provide.' He points to the religious evolution of the West, and asks if the still greater evolution which has been going on in the East for untold centuries is to yield no elements destined to be incorporated in the religious spirit of the future. 'There is a distinct type of religious thought and life in India which God has been evolving through the centuries, and this must be saved both for India and for the world.' Mr. Lucas holds that the true missionary evangelist must recognize in India a religious soul of a special type, and minister to it out of the rich treasures of his own spiritual experience, so that he may co-operate with the Divine Spirit in its fuller development. The Indian Church as well as the Indian missionary must be more Christian as well as more Indian, if it is to enter into the evangelistic conception of the Master's great commission. Mr. Lucas rejoices in many approaches towards unity among the various missionary workers in India, but is not prepared to accept 'the historic episcopate' as a basis upon which a real United Church of India can be built up. The book is full of food for thought, and though it will be criticized it will not fail to influence even its critics.

India, Malaysia, and the Philippines. By W. F. Oldham. (Eaton & Mains. \$1 net.)

Dr. Oldham delivered these lectures before Syracuse University. Long experience as a foreign missionary, 'broken by periods of

work and observation in America,' has given him large knowledge of his subject. He shows that missionaries are revolutionizing society, waking ancient peoples from the grave of the past, and breathing new life into millions. Nowhere will seeming sacrifice of self bring nobler or more enduring reward than on the mission field. The chapters on India, Mass Movements in India, Malaysia, and the Philippines give many details as to work in these fields. America has done much for the Philippines, and they have much still to do for the welfare of the islands. The Evangelical Church there is of large promise, and the Methodist Episcopal Church numbers 40,000 members, while twice as many are found in its congregations. The lectures are full of interest.

The Chinese People. By the Ven. A. E. Moule, D.D.
(S.P.C.K. 5s. net.)

Archdeacon Moule has spent more than fifty years in China, and his book is intended as a repertory of information about the country and its people. It deals with the physical features, the origin and history of the people, with religious thought and practice, literature and education. Two chapters are given to missions, and one describes China's relations with foreign Powers, bringing the record down to the proclamation of the Republic and the Day of Prayer. There is much about the President and Sun Yat Sen which is of special interest. The illustrations are from Chinese pictures, and there are maps ancient and modern. To get this mass of information put clearly into one compact volume will be of untold service to missionary students, and to the growing host of Englishmen who are keenly interested in China.

The Spirit of Japan. By the Rev. G. H. Moule, B.A.
(Wesleyan Missionary Society. 2s. net.)

This is the study text-book for the Young People's Missionary Movement. Mr. Moule has laboured in Japan, and knows its spirit, but he has also drawn largely on native writers. Shinto and Buddhism are carefully described. Mr. Moule shows what aggressive work Buddhist priests are doing by Sunday Schools, Guilds, and Missions. His chapters on Christian work in Japan are of great interest. The official and governing classes are becoming convinced that religion is an absolute necessity both for the individual and the State. There is thus a great opportunity for Christianity, and this text-book comes at a moment when the call is loudest. The illustrations add much to the impressiveness of the volume.

The Children of Rhodesia, by Herbert J. Baker (Kelly, 1s. 6d.), gives a really complete and living picture of child life in Rhodesia. It describes the one or two games they play, the traditions handed down to them, and gives pleasant accounts of children whom the writer has known. It is a book from which older readers may also learn much.

GENERAL

Modern Parliamentary Eloquence. By Earl Curzon. (Macmillan & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

ONLY part of this Rede Lecture was delivered last November before the University of Cambridge, but every word of it will repay careful reading. We are sorry that the palm for the masterpiece of modern English eloquence is awarded to an American, yet Abraham Lincoln's brief speech at Gettysburg Cemetery, and the famous passage of his second Inaugural Address, show how circumstances lifted a natural orator to a pinnacle. Lord Curzon regards Mr. Gladstone as the greatest orator whom he ever heard in the House of Commons — 'indeed almost the only orator.' 'He could be passionate or calm, solemn or volatile, lucid or involved, grave or humorous (with a heavy sort of banter), persuasive or denunciatory, pathetic or scornful, at will. It is true that his copiousness was sometimes overpowering, and his subtlety at moments almost Satanic.' Disraeli won his proudest rhetorical triumphs as a phrasemonger. Lord Curzon only heard Mr. Bright make one commonplace speech, but he finds the real clue to his power in his personality and moral attributes. He 'preached to his countrymen with the fervour of a Savonarola and the simplicity of a Wesley.' Lord Salisbury invariably thought of his subject rather than of his audience, yet he was one of the most fascinating and impressive of speakers. The late Duke of Devonshire gained his influence by his robust and steadfast common sense, his incorruptible honesty, and the splendid tenacity with which he defended and expounded his convictions. Mr. Balfour has never had a superior 'as a parliamentary dialectician.' He is probably more independent of preparation than any man who has ever led the House of Commons. Mr. Asquith's talent for concise and flawless expression is illustrated by his tribute to Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, and the leading speakers of the generation pass before us in these living pages. Lord Rosebery's gifts are fully recognized, and two passages are quoted which seem worthy to be ranked with the masterpieces of British eloquence. The book is judicial, but it is warmly appreciative of good speaking of every kind.

A Pilgrimage of British Farming, 1910-1912. By A. D. Hall, M.A., F.R.S. (Murray. 5s. net.)

Mr. Hall undertook a series of farming tours in 1910, which stretched over that and the two following summers. His record excited great interest as it appeared in *The Times*, and the wealth of information thus gained at first hand by a recognized expert will be more highly prized now that it is gathered up into this volume. Mr. Hall

was accompanied by Professor T. B. Wood, of Cambridge, and Mr. E. S. Beaven, of Warminster, and they were received everywhere with such hospitality and willingness to impart information that it was possible to form a pretty definite opinion on the farming of each district. The volume is a critical view of British farming, which shows what is being done with all kinds of soil, and gives valuable suggestions as to improved methods. It deals with every kind of crop, with questions of fruit growing and stock breeding; it has much to say also of rents and wages, of small holdings and large farms. Its strong sympathy with a farmer's difficulties will win it a welcome in every farm-house, and everything is put so clearly and brightly that those who have no practical knowledge of agriculture will find it intensely interesting. We know no book that would supply so much delightful matter for harvest sermons and addresses. The Southdown sheep is due to John Ellman, of Glynde, near Lewes, who 'took the sheep of the country and selected them to a type he had in his mind, fixed his type by in-breeding, and then impressed his flock and his standard upon the whole countryside.' In Northumbria Mr. Hall's host had a famous run of white Shorthorn bulls, which produce from the black Galloway cattle the 'blue greys' which are so highly esteemed. Kent, with its nuts and apples, receives due attention in the tour, but we have been specially interested in the farming of the Isle of Axholme, where in some parts the land-holding methods of our remote forefathers are still in full operation. There are no hedges, but the land is divided into parallel strips or selions. The warping, or making of new land, forms the subject of a valuable chapter. Some of the land in the Lowthians is rented at 90s. per acre, the highest price probably paid for arable land in the United Kingdom, or even in the world. £80 an acre is sometimes given for a standing crop of potatoes.

Property: Its Duties and Rights Historically, Philosophically, and Religiously Stated. Essays by various writers. With an Introduction by the Bishop of Oxford. (Macmillan & Co. 5s. net.)

This is a book that will help to form public opinion. It arose out of a letter which Dr. Vernon Bartlet wrote to the *British Weekly*, urging Christians to reconsider their ideas about property in the light of the Bible doctrine of stewardship. He put himself in communication with Dr. Gore, and the outcome is this set of Essays. Their object is to establish a clear principle on which the corporate mind and conscience may shape itself. Prof. Hobhouse deals with the historical evolution of property. His conclusion is that we have 'to find a method, compatible with the industrial conditions of the new age, of securing to each man, as a part of his civic birth-right, a place in the industrial system, and a lien upon the common product that he may call his own, without dependence either upon private charity or the arbitrary decision of an official.' 'Property for use' would be secured to the individual, 'property for power'

retained for the democratic state. Canon Rashdall discusses the philosophical theory, and concludes that our problem is to devise a gradual modification of the present system, retaining its advantages 'without the outrageous inequalities, the material hardships and uncertainties, and the injury to character which are produced alike by excessive wealth and excessive poverty.' Mr. A. D. Lindsay's subject is the 'Principle of Private Property.' He finds no simple ready-made solution of our problem, but sees that the system is only tolerable when men act 'under obligations which law is not yet able or does not think it convenient to enforce.' Prof. Bartlet discusses the biblical and early Christian idea of property. To regard it as a trust for the good of the brotherhood remains in the long run 'the true guide to social regulation and action.' Mr. H. G. Wood traces the influence of the Reformation, dealing mainly with Puritanism, and showing how the Evangelical Revival revived the Puritan tradition of stewardship. He makes effective use of Wesley's teaching on the subject. Canon Scott Holland closes with a suggestive essay on Property and Personality. The right of possession is always relative to the larger trust within which the individual acts, but this ideal identification of individual and society is only possible if God be the one supreme authority over both. The Bishop of Oxford's Introduction gathers up the spirit and conclusions of the book, and brings the subject forcibly home to the conscience of those who recognize themselves as God's stewards.

The Quest Series, of which the first three volumes have just been issued by Messrs. Bell & Sons (2s. 6d. net), is intended for seekers after truth along all its highways and byways. The editor, Mr. G. R. S. Mead, has himself been engaged in psychological and Oriental studies, and his object is to provide the layman with a set of introductions by acknowledged experts, which embody the latest results of the study of comparative religion, philosophy, and science 'as working together to broaden and deepen our conception of life.' Dr. Hyslop, the Secretary of the American Society for Psychical Research, deals with *Psychical Research and Revival*. He traces the history of such studies, and reaches the conclusion that the fact of survival will alone co-ordinate and explain the phenomena. It is a clear statement and full of interest. Miss Jessie L. Weston, who has closely studied all the texts, writes on *The Quest of the Holy Grail*. She describes the various interpretations of the legend, and puts forth her own ritual theory according to which the kernel of the cycle is a legendary record of some actual experience at once terrifying and exalting. It was a determined effort to attain definite and personal knowledge of the secret of life, and to gain intimate and personal contact with its divine source. The subject is fascinating, and this book really throws new light upon it. *Jewish Mysticism* is described by Dr. Abelson, who has wide knowledge of Talmudic and Rabbinical literature. He gives a bird's-eye view of this, especially of the fourteenth-century *Zohar*, which is the text-book

of Jewish mysticism. Dr. Abelson holds that Christian theologians have taken a wrong view of Judaism. In all branches of Jewish literature there are gleams of a wider, more tolerant, and universalistic outlook. Jewish mysticism saved men from the fossilizing influence of the Talmudic sages, and showed that the religion was one of the feelings as well as of the intellect. The book is fresh and full of interest.

The Romance of Names. By Ernest Weekley, M.A. (Murray. 8s. 6d. net.)

The first attempt to classify and explain English surnames seems to date from 1605, when Verstagan published his *Restitutions of Decayed Intelligence*. Their etymological study has scarcely been touched at present, and Prof. Weekley seeks to show how they are formed rather than to adduce innumerable examples which the reader should be able to solve for himself. He has made no attempt to collect curious names, but has taken those which occur in the *London Directory* (1906), or have caught his eye in the newspaper or in the streets. The living interest of such a method comes out in the notes on the names of the Rugby team for the East Midlands on January 22, 1918. No one can read these comments without getting a start on a new line of study. Two lists of names from the Hundred Rolls of 1278 are also examined in a way that is really illuminating. The chapter headed 'Tom, Dick and Harry,' is of special interest. In forming patronymics from personal names the first syllable is not always selected. Toll, Tolley and Tollett come from the second syllable of Bartholomew; Philpot, diminutive of Philip, gives Potta. Robert gave Rob, Hob, and Dob; Richard gave Rick, Hick and Dick. The book is both scientific and popular. To work through a chapter in a leisure hour will add materially to one's knowledge, and will start the reader on a delightful line of study. We are grateful for such a book.

A Proper New Booke of Cokerye. Edited by Catherine F. Frere. (Cambridge: Heffer & Sons. 7s. 6d. net.)

Archbishop Parker left to the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, of which he had once been Master, a large number of rare and early printed books. Among them is a little volume of tracts including this *Booke of Cokerye*. It has only twenty-seven pages, but Miss Frere has dished it up with layers of notes, a spicy Introduction on Cookery, and a delightful memoir of the Archbishop drawn chiefly from Strype's biography, so that it makes a toothsome and appetizing bill of fare. She says that she never had the opportunity of acquiring the art of cookery, yet this is the fourth book of the kind that she has had to edit. It is certainly a volume that makes a wide appeal. We see the first owner of the little book, and the wife, for whose sake he lived for five years in 'extreme fear of danger' under Queen Mary. Perhaps these recipes were used when Elizabeth came from Greenwich to Lambeth and dined 'with

my Lord of Canterbury, together with her Privy Council,' though Miss Frere cannot tell us the actual menu. The 'book of cokerye' begins with hints as to when dishes are in season, and gives 'the order of meates, how they must be served at the table with their sauces for fleshe dayes at dinner.' Then we get 'Service for fysh dayes,' and instructions for all kinds of dishes. The volume is very tastefully got up, and is sure of a welcome from all who wish to know the tastes of Queen Elizabeth's times, when there was certainly no disdain of a well-laden dinner table.

1. *The Protestant Churches, their History and Beliefs.* By Leslie F. Church, B.A.
2. *The Mediaeval Revival.* By Arthur Rudman.
3. *Progressive British India.* By Saint Nihal Singh.
4. *Japan's Modernization.* By S. N. Singh. (C. H. Kelly. 1s. net. each.)

These four additions to the 'Manuals for Christian Thinkers' are full of novel and useful matter. The first one gives a mass of information respecting the history and condition of the Protestant churches, beginning with the English Church, and ending with the four Methodisms of England and America. Beside ample statistics there is in each case a section on Doctrine and Polity. 'Delivered' on p. 81 is a misprint for 'developed.' The second is a charming booklet on the rise of the Franciscan and Dominican orders in the thirteenth century, and chiefly on the first. The author goes to the French and Italian sources for his material. He is in love with his subject, and writes with a graceful pen. He is also fond of tracing affinities between the Franciscan revival of the thirteenth century and the Methodist revival of the eighteenth, and speaks of the former as 'Mediaeval Methodism.' It seems that there were Franciscan revolts of 'the floor of the House' against 'permanent officials.' The third and fourth additions to the series are very able and valuable expositions. It can only be a gain to English readers to learn how the great changes going on in India and Japan are regarded by an Oriental observer with adequate power of exposition. With respect to both countries, the amount of authentic information given and the picture sketched are amazing. While faithful criticism is not wanting, we should perhaps be astonished and thankful that the balance is so decidedly on the side of improvement and benefit to the countries concerned. In the work on India the substitution of 'Briton' for Englishman is ingenious. A phrase on p. 19, 7th line from foot, is ungraceful. In the book on Japan we should prefer 'realize an ideal' to 'materialize an ideal.' In the four manuals very full bibliographies are given.

Poems of Arthur Henry Clough. With an Introduction by Charles Whibley. (Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d.)

This is the sixth edition, or, reckoning reprints, the nineteenth, of Arthur Clough's poems. It well deserved the honour of an Intro-

duction, and Mr. Whibley has made it a critical—perhaps too critical—study as well as a brief biography. Clough read Pope's *Homer* and Sir Walter Scott's novels in the nursery; at seven he had mastered Robertson's *Charles V* and the lives of Columbus, Cortez, and Pizarro. At school Dr. Arnold 'congratulated him on having gained every honour which Rugby could bestow, and done the highest credit to his school at the University.' Then the clouds gathered. At Oxford he was caught up in the whirl of the 'Movement' and his intellectual perplexity hindered his studies. He only took a second class, though he retrieved himself by becoming fellow and tutor of Oriel. His mental perplexity, however, remained. At last he cut himself loose from Oxford to find later a post in the Education Office. He married Florence Nightingale's cousin, and became her most valuable helper after her return from the Crimea. He introduced Jowett to her, and a beautiful letter which Jowett wrote after Clough's death is given in Miss Nightingale's *Life*. The short poems 'set forth with a loyal accuracy the experiences of his mind and soul.' A heated controversy rages round his hexameters. Mr. Whibley's criticism of some of Clough's lines as giving no hint of verse in word or cadence is just, but he admits that the two poems from which they are taken have a hundred ingenuities. The enthusiasm with which such friends as the Arnolds, Tennyson, Carlyle, Miss Nightingale, Emerson, Lowell, Longfellow, and Norton, regarded him is, after all, his best memorial. The poems themselves show the eager questioner who is 'ever on the look-out for a new gospel.' Miss Nightingale once quoted his famous lines:

It fortifies my soul to know
That, though I perish, Truth is so
That, howso'er I stray and range,
Whate'er I do, Thou dost not change.
I steadier step when I recall
That, if I slip, Thou dost not fall.

She added this comment, 'Yes; but Truth is so that "I" shall not perish.' Over and over again Miss Nightingale wrote down in her meditations lines from Clough's '*Qua Cursum Ventus*':

One port, methought, alike they sought,
One purpose hold where'er they fare,—
O bounding breeze, O rushing seas!
At last, at last, unite them there!

Songs from Books. By Rudyard Kipling. (Macmillan & Co. 6s.)

It was a happy thought thus to collect the verses and chapter-headings scattered through Mr. Kipling's books. Where only a few lines of verse were originally used, he has inserted the song or poem from which they were taken in full. Many of the pieces are delightfully familiar, but it is no small gain to have them all gathered together with a list of contents showing the book from which verses are taken, and an index to first lines. What a story is packed into 'The

Looking-Glass,' which Queen Mary's spirit and Lord Leicester's try to make Queen Bess face ! 'Her sins were on her head,' yet the old monarch 'looked the spirits up and down,' and then faced the glass :

And she saw her day was over and she saw her beauty pass
In the cruel looking-glass, that can always hurt a lass
More hard than any ghost there is or any man there was !

'The Bee Boy's Song' and 'The Cuckoo Song' are very happy, but none of the songs please us better than those inspired by some bit of scenery with its local traditions surging in, such as 'Morrow Down,' where

The ancient Britons dressed and rode
To watch the dark Phœnicians bring
Their goods along the Western Road.

'The Run of the Downs' and 'A Three-Part Song' will appeal to all Sussex men. The *Jungle Books* yield some spirited songs and some wonderful chapter headings. 'The Heritage' is a glorious bit of patriotism, and so is 'The Children's Song.' Mr. Kipling gets inside things. We find them moving and stirring our blood. His book will give pleasure to both young and old.

The Collected Poems of Margaret L. Woods. With a Portrait in Photogravure. (John Lane. 5s. net.)

Mrs. Wood's volume opens with 'The Passing Bell,' which tolls at Westminster for her father, Dean Bradley. It is one of five 'London Poems,' which get deep down into the mystery of the city which she knows so well. They are fine pieces of work which supply much food for thought. 'Under the Lamp' is the story of a man's sin and a mother's prayer that misses one mark, and finds another. 'The Gondola of London' shows a mastery of phrase and a rich imagination. We almost hear the cab passing from her quiet home in the Temple into the Strand :

Tune of the jangling bells and fleet
Tap of the hoofs in an empty street—
Then as a ship from port will slip
Out we glide to the storm's commotion
Roar of a swift tumultuous ocean,
Surge of faces that glimmer and drown,
Foam on the sea of London Town.

The 'Peasant Poems' show the same skilled observer and philosopher at home with village folk, and Oxford has its own little cluster of gems. The 'Child Poems' get very close to the heart, and the 'Ballads and Lyrics' have masterpieces like the noble lines 'To the Forgotten Dead' and 'The Lost Comrades.' Two plays close a volume which stands in the front rank of contemporary verse for its power of expression, its music, and its depths of thought and feeling.

The White Gate and other Poems. By Lorna Leigh. (Hampstead : Hewitson & Son. 1s. 6d. net.) These are short poems. Only three

or four cover more than a page, but they have a finish and a grace which make them linger in one's memory. They are mainly songs of the affections, and some of the daintiest, like 'Joan' and 'My Little Love,' are about the children. 'In Manus Tuas' has a peal in it which thrills. It is a small collection of gems. Here is one headed 'Thoughts':

Dawn! with the wonders night concealed,
Noon! with life's beating heart revealed,
Eve! with her gentle touch; and tender
Night! with her silver pall of splendour.

Rose Windows. Book I. Poems. By Robert V. Hecksher. (Allen & Co. 8s. 6d. net.) There is true poetry here. It arrests one's attention in its first piece, 'The Awakening of the Soul,' and there is a grace and sweetness about it all which wins on the reader. Some difficult metres are attempted with success. One little piece headed 'A Picture,' will show its style and spirit:

Just—a beam of sunlight, drooping
In a dusty, attic room,—
Just—a little woman, stooping
Over sewing, in the gloom,—
Just—a worn and sunken bedstead,
And a single broken chair,—
And yet, ah, God! how beautiful
A world is hiding there.

Early Latin Hymnaries. An Index of Hymns in Hymnaries before 1100. By James Mearns, M.A. (Cambridge University Press. 5s. net.)

Mr. Mearns gave such 'extensive, varied, and prolonged' assistance to Dr. Julian as won him the position of Assistant Editor of the *Dictionary of Hymnology*. The New Supplement of 1907 was also greatly enriched by his labours. The Index now printed was intended for a book on *Hymns and Canticles*, but proved so bulky that it had to be printed separately. Its preparation has involved many visits to foreign libraries, made possible by grants from the Hort Fund. The staffs of libraries at home and abroad have also rendered valuable help. After the opening words of each hymn its subject and author are given with references to three great works in which the texts are found. A thick black letter shows the country in which the manuscript of a hymnary was written, and there is an Appendix from later sources. Of the 128 MSS. indexed, 87 are English, 25 Italian, 25 French, 22 German, 8 Spanish. The index of these sources is of great interest, and the loving care lavished on this byway of hymnology by the Vicar of Rushden is far above praise.

Hymns of the Early Church. By John Brownlie, D.D. (Morgan & Scott. 2s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Brownlie has made this subject his own, and has opened up its treasures to English readers as no one has done since Dr. Neale's day

The translations are from Greek and Latin sources, but some original pieces are added. All are simple and evangelical, and there is an ease about the renderings which will commend them to lovers of sacred verse. The verses from the Greek burial service have a note of triumph :

Rest on the Lord, O Servant by His grace ;
Dwell in His courts, and gaze upon His face ;
Know nought of toil, of weariness, or woe ;
They rest who serve, not weary, as below.

If Dr. Brownlie would add to his next edition a preface describing his sources, it would be much appreciated.

The Honourable Mr. Tawnish. A Romance. By Jeffery Farnol. Illustrated by C. E. Brock. (Sampson Low, Marston & Co. 6s. net.)

This romance bears trace in every line of the same hand that gave us *The Broad Highway* and *The Amateur Gentleman*. It has three lovable old men, once chums at Charterhouse School, and then suitors for one lady. Sir John Chester wins her, and though she dies early, her child twines herself about all their heartstrings. Her love affairs wreck their peace for a time, but the lover whom they think a milkop turns out to be a hero, and the story ends with a wedding and a furious duel. The pretended highwayman is a wonder. Mr. Farnol's men have the habits of a bygone day, and we wish they were cured of their oaths, but a reader's heart warms to them, and Penelope herself is worthy to rank with Mr. Farnol's earlier heroines. The romance is a work of art, and Mr. Brock's illustrations could not be bettered.

The Vision Splendid. By D. K. Broster and G. W. Taylor. (Murray. 6s.)

This story links France and England. Horatia Grenville marries a young French noble, but her rapture is short-lived. We get a wonderful description of life in a ducal family, and watch Armand turn back to his old flame and neglect his English wife. He takes part in the Duchesse de Berry's rising, and is shot down by the Government soldiers. Horatia's boy becomes heir to the dukedom, and though she has now discovered that she loves Tristram Hungerford, he has become a High Church clergyman with views about celibacy, and they each have to take their own path. Horatia's son becomes a hero of the Crimean War ; Tristram has a great mission in East London, and is the hero of the young Catholic noble, who approves all his extreme practices. It is a very clever story, strongly High Church, with no word of reproof even for Hurrell Froude. Some of its poignant scenes stamp themselves on one's memory. It is certainly not a plea for French marriages.

The Diary of a Minister's Wife. By Anna E. S. Droke. (Eaton & Mains. 1s 25c. net.) There is a quiet humour running through this story which makes it pleasant reading, and entitles it to a place beside *The Circuit Rider*. The preacher and his wife have many a

struggle, and see much of the seamy side of human nature, but they are brave and loving and find many friends in their wanderings. The clever illustrations are by George Avison.

The Twin Soul of O Také San. By Baroness Albert d'Anethan. (Stanley Paul & Co. 6s.) Japanese scenery and life are well described in this story, but the moral situation on which the plot hinges is very far from satisfactory.

Little Women and Good Wives, by Louise M. Alcott (Kelly, 2s.), are really companion volumes, and many will be glad to have them bound together. The illustrator, Miss Grace Ridout, has caught the spirit of the tales, and every young reader will feel the charm of this famous family circle. It is a capital reprint.

A Daughter's Inheritance. By Mrs. G. S. Reaney. (Heath, Cranston & Ouseley. 6s.) This is a Temperance story into which Mrs. Reaney has put her heart. Madge Davis inherits a craving for drink from her father, which wrecks her life. We cannot think that a girl with so many fine qualities could have been so easily led astray by a horrible man, but the story is tragic and powerful.

The Bodley Head Natural History. By E. D. Cuming. With Illustrations. By J. A. Shepherd. Vol. II. British Birds, Passeres. (Lane. 2s. net.) The second volume of this unique Natural History is as charming as the first. Mr. Cuming's descriptions of the white-throat, the blackcap, of warblers, wrens and nuthatches are real helps to identification of the birds and their nests, and make very bright reading as well. The illustrations catch both the colours and the characteristic attitudes of the birds in a way that must have involved prolonged study. They are dainty little drawings indeed. The next volume will deal with stoats, weasels, seals, squirrels, and kindred creatures.

Mountains in the Mist. By F. W. Boreham. (Kelly. 8s. 6d. net.) This is a set of Australian reveries which every one should read. They have insight and force. They look at old things with new eyes, and bring out rich meaning which most of us fail to find. The opening essay, suggested by the boy who cried for papers as the train passed through the bush, is really charming, but Mr. Boreham touches no subject that he does not adorn.—*Christ and War.* By William E. Wilson, B.D. (James Clarke & Co., 1s. net), is 'a peace study text-book' which urges 'the reasonableness of disarmament on Christian, humanitarian, and economic grounds.' Mr. Wilson shows that the teaching of Christ 'cuts at the root of war by forbidding the passions from which it springs.' His account of the 'voices in the wilderness' protesting against war, and the chapter headed 'The Dawn of Hope,' are full of interest. The book is well worth a careful perusal, though many will not agree that the way to peace is by disarmament.—*The Dignity of Business.* By H. E. Morgan. (Ewart Seymour & Co. 2s. 6d.) These 'Thoughts and Theories on Business and Training for Business,' are sane and timely. Mr.

Morgan describes what is done in Germany, France, and the United States to train 'good, useful, and productive citizens,' and points out where our own system might be improved. We have been content with training the artisans, whereas our rivals have realized the vital importance of educating the *leaders* of commerce. We have much in our favour, and our vast overseas dominions afford a 'market capable of exploitation to an almost illimitable extent.' Mr. Morgan holds that the romance of business has been insufficiently sung, and his little book has an enthusiasm which is quite contagious. Every business man and every young fellow starting business life ought to read it carefully.—*A Vision and a Voice: The Awakening of To-day*. By the Rev. R. G. Philip, M.A. (Scott. 8s. 6d. net.) Mr. Philip seeks to paint a picture of the times with an interpretation. His own imagination is stirred by the restlessness and the eager quest of pleasure, but he sees the infinite possibilities opened for Christian service, and is confident in the triumph of the Kingdom of Light. Jesus makes 'a personal call to every one to repentance and faith.' We have 'the sense of man.' 'What is wanting in our hearts is to recognise our need of God.' Mr. Philip will stir many young hearts to new hope and effort.—*Fifteenth-Century Books*. By R. A. Peddie. (Grafton & Co. 5s. net.) This workmanlike guide to the identification of fifteenth-century books appears at a moment when special attention has been drawn to them by the Prussian Royal Commission for a General Catalogue of Incunabula. It catalogues and describes all the important works on the subject, showing where information may be found as to authors, printers' catalogues, bibliographies, &c. Attention is also directed to works that show how to identify a book by its type and by woodcuts and blocks. Important sections deal with book illustration, initials, printers' marks, and water marks. An Index of the Latin names of towns in which printing was established during the fifteenth century, and lists of catalogues and books on the subject are given in appendices. Every one who wants to identify fifteenth-century books will find it invaluable.—*Le Problème Mondial*. Par Alberto Torres. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional.) These studies of International Politics appear at a moment when the endless problems of the modern world appear so hard to solve that men are in danger of giving themselves up to their own prepossessions, or accepting a sceptical fatalism as to the power of thought. The writer is developing his ideas more fully in another work, *Orbis Humanus*. He holds that world-wide peace is the need imposed on civilization, as a condition of the proper study of the formidable enigma of man and society.—*Electro-Pathology and Therapeutics*. By A. E. Baines and F. H. Bowman, D.Sc. (Ewart, Seymour & Co.) This is an account of thirty years' research work in electro-pathology, which has led the authors to some notable and most promising results, among which they include an effective means of staying inflammation. The use of instruments of precision, and the extraordinary care with which the investigations have been carried on,

entitle this book to the attention of all students of medicine. It holds out hope of a new system of diagnosis which may go far to revolutionize the practice of medicine as it is to-day.—*Should a Woman Tell?* By Rev. A. J. Waldron. (Success Publishing Co. 6d. net.) The Vicar of Brixton's play with this title has been severely criticized. In this booklet he tries to face some unpleasant facts for which he finds a partial explanation in the sweating system. He thinks that the monstrous power of selfishness lies at the root of the whole evil. One sentence is significant. 'I know that no trouble of sex complexities could arise if the woman had no past, that she could look the whole world in the face, and challenge it in the words of Christ.' That is the true path for both sexes, as Mr. Waldron points out.—*The Methodist Who's Who*, 1914 (Kelly. 8s. 6d. net), is invaluable for all who wish to know about the men and women who are doing the work of Methodism in all parts of the world. This is the fifth issue, and every year sees it grow more complete. The statistics and facts given in the introductory pages gather together much information that can be found nowhere else in such convenient form; and the short biographies show what public service Methodists are doing in all lands, and give many a pleasant glimpse of their recreations and hobbies.—*One-and-All Gardening*, 1914 (92, Long Acre, 2d.), is a popular annual for garden lovers. Its articles are varied and never stray far from the practical lines on which the Association works. A hundred thousand copies of the Annual have been printed as a first edition. We wish Mr. Greening all the success he deserves in his happy mission.—*The London Diocese Book*, 1914 (S.P.C.K., 1s. 6d. net), has been edited with great care by Prebendary Nash and Canon Nash. Full particulars are given of Confirmations arranged for 1914, with lists of all societies, notes for the clergy and churchwardens, and every side of the church life of the diocese.—*A Dickens Pilgrimage*. (Murray. 1s. net.) These are the six papers that appeared recently in *The Times*. Two of them linger round Rochester, the other four are on Bath, Dover and Broadstairs, Ipswich and Bury, and the Inns. Every lover of Dickens will find pleasure in taking such pilgrimages with this entertaining guide and will go back to the novels themselves with new zest.—*Rebecca of the Fells*. By Helen H. Watson. (Religious Tract Society. 6s.) Rebecca farms her own land and lives with her grandmother on the fells. A rough neighbour wishes to marry her, but Owen Clifford comes as lodger and learns to love the girl that has nursed him back to strength. He is a nobleman's son, and a musical genius, and when he proposes to her Rebecca will not consent to 'spoil' his life. The family at the Vicarage is charming, and Rebecca is a woman to be proud of. It is a capital story.—*Words of Hope and Grace*. By Charlotte Elliott. (Religious Tract Society. 1s. net.) The words are chiefly in verse, though there are a few prose passages. Such a message for each day of the year will be a blessing to many, and the biographical sketch will add to the fragrance of the words.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

THE article that will probably attract most attention among our readers in the current number of the *Quarterly Review* (January) is that in which Dean Inge discourses on St. Paul. The article is based on books as ancient as Sabatier's in 1891, and as recent as Gardner's and Deissmann's in 1911-12. All the recent literature, indeed, is passed under review, and the Dean's own views may be gathered from the following extracts :

'It is only in our own day that the personal characteristics of St. Paul have been intelligently studied. In the nineteenth century Paul was obscured behind Paulinism. It has been left for the scholars of the present century to give us a picture of St. Paul as he really was—a man much nearer to George Fox or John Wesley than to Origen or Calvin ; the greatest of missionaries and pioneers, and only incidentally a theologian.

'The Epistles are real letters, not treatises by a theological professor. Each is written with reference to a definite situation. There is, properly speaking, no system in Paul's theology, and there is a singularly rapid development of thought.

'To the historian, there must always be something astounding in the magnitude of the task which he set himself, and in his enormous success. The future history of Europe and America for 2,000 years, perhaps for all time, was determined by his missionary journeys and hurried writings. It is impossible to guess what would have become of Christianity if he had never lived ; we cannot be sure that the name of Jesus would still be honoured among men.'

And the reason of his success is that

'St. Paul understood what most Christians never realize, namely, that the Gospel of Christ is not a religion, but religion itself.'

Another great attraction will be found in the critical and discriminating article by Mr. Lellie Johnston on 'Modern Mysticism : Some Prophets and Poets'—among whom we may mention Francis Thompson, Evelyn Underhill, and Rabindranath Tagore.

In the chief literary article in the *Edinburgh Review* (January-March), Mr. Walter De La Mare discourses on several recent books of distinction. Speaking of Mr. J. F. Kelly's *Memoir of Cervantes*, he observes : 'There must have been rejoicing in the land of twilight on April 28, 1616, for on that day Cervantes and Shakespeare joined

the company of the immortals.' Mr. Tagore's *Sadhana* he describes as 'a reflection and confirmation of the ideals which have been the inspiration of his poetry.' 'It is,' he continues, 'a sort of open letter, simple, critical, persuasive, addressed by the East to the West. It compares two antithetical views of human experience, two distinctive attitudes towards self, Nature, and "the one Eternal Spirit." Against the pride of our Western civilization, exultantly enthroned amid its bricks and mortar, seeking by conquest to subdue the world, to heap up riches, Mr. Tagore sets the contemplative serenity, the self-suppression, the calm acceptance of pain, the life-long effort to win to an inward peace, unity, and wisdom practised by the wise men of the East. . . . The effect of his quiet, winning prose is to paint on his reader's consciousness, as it were, the serene, inscrutable smile on the face of an ancient and beautiful image, promising consolation to every vexed mind that can, however faintly, perceive the symbol of its peace.' Other notable articles are, 'The Indian Moslem Outlook,' by H. H. The aga Khan; 'Henri Beyle,' by Lytton Strachey; 'The Renaissance of Dancing,' by Felix Clay; a delightful illustrated article on 'The Honey Bee,' by Dr. Sharpley; and 'The Production of Power,' by an obviously well-informed anonymous writer.

In the Dublin Review (January-March) there is a deeply interesting reminiscence, by the editor, of Mr. R. H. Hutton of the *Spectator*. In the article there are some of Hutton's letters, chiefly on literary topics. 'His literary antipathies and sympathies,' says Mr. Ward, 'were as strong as his personal ones. His aversion to George Meredith and his enthusiasm for William Watson were both based on intelligible reasons, but both somewhat extravagant. As to his humour, he immensely enjoyed hearing or telling a good story.' Several of these are given. 'His worship for Gladstone was perhaps the deepest personal feeling of the kind he ever had; if it was equalled at all it was only by his feeling for Newman. But he had no personal intimacy with Newman.' Hutton was not a good letter writer. He was far too much in earnest to think of their form. 'But their very simplicity and directness make them in some degree an illustration of his character, while they are often a valuable record of his views and recollections.' His feeling in respect to Catholicism is perhaps best expressed in the words of Dr. Johnson: 'Sir, I would be a Catholic if I could, but a certain obstinate rationality prevents me.' Father English tells us that, during Hutton's last illness, he read to him a chapter of the *Imitation* every day. An anonymous article on 'Catholic Progress in the Study of Scripture' takes the form of an extended review of Father Pope's *The Catholic Student's Aids to the Bible*. There is also a characteristically caustic criticism by Mr. Hilaire Belloc of Professor Bury's *History of Freedom of Thought*, in which he points out 'elementary errors which deprive the book of all historical value.'

The February English Review reprints verbatim and with the original spelling a curious notebook of Voltaire's that has recently been found in St. Petersburg. His notes on England are full of interest. 'In England,' he says, 'everybody is publik spirited. In France, everybody is concern'd in his own interest only.' 'The English is full of taughts, french all in miens, compliments, sweet words, and curious engaging outside, overflowing in words, obsequious with pride, and very much self concern'd under the appearance of a pleasant modesty.' 'The English is sparing of words, openly proud and unconcerned he gives the most quick birth as he can to his thoughts, for fear of losing his time.' 'England is meetting of all religions, as the Royal Exchange is the rendezvous of all foreigners.' 'When I see Christians cursaing Jews, methings I see children beating their fathers.' 'Jewish religions is the mother of the Christianity, and grandmother of the Mahometism.'

In an Open Letter to Lady Burghclere on 'Lady Dorothy Nevill, our wonderful fairy friend,' Mr. Edmund Gosse gives us in the February Fortnightly a more intimate study than has hitherto appeared of this remarkable lady. The portrait is a finished one. The writer is past master in the art, and he had the advantage of knowing Lady Nevill for a quarter of a century. He notes that she was 'little sentimental, and prided herself on being as rigid as a nut-cracker.' He also remarks in detail on her physical strength, her humorous petulance, her curious prejudices and antipathies, her attractive absence of affectation, her complete courage and absolute tolerance, her peculiar wit, her friendship and hospitality, her kindness, &c., and leaves her ladyship imprinted on the mind. Another article of more than ordinary interest is the one on 'Wordsworth at Rydal Mount,' by Mr. John Eglington. It is really on Wordsworth as a critic, the criticism being that which he offered in his conversations at Rydal Mount. 'These scraps of Wordsworth's large, thoughtful, earnest discourse,' says he, 'have been taken partly from the compilations of Professor Knight and Dr. Grosart, partly from various other passages in the memoirs and journals of the period.' Many of his literary judgements are quoted, and in the article as a whole we get many glimpses of the real Wordsworth in his later life.

'This real Wordsworth, this Englishman of Englishmen . . . is hard to get at behind the armour of self-esteem which has done him such good service in his youth, and in which he continued to pace his native lakes to the end. Unsatisfactory as he is, in some respects, both as man and poet, he is nevertheless a true Messiah, the first-fruits of a civilization, the expression of what England really meant by Puritanism. Just as there is a Marcus Aurelius in the soul of the Roman, so there is Wordsworth in the soul of the Englishman. Untranslatable into any foreign tongue, he will never be a revelation to foreigners of the Englishman's secret ideal, but he will perhaps always be the most soothing and probably the truest explanation of the Englishman to himself.'

Mr. Eglington's notes are often exceedingly suggestive; this, for instance:

'Carlyle, probably, was not influenced by Wordsworth, but it is curious how closely his recommendations in *Chartism* and *Past and Present*—universal education, state-aided emigration, the formation of joint-stock companies, &c.—correspond with those of Wordsworth in the last book of the *Excursion* and the *Postscript to Poems* in 1835. Far more important, of course, than the advocacy of any particular cause is the undefined Wordsworthian influence, which brings with it everywhere a new faith in the intuitive resources of the human spirit: on this account, perhaps, some one has named him the "mild parent of revolution."

Hibbert Journal (January).—Mr. F. C. Schiller, in writing on 'Eugenics and Politics,' urges that the new science (?) implies a moral reformation that is necessary, however slow the nation may be to adopt it. The Eugenist, however, will have to expound his creed in better fashion than hitherto if the nation is to be convinced that it is either moral or scientific. Mr. J. B. Baillie discusses Self-Sacrifice in an instructive way, for the most opposite moral conditions are too often confused under the one name. It may imply either self-destruction or self-fulfilment. Miss Petre writes on 'Authority in Religion' from the Roman Catholic standpoint, very moderately and ably, but somewhat disappointingly, as she fails to indicate 'in what genuine spiritual citizenship consists.' Rev. J. E. Symes propounds a theory of the Apocalypse, according to which parts of the book date from A.D. 68, whilst others are as late as A.D. 98, the whole book in its present form bearing a still later date. *Sub judice lis est*. Some composite theory may account for the facts in relation to this much-discussed book, but at present none can be said to be wholly satisfactory. Other interesting articles are 'The Value of Confessions of Faith,' by Prof. Curtis; 'The Failure of the Church of England,' by Rev. A. W. Blunt; 'Changing Religion,' by J. Arthur Hill; and 'Bergson's Philosophy and the Idea of God,' by H. C. Corrance.

Journal of Theological Studies (January) contains no leading article. Under the heading 'Documents,' Mr. C. H. Turner prints the text of certain canons attributed to the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, with list of bishops. The section, 'Notes and Studies,' includes a paper on Cluny and Monastic Reform by Rose Graham, 'The Apocryphal Ezekiel,' by Dr. M. R. James, and a very interesting note on 'Mysticism in the New Testament,' by J. L. Johnston. The Reviews also contain a discussion of 'Mysticism, Jewish and Christian,' a notice of two recent books on Basil the Great, and of others on the Continental Reformation.

Holborn Review (January).—Perhaps the most interesting article in the present number is the last, entitled, 'The Bible after Criticism,'

in which Prof. Humphries reviews Dr. Peake's recent work on the Bible. The writer's remarks on authority in religion, however, are vague, if understood as an exposition of principles on so important a subject. Mr. H. Jeffs discusses 'Religious Conditions in Canada,' and the paper entitled, 'The Personality of Jeremiah' contains a thoughtful Biblical study by Samuel Dodd. Other articles are on 'Coryate,' by Dr. James Foster, 'George Eliot,' by J. Maland, and 'The Age-long Veiling of Jesus,' by Samuel Harry.

The Expositor (January and February).—One of the most promising features of this periodical, beginning the year 1914, is a series of 'Studies in Eschatology,' by Dr. H. R. Mackintosh. Only one has yet appeared, on 'The Christian Hope,' and it remains to be seen what line Prof. Mackintosh intends to pursue. But a fresh treatment of this theme is a great desideratum, and Dr. Mackintosh has an opportunity before him which we have little doubt he will utilize worthily. Prof. Macfadyen's paper on 'The Old Testament and the Modern World,' shows afresh how in the treatment of 'the problems of the individual, of society, and of the great world,' these ancient books speak words of 'true wisdom and broad humanity,' as potent to-day as when they were first spoken. Criticism has not diminished this power, but rather increased it. Dr. H. A. Kennedy writes on 'St. Paul and the Conception of the Heavenly Man.' Mr. T. R. Glover's article on 'Discipline in Prayer' furnishes a fresh example of the writer's spiritual insight and power. Two articles are found in the February number on the Epistle to the Galatians, one by Principal Menzies, the other by Prof. Anderson Scott.

The Expository Times (January and February).—Two articles by Principal Iverach on the Epistle to the Colossians and its Christology are both scholarly and practical. Dr. Garvie, of New College, asks, 'Can the literature of a Divine Revelation be dealt with by Historical Science?'—a pregnant question, on the answer to which much depends. Dr. Garvie approves the application of historical methods to the Bible, but with certain guards and limitations which he clearly lays down. Dr. Starbuck's paper on 'The Psychology of Conversion,' with its analysis of the 'cataclysmic type' and the 'adolescent type,' shows at the same time the advantages and the dangers of the writer's well-known method of handling his subject. When all the analysis is done, a synthesis will be necessary, and it will need more than a psychologist to construct one. Rev. W. A. Cornaby furnishes an interesting paper, entitled, 'Chinese Sidelights upon Scripture Passages.'

The Political Quarterly (February) aims at a broad and impartial consideration of modern political and social development and its first number is excellent. The article on 'The Home Rule Situation' gives due emphasis to the determined opposition of Ulster, but points out 'the advance which has undoubtedly been made in the direction of a common basis of understanding.' The article on 'The Parlia-

mentary Session of 1918' is a very convenient epitome of its work, and the pages devoted to 'Public Administration' will be useful. The Political Quarterly certainly begins well.

International Review of Missions (January).—Mr. Oldham's 'Missionary Survey of the Year 1918' is a notable feature of this issue, and shows how the work is growing all over the world. Mr. Saunders, in his little appreciation of *Gitanjali*, says that it breathes 'a restrained passion and a pure devotion to the Unseen Lover, which remind us constantly of the Psalms or of the utterances of Christian mysticism at its best.' The number is one of great interest.

The Church Quarterly (January).—Dr. Headlam's 'Notes on Reunion: The Kikuyu Conference,' are broad-minded and sympathetic. The positions taken by Dr. Sanday and Mr. Herbert Kelly and the attitude of the Bishop of Zanzibar are discussed in a way that will promote good understanding between the Churches. The editor also writes on 'The Emperor Constantine and the Edict of Milan.'

International Journal of Apocrypha (January).—Everything that concerns the Apocrypha seems to be noted in this journal. The fourteenth-century Scottish Alliterative Poem of Susanna supplies material for one of the most interesting articles.

AMERICAN

Harvard Theological Review.—Professor W. R. Arnold, of Andover, took for the subject of his opening address 'Theology and Tradition.' It is printed as the first article in the January number. His endeavour is to meet the objection that 'theology is nothing but tradition, and for the most part hollow tradition.' In reply he urges that 'the student of theology may not cut loose from tradition with impunity, and for this simple reason: that theology is the study of religion, and religion is distinctly a traditional thing.' Theology and religion are to be viewed as correlatives. 'Religion is essentially traditional, and is not a science. Theology is a science, and can never be traditional without ceasing to be theology.' The question, 'What is the Christian Religion?' is answered by Professor D. C. Macintosh, of Yale. He has no doubt of the historicity of Jesus, and has no heart to deny that belief in it is 'humanly indispensable,' yet he contends that 'an essentially Christian evangelical faith is logically possible without this presupposition.' This concession is for the writer's own argument as unnecessary as perilous; for the conclusion reached is that 'Christianity is in essence the religion of discipleship to Jesus; the religion of faith in Christ as the divine Saviour of humanity; the faith that finds God in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself.' A masterly article on 'The Fitness of the Environment,' by Professor James Y. Simpson, of Edinburgh, shows that the mechanical view of nature 'fails to meet the demands of science, and does not satisfy the spiritual

cravings of man.' A spiritual interpretation of nature may be 'based upon environmental fitnesses,' but 'that which was operating on consciousness increasingly becomes an object of consciousness, as the ultimate reason, the basis of the persistent law and order of the universe. . . . The individual's highest response to this transcendent influence and appeal lies in becoming like that which thus influences and appeals. . . . So to think is to acknowledge the essential fitness of the apostolic injunction: 'Work out your own salvation. . . . It is God that worketh in you.'

Bibliotheca Sacra.—A thoughtful article on 'The Book of Esther,' by Dr. G. O. Little (January), argues that in this book there is a 'unique addition to the sum of revelation.' It alone of the Old Testament books contains 'a unique double plot'; there are two distinct trains of events, and two persons are 'the champions of two rival supernatural powers.' In this most elaborate of epic histories there is vividly portrayed, on the one hand, 'the foolish weakness of blind credulity, as shown in superstitious trust in the supernatural power of luck, unwarranted and unsupported either by reason or evidence; and on the other hand, in striking contrast, the wise strength of an outreaching faith, as shown in a divinely taught trust in the supernatural power of Providence.' Dr. E. M. Merrins has an interesting theme in 'The Jews and Race Survival.' The Jews cannot lay claim to any superiority as regards purity of origin, but 'by their long history they have proved the virtue of their stock.' One important lesson, enforced by Jewish history, is that 'a nation cannot permit with safety the lowering of its physical, social, moral and religious standards by excessive mixture with people of inferior stock.' The article is not concluded, but great stress is laid on the high position in the home of the Jewish woman. 'The whole family life was distinguished for its simple, sincere piety. . . . Surely of the Jews it may be asserted that the foundations of their national strength and glory were set in the homes of their people.'

The *American Journal of Theology* (January) opens with an article by Pastor Gilkey, of Chicago, on 'The Function of the Church in Modern Society.' The writer thinks that the attitude of indifference, tempered with severe criticism, with which the churches have of late been regarded, is passing into one of 'interested, and often sympathetic reconstruction.' Churches generally have been roundly abused, and doubtless a portion of the hostile criticism has been deserved. Dr. Gilkey indicates the directions in which he thinks that improvement in aims and methods might be effected, especially as regards the moral progress of society. The next two articles are somewhat technical in character, and are interesting chiefly to scholars—'The Hittites,' by D. D. Luckenbill, and 'Spirit, Soul and Flesh in the Old Testament,' by Prof. E. D. Burton. Rev. R. H. Strachan, of Cambridge (England), deals with the 'Idea of Pre-Existence in the Fourth Gospel,' concluding that it is 'an apoca-

lyptic conception.' The evangelist, he thinks, interprets the thoughts of Jesus on eschatological matters and 'moves with freedom' among these apocalyptic ideas, showing 'that he was not bound by the details of apocalyptic thought.' Mr. Strachan's paper is more interesting than convincing. It would seem as if the eschatological key, as recently fashioned, is to be made to fit every lock in New Testament expositions.

The Princeton Theological Review (January).—Professor W. B. Greene's article on 'The Bible as the Text-Book in Sociology,' will not please most modern sociologists, but it is able, thoughtful, and in its main principles sound. The writer holds that the Christian minister should maintain the supreme authority of the Bible as a guide, even on social subjects, but that his main task is to strive for 'the regeneration and development of individual souls.' Principal Griffith Thomas, well known in this country, writes a long and well balanced article entitled, 'An Evangelical View of Cardinal Newman.' The study of the 'Hymnody of the Evangelical Revival' is continued in a further paper by Louis F. Benson. The Reviews are very good. We largely disagree with Dr. Warfield's long dissertation on Mysticism, *à propos* of Miss Underhill's books, but the vigour and ability with which the writer wields his logical quarter-staff is always interesting to watch.

The Methodist Review (New York) (January–February).—The brief article by Prof. Warren on 'Comparative Religion, So-Called,' is very slight and hardly worthy of theme or writer. For the rest, literary interests predominate in this number, as in 'Lear—Pessimist or Optimist?' by Prof. R. T. Stevenson; 'Burns, the Lyrist,' by Prof. Lockwood; and 'George Meredith, the Preacher's Poet-Novelist,' by Dr. J. R. Shannon. A short article entitled, 'Christian Paganism,' by Daniel Dorchester, contains a strong indictment of 'this civilization of ours.' In an article on 'The Ulster Protestants and Rome,' vehemently contending that 'Home Rule means Rome Rule,' the writer asserts that he 'carefully avoids everything looking in the direction of controversy,' and that 'speaking the truth in love has been his aim.' The longest article, on a 'Pilgrim in the Infinite,' deals with the capacity of man as a personal being.

The Methodist Review (Nashville) (January).—Dr. P. T. Forsyth, whose energies seem inexhaustible, is the author of the first article, entitled, 'Christianity and Society,' the moral of which is that Christianity has originated a new order of man, 'as far above our mere moral freedom as that with its responsibility is above the nature from which it rose.' The editor of *The London Quarterly Review*, Rev. John Telford, writes most pleasantly on the 'Annals of a Yorkshire House,' the Spencer-Stanhopes, revealing something of the England of Wesley's day. The 'true and intimate picture of John Wesley's England' is very suggestive. Dr. J. C. Granbery, from the

point of view of the traveller, writes 'Snapshots of Europe in Transition,' describing amongst other things the 'remarkable changes that are taking place in Great Britain.' Other well-written articles are 'Music and Religion,' by Ruth W. Alexander, the 'Demand for a New Christian Leadership,' by J. W. Shackford, and the 'Message of "In Memoriam,"' by R. E. Dickenson. The Editor reviews at length a book that deserves the attention he gives to it—Rauschenbusch's *Christianising the Social Order*. Dr. Gross Alexander complains that the volume contains too many details, but the prevailing criticism thus far has been that social reformers have not been definite and practical enough. A further review is promised, and the additional space will not be wasted.

The *Review and Expositor* (Louisville) (January), contains the following among other articles: 'The Christology of the Ancient Church,' by James Stalker, D.D., of Aberdeen; 'St. John the Baptist,' by Dr. Lock, Warden of Keble College; 'The Baptist Message to Continental Europe,' by H. C. Mabie, LL.D.; 'The Value of Art to the Preacher,' by Rev. Olin Green; and 'Paul's Valuation of his Ministry,' by Rev. J. L. Rosser. The 'Book Reviews,' as they are here called, are particularly brief.

FOREIGN

The current number of the *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* (January-March) opens with a fifty-page monograph on a subject of extraordinary interest at the present time. In it M. De Munynck, O.P., expatiates with great fullness, breadth, and clearness on the principles and methods of the comparatively new science of religious psychology, or, rather, of the psychology of religion. We know of no other general introduction to the psychological study of religious phenomena to be compared with it. The treatment is rigidly scientific, but it is easy to see that the writer occupies a religious, though by no means a specifically Roman Catholic point of view, and he is evidently familiar with the vast and growing literature of the subject in Europe and America. He also displays a marvellous facility of exposition, illustration, and criticism, and has produced a monograph which, whilst easily read and mastered, will furnish students with real guidance in a difficult but fascinating field of study and research. The other main articles are on 'Les Harmonies de la Transubstantiation' and 'Le "De Corpore et Sanguine Domini" de Pascale Radbert,' one of the founts of Roman theology on the Eucharist. The bulletins of philosophy and theology are of extraordinary interest. The former is devoted to recent works in psychology and in scientific philosophy, and the latter to Biblical theology. Special attention and careful criticism is given on books on 'The Idea of God, Eschatology, and the Mystery Religions.' It is a pleasure to commend this truly scientific Catholic quarterly.

Calcutta Review (January).—English readers will be glad to see Sir A. Mookerjee's 'History of the Indian Museum' at Calcutta. Its foundations were laid a century ago by a small band of scholars, engaged in studying the history, languages, and antiquities of India. After thirty years the Government recognised its responsibilities in the matter, and arrangements were made for the establishment and gradual development of a worthy Imperial Museum. Anna Ross Macivor writes on 'India's Poet Laureate.' Mr. Tagore is the people's poet, and one Bengali said that he read him every day. Other articles of special interest are 'Some Tours in Sikhim: Vestiges of Old Madras,' and a study of 'Specific Infective Disease,' by Dr. Macphail.

The Moslem World (January).—Dr. Zwemer's article, 'The Dying Forces of Islam,' is based on a booklet, *Where is Islam?* by a young Sheikh who was for some years a teacher in El Azhar University. He says, 'There is no true and living Islam left in the world.' He searched for Islam at Mecca, but 'found there wine and adultery and wickedness, and what not.'

Religion und Geisteskultur.—The January number opens with a comparative study of 'Christianity and Buddhism,' by Professor W. Lüttge, of Berlin. He complains that too often it is 'an idealized and philosophically transfigured Buddhism' that is contrasted with a caricature of the Christian religion. Both religions claim to be universal, appealing to man as man, and both are religions of redemption. But by redemption the Buddhist understands release from life, because life is suffering, by which is meant not merely pain, but the wretchedness resulting from the discovery of the unreality of life and its lack of purpose. Very different is the Christian teaching in regard to redemption from the world, for it is based upon the antagonism of the natural and the spiritual, and its method of overcoming egoism is by faith in God, 'the relativism of the temporal and earthly by surrender to the powers of the absolute and eternal.' The Buddhist goal is Nirvana, the Christian consummation is eternal life. The difference between these two conceptions is well brought out, and a frequent misinterpretation of Nirvana is corrected. Nirvana is not to be conceived as eternal non-existence, it implies rather that no metaphysical conception, such as existence or non-existence, emerges in consciousness. 'It is the sea-calm of the soul, in which already upon earth silence reigns: willing and thinking and doing, impulse and motion cease.' But Nirvana is completed in Parinirvana, which denotes, in religious values, the eternal death of the soul. This mystical element in Buddhism is really pantheistic. The practical result of this doctrine is seen in the monastic ideal of Buddhism, the endeavour through contemplation to attain to the negation of life. It is by an inward redemption that the Christian attains to independence of life's fortunes and vicissitudes; and the Christian redemption, so far from implying a lessened

sense of personal consciousness, consists in a personal, that is to say, a moral and spiritual relation to God. Other articles in an excellent number are 'The Historical Significance of Islam,' by Dr. M. Ritschenthaler, 'The Ethical Church in West London,' by Miss Emily Altschul.

Theologische Rundschau.—This valuable review begins its seventeenth year in an enlarged form and at a higher price (8 marks yearly). Dr. Süsskind, of Tübingen contributes an elaborate survey of 'The Theology of Troeltsch,' for which students will be grateful. Ernst Troeltsch is the leader of the religious-historical school, now prominent in Germany; he is a voluminous writer, and although not yet fifty years of age, he has been for twenty years a Professor in the University of Heidelberg. A pithily expressed judgement on the trend of his teaching is that there is some danger of the mass of historical material breaking down the scaffolding of his theological building. As against Herrmann and other writers of the Ritschlian school, Dr. Süsskind maintains that Troeltsch has done good service, and provided a necessary corrective by insisting that the fact of Jesus cannot be regarded as independent of history. 'The historic Jesus is an historic problem that cannot be solved by faith, but by means of historic inquiry.'

Professor Nowack, of Strassburg, writes the Old Testament article. He devotes much space to a notice of Hehn's 'The Biblical and the Babylonian Conceptions of God.' Differing from Hehn in some of his judgements, Nowack concludes an appreciative review with high praise. Hehn is described as 'a specialist whose competence cannot be denied'; he has carefully examined all the material, and the result of his investigations is that 'the supposition that the religion of Israel was, in any essentials, influenced by Assyria and Babylon is once for all shown to be untenable.' The reason why Hehn's conclusions are of higher value than those of some of his fellow-specialists is that he has a more thorough knowledge of Old Testament religion. Hehn dwells on the contrast between the idea of God found in the two religions respectively. The Babylonian deities were personified natural phenomena, and as such not exclusively national; the God of Israel is sharply distinguished from every other deity. Whilst in Babylon the development in the conception of God can be traced in various deities, in Israel it is the same God who reveals Himself in manifold ways. Israel's view of the world is, therefore, in contrast with that of Babylon, Jahveh-centric, and consequently monotheistic.

Theologische Literaturzeitung.—In No. 2, the review of Dr. R. H. Charles's 'The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament' contains this welcome sentence: 'We heartily rejoice in the great success achieved by our theological cousins across the Channel, and congratulate them.' Dr. George Beer, who thus handsomely expresses his appreciation of the work of Dr. Charles and the scholars

who have collaborated with him, is himself an expert in Apocryphal studies. A comparison with Kautsch's great work was inevitable, and it is fair to claim that the German scholar prepared the way for the English specialist. But ungrudging recognition of the outstanding excellences of Dr. Charles's edition is not withheld. In the commentary on 'The Book of Enoch,' use is made of better manuscripts than those which were available for Kautsch. Sometimes the English writers 'give more attention to the literary character of the separate books,' and frequently 'the introductions to the various writings are more comprehensive and precise.' What Dr. Boer desires to see in the near future is a cheap edition of the original texts, including, if possible, the most important versions. 'Englishmen ought to undertake this; in addition to the necessary qualifications, they also have the money!' All will join in the wish that the work may not be done twice. Dr. J. G. Robertson's delightful manual, entitled, *Goethe and the Twentieth Century*, wins high commendation from Dr. Karl Sell, of Bonn. Several paragraphs dealing with Goethe's religion are translated. Dr. Sell adds: 'Goethe was unquestionably an intensely religious nature.' This does not mean that he subscribed to dogma, even the Christian. 'But his faith in a higher guidance of the world was to him an unassailable certainty; absolute trust in God was the foundation of all his optimism.' Seven works on 'Foreign Missions' are reviewed by Dr. Bornemann, of Frankfurt. Richter's *World Missions and Theology* contains the author's statement of his programme as he entered upon his duties as Professor of the Science of Missions in the University of Berlin. It should be translated into English. The work is described as wider in its scope and richer in content than its title indicates. More correctly it might be entitled, 'World Missions at the Present Day: their Origin and their Main Tasks.' Dr. Sell rejoices that 'The Science of Missions' now has a separate chair assigned to it, and holds that it should no longer be treated as a mere subdivision of Practical Theology.